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JOHN, FIRST MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

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FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MARK GERARD, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND;
FROM
THE EARLIEST PERIOD
TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

BY
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ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS OF EMINENT SCOTSMEN AND CELEBRATED PERSONAGES
CONNECTED WITH SCOTTISH HISTORY.

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

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THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK VI.

FROM THE CONFERENCE AT YORK, TO THE ACCESSION OF JAMES VI. TO THE THRONE OF
ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONFERENCE AT YORK.

THE time for the arrival of the commissioners at York was now near at hand. At a meeting of Mary's friends, held at Dumbarton, on the 12th of September, commissioners were chosen to attend in her name at the conference, and the bishop of Ross proceeded thence to visit the exiled queen at Bolton. She told him that Elizabeth had determined to espouse her cause, that Murray and his associates had been summoned to answer for their rebellion, and that on their submission and acknowledgment of their guilt she was prepared to pardon them and to take them into favour. It was clear that she had no intention to allow herself to be placed on her trial upon any accusations to be brought forward by her subjects. But the bishop at once foresaw the danger to which she was exposing herself by this proceeding, and he expressed his regret that she had agreed to any conference in which her adversaries were to be accused, assuring her that in their defence they would state all they knew, were it ever so much to her dishonour, and urging her to treat for an accommodation with her subjects without the conference, or at all events to employ her influence with her friends at court to hinder the evil consequences that might result from it. Mary told him that there was no danger, for she had already secured the favour of her judges, especially of the duke of Norfolk, who was

devoted to her cause. It was immediately after this interview that Robert Melville arrived at Bolton, with the copies of the queen's letters to Bothwell, secretly sent to her by Lethington, in reply to which she requested Lethington to do his best to "stay those rigorous accusations." In the instructions agreed to by the lords and abbots assembled at Dumbarton, which are supposed to have been drawn up by the bishop of Ross, it was determined to say that these letters were culled (*selected from or garbled*) by Mary's enemies in certain substantial clauses; but now, on reflection, Mary seems to have thought it better to deny them altogether, and accordingly she declared that they were forgeries.

Mary's own instructions to her commissioners, resembling closely those which had been agreed to at Dumbarton, of which, in fact, they were partly a revision, are dated on the 29th of September. At the first opening of the conference they were to declare the treasons and rebellions of her subjects, and her hopes that they would now be reduced to their obedience by the means of her good sister, the queen of England. This, she said, she expected would have been done by force, and in that expectation she had not solicited the assistance of any other prince. But, "her grace thinking it to be more meet, that all my causes should be set forward by some good dress, rather than by

force, her highness desired me also very earnestly to suffer her a short space to travel (*labour*) with the earl of Murray and his adherents, who had submitted their whole causes in her hands, to cause them repair the wrongs and attemptates committed against me, their sovereign, and contrary to their allegiance and duty, and to desist and cease in times coming, where-through I might be reponed (*replaced*) in my realm, authority, and government thereof, but (*without*) any impediment, and by her highness' labour and mean, rather than by force of arms; desiring also, that I would use her counsel towards the wrong and offences committed by them, how the same should be repaired to my honour, and my clemency be used towards them, by her grace's sight; and seeing her highness of so good mind towards me, I willingly condescended unto her grace's desires, willing to use her majesty's counsel towards my subjects, without prejudice of my honour, estate, crown, authority and title, as most dearest sister and tender cousin to her highness." They were then to show their commission, and demand the sight and perusal of the commissions of the other parties to the conference. "Or (*before*) ye enter in any conference," Mary continues, "ye shall protest, that albeit I be best contented that the causes presently in difference betwixt me and my disobedient subjects be considered and dressed (*arranged*) by my dearest sister and cousin the queen's majesty of England, or her grace's commissioners authorized thereto, before all others, that thereby I intend in no wise to recognise myself to be subject to any judge on earth, in respect I am a free princess, having imperial crown given me of God, and acknowledge no other superior; and therefore that I, nor my posterity, be in no wise prejudged thereby." Mary's commissioners were next to state the acts of rebellion and treason committed by her subjects, carefully concealing all provocation or cause given on her part; and this was to be followed by a new protest. "And yet at the ingiving of the said complaint ye shall declare, that notwithstanding I am willing to cause the queen's highness of England to understand the evil behaviour of my subjects towards me, yet I will not submit my estate, crown, authority, nor titles, to any prince or judge on earth; but am content to use the queen of England's counsel towards my subjects, for the offences committed by them, in ex-

tending my clemency towards them allanerlie (*only*)." It is clear from all these cautions and protests, that Mary had resolved to allow no investigation of her own conduct, and that she was afraid of the accusations of her enemies. In the sequel she points out to some of the charges she expected would be brought forward against her, which she meets by simple denials, evidently expecting that such denials were to be taken as full and sufficient answers. Whatever answers her disobedient subjects might make to her accusations against them, her commissioners were to require in writing. If she were accused of being in any way culpable of the death of her husband, her commissioners were to answer, "under protestation aforesaid," that she lamented more than any of her subjects that tragedy, and that she would have punished the perpetrators if her subjects would have let her do it her own way; but we cannot give any faith to her declaration, that she had never received any intimation of the persons who were popularly accused of the crime. "And ye shall affirm surely, in my name, that I had never knowledge, art, nor part thereof, nor none of my subjects did declare unto me, before my taking and imprisonment, that they who are now holden culpable and principal executors thereof, were the principal authors and committers of the same; which if they had done, assuredly I would not have proceeded as I did so far." This must allude, at least among others, to Bothwell, her marriage with whom she excused on the old plea, that she did it by the advice of her nobles. She then adds in the instructions—"In case they allege they have any writings of mine, which may infer presumption against me in that cause, ye shall desire the principals (*originals*) to be produced, that I myself may have inspection thereof, and make answer thereto. For ye shall affirm, in my name, I never writ any thing concerning that matter to any creature. And if any such writings be, they are false and feigned, forged and invented by themselves, only to my dishonour and slander; and there are divers in Scotland, both men and women, that can counterfeit my handwriting, and write the like manner of writing which I use, as well as myself, and principally such as are in company with themselves. And I doubt not, if I had remained in my own realm, but I would have got knowledge of the inventers and writers of such writings ere now, to the declaration

of my innocency, and confusion of their falsehood."

To me it appears that the terms of this denial imply the consciousness on the part of Mary that the letters and other writings were her own, and the way in which she meets the danger is a simple refusal to allow anybody but herself to be a judge of her handwriting, which, by the way, all those who have seen her letters know to be a very peculiar one. Moreover, there is in the latter part of this paragraph an implied threat against those who should bring such evidence forward; as well as in the paragraph which immediately follows. "In case the earl of Lennox, or any of his name, propose anything contrair (*against*) me, ye shall advertise of the same, wherethrough I may cause you make answer thereto; and in the mean time ye shall declare his unthankfulness towards me, who have been so beneficial to him and his, and therefore will not spare to declare, for his ingratitude, that thing may tend to his disadvantage as shall be given in particularly." Mary had, indeed, intimated on more than one occasion, that if the Lennoxes brought any charges against her, she would declare some secret transactions of theirs which would draw upon them the bitter hostility of queen Elizabeth.

Mary directed her commissioners to state that her resignation of the crown was extorted from her by force; and they were to declare most emphatically that she refused to recognise the acts of the parliaments which had been called since she was committed to prison in Lochleven. While she refused to do anything more than extend her clemency towards her subjects, Mary authorized her commissioners to agree to proposals on the part of England which she expected would be made by Elizabeth's commissioners, such as the establishment of a lasting alliance between England and Scotland, the acknowledgment of the protestant faith as the established religion in the latter country, and her leaving the question of succession to the English crown to Elizabeth's "love, friendship, and kindness," in which she professed to place greater confidence "than in any other prince on earth."

The tone of these instructions shows an evident wish on the part of Mary to hinder any direct accusations from being brought forwards against her; but a secret intrigue was going on by which she hoped to secure this object more effectually. We learn the

particulars of this intrigue from the subsequent statements of the bishop of Ross and from the memoirs of Melville, both of whom were intimately concerned in it. The duke of Norfolk, one of the most powerful of the English nobility, had been led by his ambition to aim at the hand of the queen of Scots, on her obtaining a divorce from Bothwell, and he seems to have been encouraged by Mary. He had always favoured her claims to the English succession, and he was now devoted to her cause, and strongly opposed to the investigation which was going to take place. Nevertheless, Elizabeth had appointed him the chief of her commissioners at York, an appointment which he dared not refuse, although he entered into secret communication with the Scottish queen through his sister, the lady Scrope, who attended upon her. Mary had acquainted the bishop of Ross and Lethington of the hopes she had from the duke, and on Lethington's return to York he obtained, no doubt by Mary's direction, a secret interview with him. Norfolk entered at once into confidential discourse with him, and expressed his astonishment that Murray and his friends should so far forget themselves as to think of accusing their queen before Elizabeth, as though they thought the latter was entitled to be a judge or superior over Scotland. Lethington expressed the same sentiments as the duke, and blamed Murray for his weakness, which had allowed him to be led into this course, assuring Norfolk that the regent was not inclined by his own feelings to bring forward the accusation. He said that, as far as regarded himself, he was there as Mary's friend, and not as her enemy, and that he was ready to do all in his power to put a stop to the accusation. Norfolk then asked Lethington if he thought Murray might be trusted, and having received an answer in the affirmative, he endeavoured, in a private conversation, to convince the regent of the folly and danger of the course he was pursuing. He assured him that queen Elizabeth was resolved, come what would, to evade the question of the succession during her life; but no one doubted, he said, that the true title lay in the queen of Scots and her son; and he was astonished that a man reputed so wise and honourable as the regent should go to England for the purpose of blackening the character of his mistress, and thus do as much as he could to impair the prospects of her family to the succession. He assured him,

moreover, that he was entirely deceived in imagining that the queen of England would ever pronounce sentence in this cause. It was true, he said, that he and his colleagues were sent there as her commissioners, but they were expressly debarred from coming to a decision, and Elizabeth had fully resolved to come to no decision herself. He urged upon him that he might easily put this matter to proof, by requesting an assurance, under the queen's hand, that when he accused Mary, and brought forward his proofs, she would pronounce judgment. If he obtained this assurance, he might then act as he pleased; but if Elizabeth refused it, he might then be assured that Norfolk's information was correct, and all that would come of his accusation would be repentance for his own folly.

There can be no doubt that the behaviour of Norfolk was extremely treacherous towards his own sovereign, but it produced a strong impression on the earl of Murray. No one doubted that if Mary were once restored to her throne, she would pursue with bitterest hatred all who had been concerned in bringing such accusations against her; and the threats she frequently uttered, leave no room for doubting that their fears were well founded. It was this which caused the Scottish nobility in general to hold back, and Murray had brought none with him but a few individuals who were especially devoted to him, or who were entirely in his power. Murray now saw the danger of his own position, and the assurance of the duke of Norfolk that he could put no trust in Elizabeth, made him more decided to proceed with caution. He consulted with Lethington and Melville, both of whom urged him strongly to act upon Norfolk's suggestions; and thereupon he determined to bring forward no public accusation until he should be assured of the course which Elizabeth herself intended to pursue.

Mary was herself acting at this time with craft and dissimulation. She directed her commissioners to conceal their instructions, and to keep secret the course she intended to pursue; and, while she was talking publicly of the entire trust she placed in Elizabeth, she expressed herself in her letters to the bishop of Ross, with the greatest distrust towards the English queen. On the 5th of October, Mary wrote to the bishop to inform him of a conversation she had had with Knollys, who, she said, had been trying to discover her intentions. "Where-

upon," she says, "I answered him the best I could to keep him in suspense and doubt." "Talking of this assembly," she continues, "he (Knollys) asked me if it should happen that my adversaries should have any appearances or indications which might render it probable they might have had reason for doing what they have done, and that their actions are good, what I would oppose against them? To which I replied that, in case they should calumniate me further, and accuse me openly before the deputies of the queen of England, as I know that they have falsely done it underhand, that I shall answer them with truth, as the case shall require, and perhaps I shall say something that they have not yet heard. And if things, said he, were so dexterously managed that they were composed and brought to a good accord, how would your majesty behave towards them (Murray and his adherents)? I should have, said I, the less reason to put any trust in them, after seeing this last excess and effort of their ill-will, for feeling more and more remorse in their consciences, they could not trust in me, and, on my part, how could I give any faith to their sayings or to their promises? And for conclusion, I told him that I cannot yet resolve what then I should have to do, it being a matter which deserves mature deliberation." Mary tells the bishop that, doubting not but her conversation with Knollys would soon be made public, she had given him immediate information of it, that he might know what to say; and she adds, in a postscript,— "I have just perceived that the said Knollys is mortified at not having been one of the commissioners, and on this account he is vexed with the duke. I wish it may be the cause of weaning him from the favour which he bears towards the other, and that he would set himself to do something for me. If this jealousy between them could by any means be aggravated, it would be no loss to us." As Mary expected, the conversation between her and Knollys was repeated, and her remarks appear to have given great displeasure to Elizabeth, to whom she wrote a letter on the 8th of October, full of professions of attachment and confidence, and treating her conversation with Knollys as mere banter and joke.

The conference at York had commenced on the 3rd of October, when there were present, as commissioners on the part of the queen of England, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, and sir Ralph Sadler. For

the Scottish queen there appeared the lords Livingston, Boyd, and Herries, the bishop of Ross, the abbot of Kilwinning, Gordon of Lochinvar, and Cockburn of Skirling. The commissioners who appeared in the name of the young king of Scots were the earls of Murray and Morton, the lord Lindsay, the bishop of Orkney, and the commendator of Dunfermline, with Lethington, Makgill, Balneaves, Buchanan, and others as assistants. We have already seen the instructions given by Mary to her commissioners; Elizabeth's instructions were artfully drawn up, but they were in accordance with her previous declarations and professions. Her commissioners were to assure the regent, in case he should be afraid to accuse his queen, though possessed of sufficient evidence for that purpose, that, however desirous Elizabeth might be that she should prove innocent, she would nevertheless certainly hold her unworthy to reign, if she were plainly convicted of the murder of her husband; and that in that case her conscience would not allow her to wish for her restoration to her kingdom. If, however, nothing could be proved against her but imprudent conduct in her suspicious connection and marriage with Bothwell, Elizabeth's commissioners were to promote an accommodation on such conditions as might secure Scotland from future misgovernment, and dissolve the alliance between Scotland and France.

At the very outset of the proceedings, several difficulties arose which required some skill to smooth them down. In the first place, the duke of Norfolk, somewhat indiscreetly, observed that the regent of Scotland, having consented to plead before Elizabeth, must begin by doing homage to the English crown. This proposal moved the indignation of the regent, and provoked an ironical retort from Lethington, who represented that Scotland had been deprived of those appendages, namely, the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, and the manor of Huntingdon, for which homage had been formerly paid. Mary's commissioners, on their side, were startled at the preliminary oath required of each party, to speak nothing but the truth and to conceal nothing which might be necessary for a just appreciation of the cause. All these matters however having been arranged, and the oaths taken, Mary's commissioners made a statement of the charges against her subjects, as they had been directed in her instructions. They related briefly the circumstances of

the insurrection against the Scottish queen, her deposition and imprisonment, Murray's usurpation of the regency, and Mary's escape, defeat, and flight into England, and declared her hope and confidence that through the intermediation of Elizabeth she should be restored to the quiet possession of her throne and kingdom. It was now the regent's turn to make his defence, and everybody expected to be made acquainted with the evidence implicating Mary in the murder of her husband, which was generally believed to exist. But, to the surprise of all, Murray acted according to the resolution into which he had been led by the secret intrigues of the duke of Norfolk. He first demanded a preliminary conference with the English commissioners, and this being conceded, he requested to be assured whether, if all the proofs were laid before them, Elizabeth was prepared to pronounce Mary innocent or guilty according to the evidence, and whether, if she were convicted of the murder, the queen of England would maintain the king's government as then established in Scotland. This conference took place on the 9th of October, and next day, the English commissioners having remitted Murray's questions to Elizabeth, he gave in a partial defence, justifying the proceedings against Mary by the disgraceful circumstances attending her marriage with Bothwell, the necessity which followed for taking up arms to protect the person of the prince and subjecting the queen to temporary imprisonment, during which she had resigned the crown. But Murray expressly reserved an additional article, or as he called it, an *eik*, and he caused a copy of the bond from the nobility to Bothwell, with the queen's original warrant to sign it, the two contracts of marriage, and the sonnets and letters, to be privately communicated to the English commissioners by Lethington, Makgill, Balneaves, and Buchanan, who offered to swear that the letters and sonnets were written in Mary's own hand. Norfolk and his fellow commissioners drew up a statement of this private conference and a summary of the documents, and transmitted them to Elizabeth, requesting her judgment on the matter, and expressing their own conviction that the proof was conclusive against Mary if the letters were really from her own hand.

Meanwhile, Mary made answer to the defence of the regent that she had herself

no suspicions of Bothwell's guilt at the time of her marriage, and that he had been acquitted by the nobility, and she declared that the resignation of the crown was extorted from her under the influence of fear. At this moment, however, the most important consultations were going on in secret. The duke of Norfolk, who appears not to have doubted the authenticity of the letters and sonnets, consulted with the bishop of Ross, and told him that he had seen these documents, "whereby," he said, "there would such matter be proved against his mistress as would dishonour her for ever," and he recommended as the only method of preventing this, that the bishop should confer with Lethington and contrive some means of arranging the matter without allowing the charges, which were to be supported by them, to be produced. The bishop made no objection to the letters on the ground of not being authentic, but fell at once into the duke's proposal, and consulted with Lethington. A proposal was accordingly discussed between these three personages, that Mary should ratify her former resignation of the crown, "for so should she stay the uttering of any matters against her, and within six months she would be restored to her country with honour," and the resignation, it was suggested, might then be revoked as a measure which was only to last during her imprisonment. The duke of Norfolk is said to have remarked, that by this means Mary would "be quit of the present infamy and slander, and," he added, "let time work the rest." On the 13th of October, the bishop of Ross proceeded to Bolton to consult with Mary. Whether Murray had been at all let into the secret of these consultations is not known, but he had conceived at the same time a somewhat similar plan, and it must be owned that neither he, nor any of the persons who were acquainted with the documents in question, behaved as if they entertained the slightest suspicion that their authenticity could be doubted. Murray's suggestion was, that Mary should solemnly ratify her resignation of the crown, and that he should be confirmed in the regency, while she was to remain in England

under the protection of Elizabeth, with a revenue suitable to the royal dignity; and on these conditions, which he sent Robert Melville to Bolton to propose to her, the regent was willing to suppress the documents and discontinue all further proceedings. At first Mary expressed an unwillingness to agree to Murray's terms, which were less easy than those discussed between Norfolk, Lethington, and the bishop of Ross, inasmuch as they required the absolute resignation of the crown; but she allowed herself to be convinced by Melville's arguments, and sent him back to the regent to signify her consent. All those intrigues, however, were disconcerted by the course now pursued by Elizabeth.

The English queen was no doubt disappointed that Murray had not brought forward the documents, and she was moreover acquainted with the secret intrigue which had led to their temporary suppression. It appears that one of Mary's confidants had betrayed the whole transaction to the earl of Morton, who had communicated it immediately to Cecil. Sir Ralph Sadler, in whom Elizabeth placed great trust, was immediately summoned to court; and, after consulting with him, she announced her will that, in order to give the commissioners on all sides readier and quicker access to her, the conference should be removed to Westminster. She required that, for this purpose, Murray should send thither Lethington and Makgill; and Mary was similarly desired to send the lord Herries and the bishop of Ross. To the latter were added the lord Boyd and the abbot of Kilwinning.

Elizabeth's conduct on this occasion was prudent, for the conference at York, so far distant from her court, and under the direction of one of her nobles who was now deeply interested in the result, gave room for intrigues which it was not easy to check; yet it was artful, and extremely displeasing to Mary, for the short distance between Bolton and York enabled her to watch the proceedings from day to day, and hold continued communication with her commissioners.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONFERENCE AT WESTMINSTER.

THE intentions of Elizabeth were kept so secret, that none of those interested in the suppression of the dangerous evidence alluded to in the last chapter, supposed that in carrying the conference to Westminster, any difficulties would be thrown in their way. Mary's instructions to her commissioners on this occasion were dated from Bolton, on the 21st of October. They were directed "to give hearty thanks to our said dearest sister, for the great care and soliciting she takes upon our affairs, being these times past troubled by certain our disobedient subjects, tending to put the same to our quietness, wherethrough we may enjoy peaceably our own realm, and all our subjects to recognise and do their natural and dutiful obedience unto us their sovereign, and, by our dearest sister's good labour and dress (*management*) to be made, rather nor (*than*) by force of arms. Wherethrough, in so doing, we acknowledge her to bear a tender love and affection towards us, which we shall be ready to requite at all times, with such amity, friendship, and kindness, as we may at our power; not doubting of the continuance of her good mind, till final end be put thereto, for our honour, weal, and quietness of our realm and the subjects thereof; which ye shall pray her in our name to expedite for our cause, who am not only joined with her in proximity of blood, but lipning (*trusting*) most in her goodness, have abandoned ourselves from all other princes and friends, and cast us into her hands, and hope therethrough for a good end and resolution in all my affairs." They were then to "declare, ye are come there by my command, at the desire of the queen my good sister, declared to you by her commissioners at York, they being advertised to that effect, and therefore desire to know her will and pleasure; and if anything be proponed to you which already has been treated at York, concerning my disobedient subjects and their causes, ye shall answer, ye have already proponed and desired, by form of complaint in my name, and received answer thereto; to the which also ye have answered in form of reply. And therefore ye shall desire my good sister the queen, to consider the proceedings and allegations of

my subjects, by the which it may clearly appear unto her what frivolous causes they have alleged contrair (*against*) me; in special, that I willingly demitted the crown. And it may clearly be understood, if they had had better defences, they had been proponed at the first." Mary was perfectly well acquainted from the beginning of the conference with the letters and other documents in the hands of her accusers, and therefore she could only have written this last phrase, in the confidence that Murray would keep them back; and it is to be remarked that, although mentioned in her former instructions, they are not even directly alluded to here, although the following item follows:—"In case my disobedient subjects will propone any new thing, which has not been before alleged by their answers, ye shall declare, that ye are not resolute (*resolved*), nor sufficiently instructed to answer thereto, by reason ye are not advertised, wherethrough ye might have conferred with me thereupon, as ye have done at all times on the rest since the beginning of this conference. Yet, natheless, if there be such heads as is contained in your former instructions given to you by me, to be treated at York, ye shall answer thereto in all points as is contained in the said instructions, to the which sufficient information I refer." With regard to her marriage, she now said, "in case anything be proponed concerning the marriage of the earl of Bothwell, and the unlawfulness thereof, ye shall answer that we are content that the laws be used for separation thereof, so far as the same will permit." And it was further added, "anent the punishment of the slaughter of my late husband, the executors thereof to be punished according to law and reason."

In her letters to Elizabeth and to the French ambassador, sent by the commissioners thus instructed, Mary spoke as confident that the matter would speedily be concluded to her satisfaction, yet she seems at this time to have received some secret warnings from the duke of Norfolk which had excited her alarm, and probably gave rise to the paragraph of the instructions relating to the possibility of any new accusa-

tion being brought forward. Murray himself seems to have had some suspicions of Lethington, and he determined to accompany his commissioners to London; but he appears still to have had no other intention than that indicated by his proposal to Mary through Melville which had received her consent. But when the regent presented himself at Elizabeth's court, all these plans were suddenly overthrown, for in his first interview with that princess he learnt to his no little dismay that she was perfectly well acquainted with the intrigues of the duke of Norfolk. Almost at the same time he received a message from Mary, who informed him that the duke of Norfolk, who seems to have been confident in his own plans for her ultimate restoration, had forbidden her to resign the crown, and that she must in consequence withdraw her consent to the regent's plan. Murray was thus placed in a very embarrassing position, which was increased by a gentle hint conveyed to him from the English court that, if his conduct in the matter were not straightforward, he might find a rival for the regency in the duke of Châtellherault. Upon this the regent determined to follow a middle course, and, while he caused the proclamation to be drawn up in all formality, he resolved not to bring it forward until he was assured that it was Elizabeth's intention to give judgment upon the evidence.

Mary herself was no less embarrassed than Murray in consequence of the private advertisements that now reached her. She was secretly assured by Hepburn of Riccarton that Elizabeth was not favourable to her, and that, in spite of the intrigues of the duke of Norfolk, she would probably induce the regent to bring forward the evidence which Mary's commissioners dreaded so much. Mary was alarmed, and immediately sent new instructions to her commissioners, the object of which was if possible to stop the accusation. So anxious indeed was Mary at this moment, that she sent two separate sets of instructions to her commissioners in one day, the 22nd of November. In the first of these she merely stated in general terms her willingness to pardon her rebels, and her expectation of being restored to her throne. "Forasmuch as we being troubled by certain our disobedient subjects within our own realm of Scotland, having most sure and trusty confidence in our most dearest sister and tender cousin the queen of England, did seek

unto her for support against our rebels, who gladly and willingly accepted our cause upon her, promising to us to take such labours as to pacify our whole troubles, and to make a good appointment between us and our subjects, and reduce them to their natural obedience, to recognise us as their sovereign, restoring us to our realm, authority, and estate; we always extending our clemency towards them, by the sight and consideration of our dearest sister; and for this cause there was a meeting of certain noblemen our commissioners at York, with our said dearest sister's commissioners of England, who did convene with them; and our disobedient subjects being required of the causes of their disobedience and rebellion, alleged some reasons excusing and colouring their unnatural act; and because the said conference was appointed only for making of a pacification betwixt us and our said subjects, and restoring of us to our realm, authority, and government thereof, so as we may live in honour in the estate which God has called us unto, and they to do their dutiful obedience unto us:—Therefore, we, being placed by God as head unto them, intend yet to do the office of a loving mother to our subjects; and knowing that we must remain as head unto them, and all our subjects, and they are members of one body, it cannot seem fit nor convenient to stand in presence of any foreign judgment to accuse them, and much more to be accused by them, they being offenders; for where such rigorous and extreme dealings happen, no love nor assured reconciliation may be had or attained thereafter. And as it is not unknown to us how hurtful and prejudicial it shall be to us, our posterity and realm, to enter in foreign judgment or arbitrement before the queen our good sister, her council or commissioners, either for our estate, crown, dignity, or honour; we will and command you herefor, that ye two, or any one of you, pass to the presence of our dearest sister, her council or commissioners, and there in our name, for pleasure of our dearest sister, to extend our clemency towards our disobedient subjects, and give them appointment for their offences committed against us and our realm, by her advice and council, wherethrough they may live in time coming in surety, under us their head, according as God has called us; providing that in the said appointment we be not hurt in our honour, estate, crown, titles, nor authority, in any sort, which in no ways we

will refer to any prince on earth. And in case they will otherwise proceed, then we will and command you, and every one of you, to dissolve this present diet and negotiation, and proceed no further therein, for the causes aforesaid."

When the second letter of instructions of the 22nd of November was written, Mary had received a direct account from her commissioners of the proceedings at Westminster, and she gave her directions as follows: "Trusty cousins and councillors, we greet you well. Forasmuch as we have received your letters, and understand thereby the answer of the queen our good sister, concerning certain points we have proponed to her, by the which we consider that the more we travail with her the less is she minded to support and favour us; wherefore, knowing that the nobility of this realm are to assemble, and the matter may be proponed in public, we are resolute, considering the matter that was spoken and promised, that during this conference the earl of Murray, principal of our rebels, should not come in the presence of the queen our good sister more nor we; but by the contrary, he being received and welcomed unto her, and we, a free princess, not having access to answer for ourselves, as he and his accomplices; think therefore ye can proceed no farther in this conference; for there may be some heads proponed whereto you cannot answer of yourselves, unless we were there in proper person to give answer to the calumnies which may come in question against us, so that partiality appears to be used manifestly. Herefor, ye shall, afore our sister, her nobility, and the whole of the ambassadors of strange countries, desire, in our name, that we may be licensed to come in proper person afore them all, to answer to that which may or can be proponed and alleged against us by the calumnies of our rebels, since they have free access to accuse us; otherwise ye shall protest, that, for the said considerations, all which they can or may do against us shall be null and of no prejudice to us hereafter; and seeing the matter to be of so great weight, it would be good and honest, for our security and the reputation of the queen our good sister, that at the least there were as great respect borne unto us as to our adversaries, who are our rebellious subjects, tending to (*aiming at*) the usurpation of our crown and authority; albeit since the beginning and progress of this negotiation,

by evident tokens it may be found that our rebels have ever been maintained against us and our true subjects, and of all that has been promised us, there has little been kept, whereof you may hold our sister in remembrance. Amongst the rest, there are three points to be noted. 1st. We being come into her realm on assurance of her amity promised to us in all our necessities, which has so well been observed, that as yet we have not seen any demonstration shown to restore us into our own realm and authority, which, of our own free will, we came to seek a support thereto; but also has ever denied us her presence; and, instead of the good treatment and support we hoped for, we have found us prisoner, ever straiter and straiter kept from liberty, and yet intending to transport us herefrom in more strait keeping, when we shall be under the protection of our enemies, who seek only our utter destruction. 2nd. The maintenance that our rebels have had is too manifest. Contrary to that which our good sister promised to us by her letter of the 10th of August, 1568, they held a parliament, where there was an act made that it should be *leisum* (*lawful*) to dispose of our whole jewels at their pleasure, and in another they forfeited a great number of our faithful subjects, as instantly (*now*) they make execution of the same to all extremity and rigour; howbeit, at our said sister's request, we had discharged our said subjects from their armour and hostility, being ready to have stopped the said parliament, notwithstanding the said rebels desisted not, for any respect of the promise made anent the present conference, to pursue and reiff (*plunder*) our faithful subjects, invading them by all means, molesting *vivers* (*cattle*) and *viutuals* to pass to our castle of Dumbarton, and taking other strengths, in warlike manner, to pursue their enterprises against our said house. Which wrongs will be no longer endured by our said subjects, seeing the maintenance thereof so manifest, as appears in a manner by a letter by our sister to the earl of Murray, the 20th of September, whereof ye have a copy, like to many others spread through our realm. Finally, at York, our said rebels being vanquished in all that they alleged, and seeing the matter to be concluded to their disadvantage, stayed the proceeding thereof further. And now is it taken further from us, where we cannot have the commodity to communicate and give hasty in-

formation to you, our commissioners, of such doubts as may occur, as we did at the conference at York, which they perceived to their disadvantage. And now the said earl of Murray being permitted to come in her presence, which if the like be not granted us, as is reasonable, and yet our sister will condemn us in our absence, not having place to answer for ourself, as justice requires; in consideration of the premises, ye shall break your conference, and proceed no further therein, but take your leave and come away. And if our sister will allege, that at the beginning we were content our causes should have been conferred on by commissioners, it is of verity. But since our rebels and principals thereof have free access towards her, to accuse us in her presence, and the same denied unto us, wherethrough personally we may declare our innocence, and answer to their calumnies, being held as prisoner from her presence, transported from place to place as prisoner, coming into her realm of our free will to seek her support and natural amity, we have taken such resolution, that we will nothing to be further conferred on, except we be present afore her, as the said rebels. To the rest, if our good sister will consider our cause justly, putting partiality aside, that unjustly the said rebels imprisoned us, and reft (*robbed*) us of our fortresses, artillery, munition, stores, and reft our whole rich jewels from us, require her, in the presence of all the strange ambassadors, and nobility of her realm, that we may have the said rebels stayed and arrested, who are under her power; and in so far as we shall prove against them, that falsely, maliciously, and traitorously they have attempted against our proper honour, whereof we desire reparation. And ye, my lord Herries, we pray you in all things aforesaid, to employ yourself, and follow our instruction, with such dexterity as you can very well use; and to add hereto, as ye shall think necessary, following the knowledge which ye have of the premises and proceedings by-past, wherein ye travailed in the most part thereof."

It is evident that Mary now wished to put a stop to further proceedings; but if Elizabeth had allowed the matter to close so, she would have given up all her advantages of position, and at the same time have no justification of her previous conduct, while, as things were going on, Mary might still hope that the documents would not be brought forward. But Elizabeth's pro-

ceedings were artfully contrived, and the way in which her purpose was at length effected, was as extraordinary as any other part of the transaction. The conference was now opened, in the presence of Elizabeth's privy council, in the painted chamber at Westminster, to humour the commissioners of Mary, who had refused to appear in any place where a judicial sentence had ever been given. The latter then presented Mary's protest, according to the instructions given above, declared that as a free princess she acknowledged no judge or mistress in the world, and demanded that she should be admitted to the presence of the English queen. To this it was answered by Elizabeth, that she had no intention of assuming the character of a judge, or of doing anything to touch Mary's honour, but that, after what had passed, she could not admit her to her presence until her cause was decided. Mary's commissioners seem to have been satisfied with this reply; at least they did not repeat their protest. Murray and his friends were then called upon to say if they had anything to add to the defence they had given in at York, which was considered insufficient; and he received from sir Nicholas Bacon, the lord keeper, the reply to the question he had put at York, which was an assurance that if Mary should be proved to be guilty of the death of her husband, she should either be given up to the Scots, on assurance that her life should be spared, or be retained a prisoner in England, while he was told that in that case he should be continued in the regency, unless it were shown that another had a better title to that office. Upon this assurance, the regent stood forth, and represented the great reluctance felt by himself and his friends to do anything which might touch the honour of their queen, and that it was their wish, even at the risk of their own fortunes, to suppress that which must cast everlasting disgrace upon her, but that if they did bring this evidence forth, it was because their enemies forced them to do it in their own defence. Murray gave this in as a protest in writing, and then, before he brought the accusation forward, he required similarly in writing, under Elizabeth's hand, the declaration that she would proceed to judgment upon it. Cecil replied that the regent had already ample assurance of Elizabeth's intentions, and that it was unbecoming in him to doubt her word. He then asked, "Where is your accusation?"

John Wood, Murray's secretary, who was sitting by him at the table, and who had placed the accusation in his bosom for greater security, drew it forth, and said, "It is here, and here it shall remain till we have the queen's writing." But, at the same instant, Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, snatched the all-important document from Wood's hands, and, in spite of the efforts of the Scottish secretary to prevent him, placed it in the hands of the English commissioners. There was a smile of triumph among the English ministers, and lord William Howard applauded bishop Turpy, as he called the Scottish ecclesiastic, for his activity, while Lethington, with a sad countenance, whispered to the regent that all their plans were frustrated.

It may be doubted, however, if there were not collusion in the matter, and if this had not been planned before, as an expedient for relieving the regent from his scruples in bringing forward this last grave charge against his sovereign. Murray showed no further reluctance, but stated boldly that as Bothwell was the chief executor of the murder of Darnley, he had done it with the counsel and foreknowledge of Mary, and that she had subsequently maintained the assassins, and married the principal author of the crime. This occurred on the 26th of November; when the commissioners met again on the 29th, the earl of Lennox presented himself before them, and after a pathetic address, delivered in a written paper directly accusing Mary of having conspired to effect his murder.

On this last mentioned day, the 29th of November, the new accusation, or *eik*, was formally stated to Mary's commissioners, who were evidently confounded and perplexed, and demanded time for the purpose of perusing and considering it. On the 1st of December they again appeared before the council, and lord Herries, who spoke first, asserted that this new charge was produced only to excuse the treasons and usurpations of Mary's enemies, who, he said, were themselves the chief authors of the murder of Darnley, and he pretended that the cause of all their enmity was the resumption of the crown lands, of which the Scottish nobles had obtained possession during Mary's minority. The bishop of Ross, who followed, made no direct reply to the charge against his mistress, but urged that, as Mary was the plaintiff, the commissioners were only capable of determining on the original complaint, and

not on any complaints like this brought forward by the accused; and, as he and his colleagues conceived that they could go no further, he demanded in their name an audience of queen Elizabeth. This was granted, and Mary's commissioners presented themselves at court on the 3rd of December, and gave in a protest, founded upon the instructions given by Mary on the 22nd of November. They said that, contrary to Elizabeth's promise that nothing should be admitted prejudicial to Mary's honour, her rebellious subjects had been allowed to come forward and bring against her odious accusations, and they demanded that while her accusers were placed under arrest, she should herself be allowed to appear before Elizabeth and deny the charge. In answer to this, Elizabeth said that she had never believed Mary to be guilty of the murder of her husband, but that she had not thought it consistent with her own honour to admit her to her presence until the common slander against her had been cleared up, and still less could she do so, now that such a direct accusation had been made, until she had seen Murray's proofs, and judged if they were conclusive or not.

In all that followed, it cannot be denied that the main object of Mary's commissioners appears to have been to hinder the production of the documents. On the day after their interview with Elizabeth, they protested against her accusers being any further heard, and refused to take cognizance of anything that should be subsequently done by them. But this was not all; for the same day they returned to the old proposal for a compromise, by which the proceedings were to be stopped, and Mary's subjects were to be forgiven, and Lethington's project or device, as it was termed, to prevent the appearance of the letters, by a confirmation of her former resignation of the crown, was renewed. Mary's commissioners afterwards stated that they acted on this occasion, not from any new instruction which they had received from Mary since Murray had made the accusation, but only in consequence of the former consent she had given to agree to such a proposal. But Elizabeth replied immediately, that it would be far better to reprimand and chastise Murray for defaming his sovereign, than to propose any terms of accommodation so dishonourable to the queen her sister, when accused of the murder, unless it were supposed that he could show just causes for the

accusation, which she should be sorry to hear. The commissioners alleged, in answer to this, that it was unreasonable to require or receive proofs from the accusers, before their mistress appeared to show that they could not be heard. Elizabeth replied, that she did not require the proofs; but if they persisted in their charge, she could not refuse to see the proofs which they had to show in their defence. On Monday, the 6th of December, the day fixed for the production of the proofs in support of Murray's accusation, Mary's commissioners presented themselves early, and demanded a previous audience, and they then declared that as Elizabeth had determined to let Murray produce his proofs, they felt themselves compelled to break off all further proceedings, and they presented a written paper to that effect, which Cecil declined to receive, on the ground that it misrepresented the answer given by his sovereign. But the bishop of Ross and his colleagues repeated that they would neither treat nor appear again, and withdrew; and from this moment the conference was really at an end.

Nevertheless, after the departure of Mary's commissioners, Murray and his colleagues were admitted, and an artful device was employed by Elizabeth's ministers to counteract the protest. The Scottish commissioners were informed that Elizabeth was surprised they should have accused their sovereign of such crimes as, if proved, would render her infamous amongst princes; and they were admonished that, although they had forgotten the duty of good subjects, she meant not to forget that of a friend and sister; and they were required to state what answer they could make in their own defence. Murray, thereupon, undertook to justify his accusation, and he produced what is described as "a book of articles, &c., in five parts; or, a collection of the presumptions and circumstances from which it should appear that, as the earl of Bothwell was the chief murderer of the king, so was the queen a deviser and maintainer thereof." It was now necessary to go into the mass of evidence thus designated, and on the next day, the 7th of December, Murray produced the casket which had been taken from Bothwell's agents, and part of its contents were exhibited and read. On the 8th, to use the words of the official register of proceedings, Murray and his friends "came according to the appointment yesterday, and for the further satisfaction of the queen's majesty

and her commissioners, produced seven several writings, written in French in the like Romain hand, with other her writings which were shown yesterday, and avowed by them to be written by the queen; which seven writings, being copied, were read in French, and a due collation made thereof, as near as could be, by reading and inspection, and made to accord with the originals, which the said earl of Murray required to be redelivered, and did thereupon deliver the copies, being collationed." The official reports of the trials and confessions of the murderers of Darnley were also produced. On the 9th, after these documents had been duly presented, the lord Boyd and the bishop of Ross again appeared, and gave in their protest against the continuance of the proceedings. After their departure, the earl of Morton delivered a written declaration of the manner in which the casket came into his hands, and some other evidence was brought forward. On the 12th of December, a solemn declaration, signed by Murray and his colleagues, was presented by their secretary, in the presence of the duke of Norfolk, that "the letters, sonnets, and contracts, produced as written or subscribed by the queen, were undoubtedly her proper handwriting, except the Scottish contract at Seton, written by Huntley, which they also understood and perfectly knew to be subscribed by her." Next day some more evidence was given, and it was then resolved by the privy council, that the rest of the earls summoned to town on account of the trial should be called together, and informed of the proceedings up to this time, and "that the original letters and writings exhibited by the regent as the queen of Scot's letters and writings, should also be shown, and conference thereof made in their sight with the letters of the queen long since heretofore written with her own hand and sent to the queen's majesty, whereby may be searched and examined what difference there is betwixt the same." Among the nobles called to Hampton-court on this occasion, including the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Huntingdon, and Warwick, several were Mary's secret friends. Before them the proceedings at York and Westminster were read over and explained, and the book of articles delivered in by Murray was exhibited. "And before these articles were read, there were produced sundry letters, written in French, supposed to be written by the queen of Scots' own hand to the

earl of Bothwell, and therewith also one long sonnet, and a promise of marriage in the name of the said queen with the said earl of Bothwell, of which letters the originals, supposed to be written with the queen of Scot's own hand, were then also presently produced and perused; and, being read, were duly conferred and compared for the manner of handwriting and fashion of orthography, with sundry other letters long since heretofore written and sent by the said queen of Scots to the queen's majesty; and next after those was produced and read a declaration of the earl of Morton, of the manner of finding the said letters; in the collation whereof no difference could be found. Of all which letters and writings, the true copies are contained in the memorial of the acts of the sessions of the 7th and 8th of December." The depositions were then produced, and, as it was late, the confessions of the murderers and other proofs were reserved till the next day. On the 15th of December, the examination and comparison of the documents was completed, "and," says the official register, "it is to be noted, that at the time of producing, showing, and reading all these foresaid writings, there was no special choice nor regard had to the order of producing thereof, but the whole writings, lying altogether on the council-table, were one after another shown rather by hap, as the same did lie upon the table, than with any choice made, as by the natures thereof, if time had so served, might have been." When the earls above-mentioned, who had been summoned to the council meeting, had been made fully acquainted with all the previous proceedings, they were informed "that the queen of Scots' commissioners, being made privy to the accusation, had forborne to answer, and refused to have any further conference in this matter, pressing only to have their mistress permitted to come to Elizabeth's presence to make her answer, and otherwise to make no answer at all; but the crimes for which she was at first denied admittance being now apparent, her majesty cannot, without manifest blemish to her own honour, admit her to her presence till these are removed. The said earls severally made answer, acknowledging themselves much bound unto her majesty that it had pleased her to impart the state of that great cause in so clear a manner as they did perceive it; wherein they had seen such foul matter as they thought truly in their consciences that

her majesty had just cause to make such an answer, being as reasonable (i.e. moderate) as the cause would bear."

On the 16th of December, Mary's commissioners attended to receive Elizabeth's definite answer to their former demands, and they were then informed that the proofs produced by Murray should be communicated to their mistress, if she would agree to make a direct answer in one of three ways, either by her late commissioners at Westminster, or by a confidential person properly authorised by her, or personally to noblemen sent by Elizabeth to receive her defence. They were reminded that, if admission to Elizabeth's presence could not be granted when Mary was merely suspected, much less could it be yielded when she was accused upon strong and apparent presumptions of guilt; and it was urged strongly to them, that if Mary rejected all the modes of defence thus suggested to her, the world would never receive Elizabeth's refusal to admit her to her presence as an excuse for submitting to such imputations. Instead of accepting the offer, however, the bishop of Ross presented a series of articles, the sum of which was, that men whose treasons Mary had so often pardoned ought not to be received as competent accusers, nor ought the example of subjects accusing their sovereign, so prejudicial to the interests of princes in general, be admitted; and he required that, if Mary were not restored to her crown, she should at least be permitted to depart, and go either to Scotland or France. Elizabeth replied in much the same terms as to the preceding demands, and next day the bishop of Ross presented a long memorial against the admissibility of the letters, refusing to accept the comparison of the handwriting, which he said was fallacious and insufficient to constitute legal proof, and imploring Elizabeth to accomplish a reconciliation between Mary and her rebels, or, if that were not practicable, to restore her to her throne, or suffer her to depart. On the 21st Elizabeth wrote to Mary a letter, in which she blamed her commissioners for breaking off the conference without replying to the charges brought against her, professed to suspend her own judgment till she received Mary's answer, and recommended her to make her defence by the bishop of Ross.

Meanwhile Mary had been in active communication not only with her commissioners, but with her adherents in Scotland, whom she urged to bestir themselves in her cause

during the winter, promising them succour from abroad in spring. She represented the conference at York as a complete vindication of her innocence, and said that it had been broken off by her enemies, who were afraid to continue it; and she tried to excite their alarm by absurd stories of conspiracies in England against the independence of Scotland. Taking advantage of a private and vague suggestion of carrying the young prince into England for his education, in case of Mary's being restored to his throne, she wrote on the 17th of December an alarming letter to the earl of Mar, who still had the custody of the infant king. On the 19th, she addressed new instructions to her commissioners, containing a simple denial of Murray's charges, without any allusion to the letters and other documents. "Forasmuch," she said, "as the earl of Murray and his adherents, our rebellious subjects, have eikit (*added*) unto their pretended excuses, produced by them for colouring of their horrible crimes and offences committed against us, their sovereign lady and mistress, in suchlike words—'That as the earl of Bothwell has been the principal executor of the murder committed in the person of umquille Harry Stuart our husband, so we knew, counselled, devised, persuaded, and commanded the said murder;' they have falsely, traitorously, and meschantlie (*wickedly*) lied, imputing unto us maliciously the crimes whereof themselves are authors, inventers, doers, and some of them proper executors. And where they allege 'that we impeschit (*hindered*) and stopped inquisition and due punishment to be made on the said murder,' it is another calumny, to the which having so sufficiently answered by the reply produced at York, wherein they were stricken down, as likewise in that which they rehearse of our marriage with the earl of Bothwell, (we) think not necessary there anent to make them further answer, but after the same, if they think good to consider that it was answered to them in both these two points in the said reply. And as to that where they allege, 'that we should have been the occasion to cause our son follow his father hastily;' they cover themselves there anent with a wet sack, and that calumny should suffice for proof and inquisition of all the rest; for the natural love of a mother towards her bairn confounds them, and the great thought that we have ever had of our said son shows how shamefully they are bold to set forth not only that in which,

conform to the malice and impiety of their hearts, they judge others by their own proper affection, but of that whereof in their conscience they know the contrary; like as the words of John Maitland the prior of Coldingham, who being in France a little before our imprisoning, bare witness in sundry things how they were deliberate to make insurrection, and that he had letters of their sure purpose, eiking (*adding*) thereto, that howbeit they had no just occasion to make the same, at least there was three apparent pretexts to draw the people to their side. The first, by making them to understand it was to deliver us from among the hands of the earl of Bothwell, who ravished us. The second to revenge our said husband's death. And the third, to preserve and defend our son, whom they knew we had put surely in the earl of Marr's hands. All the said things they said were against the earl of Bothwell, and for the weal, rest, and surety of me and my son, as they made the common people believe by their public proclamations; but their actions since have declared the contrary, and John Maitland spake as well informed. For to the verity, this was but feigned and false semblance that they did to get the earl of Bothwell, for in fact, they desired only but to obtain our person, and usurp our authority, as was sufficiently declared by the said reply. And albeit they believe yet to dissemble the pernicious and cruel will that they have, as well towards the bairn as the mother, there is no man of good judgment, discovering the things by-past, but he may easily perceive their hypocrisy, how they would fortify themselves in our son's name, till that their tyranny was better established, even after, as they have shown, soon after our good bounty and trust we had in them, they would have slain the mother and the bairn both, when he was in our womb, and did him wrong ere he was born. Which act shows (*appears*) manifestly, by the crimes whereof they are culpable both before God and man, that they are falsely set against our innocence. Finally, where they say, 'that the estates of our realm, finding us unworthy to reign, decreed our dimission of our crown to our son, and establishing of the regiment (*government*) of our realm in the person of the earl of Murray;' it shall be answered thereto, that the dimission which they caused us subscribe, was subscribed perforce, whereon the said earl of Murray has founded his regency, declare sufficiently,

they proceeded not therein by way of parliament, but by violence, and shall convict themselves; that by the said reply it was shown them their pretended assembly of estates was illegitimate, against the laws and statutes of the realm and ancient observation thereof, to the which the best and greatest part of the nobility was against and opposed the same. And hereon conclude, as ye did in your reply, requiring support from the queen of England, our good sister, conform to the promises of friendship betwixt her and us; protesting to add to this answer as time, place, and need shall require." Such was the wandering manner in which Mary now retorted upon her accusers, referring in general terms to matters which formed no part of the present accusation, instead of addressing herself to the fearful array of documents which had now been brought against her.

Mary's bold accusation of Murray and his adherents, charging them with the guilt of the murder, which was delivered in by lord Herries and the bishop of Ross, excited their indignation to such a degree, that the fierce lord Lindsay, on the 22nd of December, challenged the lord Herries to make good his accusation by fighting. Herries returned for answer, "That in respect they had accused the queen their native sovereign, he has said, there is of that company present with the earl of Murray guilty of that abominable treason, of the foreknowledge and consent thereto; that Lindsay was guilty of the crime he knew not; but let aught of the principals subscribe the like challenge, and he will point them out, and fight with some of the traitors therein." Lord Herries is supposed to have pointed at Lethington or Morton, who had formerly been charged by Mary with being privy to the murder; but whom her commissioners now dared not to accuse; or even to name, as their defence might have been an additional proof of her privy. Murray, with more dignity, made his complaint to the privy council against an imputation so unfounded as regarded himself, and Mary's commissioners were summoned on the 24th of December and required to support their charge. This they pretended to do next day by producing and reading Mary's own assertion contained in her instructions of the 19th, and they demanded in her name the inspection and copies of the letters and other documents, which was readily granted.

Thus the matter seems to have remained

till the 2nd of January, 1569, when Mary addressed a letter to her commissioners, fully approving of their conduct in accusing her opponents. "We understand," she said, "the bravades that the earl of Murray and his complices have made, feeling themselves simply touched by some of you, to have been culpable of that which falsely they pretended to impute unto us; and also the answer which ye have made to our good sister the queen, conform to our letters; of the which they have complained. Wherein not only we approve your proceedings, but also pray you to continue in our name. For since it hath pleased God to deliver us from their power and cruel hands, we have been informed, and understand enough daily, by letters and reports, to make our good sister know, that they are traitors, first inventors, conspirators, and some of them executors of the murder of the king our husband, with other crimes little less horrible and execrable than the said murder; whereof I am deliberate to give you such instructions shortly that may make the same more manifest, as occasion serves. And seeing they have set forward the rage of their accusations against us, and the same produced, read, and published before her and the nobility of her realm, ye shall require our said good sister that copies be given you thereof, to the effect that they may be answered particularly; that she and all the world may know they are no less unshamefast and false liars, and that by their so manifest unlawful actions she and all other christian princes may esteem them traitors."

Meanwhile the old proposal for an accommodation, on the condition that Mary should confirm her resignation of the crown of Scotland, was again agitated among the commissioners, and appears to have been approved by Elizabeth, but Mary now refused her consent to it. She determined to persist in her accusation of Murray and his adherents, which would at least have the effect of drawing off attention from the evidence against herself, if not of weakening it. She sent a paper to be signed by the earls of Huntley and Argyle, containing a general accusation against Murray and his friends, of having been parties to a conspiracy to murder Darnley, but this charge appears to have been founded merely upon the bond known to have been signed by so many of the nobles at Craigmillar, and Mary cautiously avoided pointing out the individuals who were really implicated in this charge.

On the 7th of January her commissioners obtained an audience of Elizabeth, and the bishop of Ross made a declaration in accordance with Mary's letter of the 2nd of January. Elizabeth avoided giving any decisive answer for some days, in the hope of promoting the proposed accommodation. But on the 9th Mary sent a written declaration, in French, refusing, on any terms, to resign the crown, alleging, with reason, that in doing so she would only be acknowledging the truth of the charges brought against her. In fact, although such an accommodation might have been made with a view of suppressing the evidence altogether, now that that evidence had been brought forward, and could therefore no longer be concealed, it was her wiser course, either innocent or guilty, to refuse to enter into a compromise. She added that, by resigning the crown, she should place herself individually under Elizabeth's jurisdiction, and that she believed she should then be in personal danger, especially in case of the sudden death of the English queen.

The day after this final determination had been delivered to Elizabeth, Murray was admitted to the privy council to receive his permission to return to Scotland, and, according to his own account, his conduct throughout was approved, and he was, we know, justified in retaining the regency; but Elizabeth's decision was given in an artfully evasive form, so as to justify Murray and his adherents, and at the same time avoid passing any judgment on the queen of Scots, which she was not now called upon to do. She said that, on one hand, nothing had as yet been deduced against Murray and his adherents to impair their honour or allegiances; while on the other there had nothing been "sufficiently" proved against their queen, "whereby the queen of England should conceive or take any evil opinion of her good sister for anything yet seen." For Murray's further satisfaction, it was ordered that next day Mary's commissioners should be confronted with Murray and his colleagues, and they were then asked whether they would accuse the regent or any of his company of the murder of the king. They replied, that they were expressly commanded by their queen to accuse him and others, his adherents, and on receiving copies of the letters, were ready to defend her innocence. They were then asked, "if they, or any of them, as of themselves, would accuse the said earl in special, or any of his adherents,

or thought them guilty thereof." This also they declined to do. The bishop of Ross, the lord Herries, and the abbot of Kilwinning, were then severally challenged by Murray, Morton, and Lindsay, and they declared to each that, as they were innocent themselves, they knew not who were the authors of the murder, till it was publicly revealed long afterwards by those who suffered death for the crime; and they said that, although some information had since reached their ears, they came not there, either to acquit or condemn the regent or others, but to accuse those whom their mistress might accuse, and whom they were ready to declare guilty, whenever she should please to point out and accuse them by name. The bishop of Ross, in particular, declared that he knew not himself of the regent's guilt, though ready to accuse him at his queen's command. The more Mary's commissioners were pressed on this subject, the more they equivocated and fell back from their former statements. At length Murray offered to proceed to Bolton Castle, and defend himself in the queen's presence, but to this Mary's commissioners objected.

The day after this meeting, Murray received his permission to depart, carrying with him the originals of Mary's letters, and the other documents. But as he was preparing for his departure, he received private intelligence of a design to intercept him near Northallerton, on his way back, and there murder him. The bishop of Ross, at a later period, confessed that Mary was privy to this conspiracy, and its principal object appears to have been to obtain possession of the original documents, which would be in his possession. Murray immediately entered into intimate relations with the duke of Norfolk, pretending a wish to promote his marriage with the Scottish queen, and he thus remained a week longer in London, and finally, through Norfolk's interposition with Mary, obtained a safe passage home. On the 13th of January, Mary's commissioners gave in their final refusal to answer to the charges brought against their mistress, and protested against all that had been done; and they then received from the council the following reply, on the part of Elizabeth, to Mary's demand to have copies of the letters and other documents which had been exhibited against her. "Her majesty meaneth not to deny to the said queen the sight of the true copies of the said writings.

But before the same be delivered, her majesty, of a very sincere good meaning to have the said queen's cause come to the best effect that it may for her common weal, likewise her majesty thinketh that such of her ministers as have any inward care of her, without respect partially to any other, thinketh it good the said queen were seriously moved to consider, that the said writings delivered, she must of necessity make answers without any cavillation, for lack of her admittance to the presence of her majesty, and such like; and by that answer it must needs ensue that the said queen shall be proved either innocent or culpable of the horrible crimes whereof she is but as yet accused, and not convicted; and if she should not, by her answers, prove herself innocent, then of necessity the queen's majesty can never with her honour show her any favour; and therefore this being considered of by the said queen, with advice of such as love her for herself, without other respect, if she mean rather to put the whole matter upon direct trial, than to have her cause otherwise ended, for her quietness and for her honour also; then so as she will by her handwriting to the queen's majesty declare her meaning to be, that, if she will not prove herself clear and free from the crimes imputed to her, that she will be content to forbear request of any favour of her majesty, which her majesty desireth her to have in writing, to the end, if the cause should so fall out, then she might have good reason upon the said queen's own contentation, to forbear her favour; and contrary ways her majesty is determined, if she be proved free, to offer her as much favour as may be required reasonably; and for the inward troubles in the realm, her majesty must needs be uncertain."

With this rather obscure declaration ended the whole business of these celebrated conferences. They left Mary's conduct entirely dependent on the letters and documents brought forwards, the originals of which have disappeared, and they were no doubt intentionally destroyed. The weight of the evidence seems to me to be strongly in favour of their authenticity. They were

seen and closely examined by the nobles of her own court, who were well acquainted with her handwriting, by the earl of Murray, and by Lethington, who had been her secretary, and all these judged them authentic; they were examined by the chief of the English nobility, among whom were several catholics and friends of Mary, who, after comparing them with her own writing, of known authenticity, judged them to be authentic; the same may be said of Elizabeth and her ministers; and from the behaviour of Mary's own commissioners, who never directly denied them. We are, I think, fully justified in assuming that they also believed them to be authentic. We know also that the earl of Lennox, who had abundant opportunities of examining them, and who was perfectly capable of judging in such a question, declared at a subsequent period that he was convinced of their being in Mary's handwriting. A careful perusal of the letters in the form in which they now exist, and a comparison of the allusions they contain with circumstances which other documents have brought to light, lead me to the conclusion that they could have been written by nobody else. Against this we have only the simple denial by Mary herself; and we must bear in mind, not only that this denial was not put forward clearly and pertinaciously, as we should expect from one that was conscious of innocence, but that, if they were true, the denial of them would be a much lesser crime than that which they fixed upon her. Moreover, in other cases, Mary showed no scruple in denying her own deeds; for about this same time, when one of her letters to her partisans, which had been intercepted on the border, was shown to her, she disavowed it, observing, "that she suspected that a Frenchman, now in Scotland, might be the author of some Scottish letters devised in her name." This was just the manner in which she disavowed the letters and sonnets to Bothwell. Mary's demand of copies of the letters can only have been made for the purpose of embarrassing Elizabeth, as Lethington himself had communicated the copies to her before the conferences began, and therefore she could not be ignorant of them.

CHAPTER III.

RETURN OF THE REGENT TO SCOTLAND; DISGRACE OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK ARREST OF LETHINGTON.

MURRAY found more than one difficulty in the way of his speedy return to Scotland. The northern counties of England, through which he had to pass, were under the power of the duke of Norfolk and the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, all of them now his enemies. As we have already stated, a plot had been formed for his assassination, with the cognizance, if not under the immediate direction, of Norfolk and Mary, and the execution of it was committed to the earl of Westmoreland himself. The regent, warned of these designs, had recourse to dissimulation. He procured a reconciliation with the duke of Norfolk, and professed the utmost readiness to promote his marriage with the queen of Scots, which he said would be a measure greatly advantageous to both countries. The vanity and ambition of the duke were easily worked upon, and the secret intrigue for the marriage was entered upon with more eagerness than ever. Murray even placed himself in communication with the bishop of Ross on the subject, and Robert Melville was sent to consult upon it with Mary.

These intrigues could hardly escape the vigilance of Elizabeth and her ministers; and, suspecting Norfolk's designs, and distrusting lord Scrope, who had married the duke's sister, they resolved to remove Mary from Bolton castle to Tutbury in Staffordshire, where she was to be committed to the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury. When the queen of Scots was informed of the design to change the place of her confinement, and to remove her to a greater distance from Scotland, she declared that she would not go except under restraint, and on the 22nd of January she wrote an indignant letter to Elizabeth, complaining that that princess lent a ready ear to the calumnies of her enemies, and that after showing favour to her rebels in the late conference, she had now given them permission to return home with impunity. She declared, at the same time, that she would not quit Bolton willingly, without being better informed of the reason for her removal, and receiving some direct assurance of protection. After considerable resistance, Mary left Bolton on the 26th of January, and on the 27th she rested at

Ripon, where Robert Melville brought her the regent's message, assuring her of his regret for the part he had been obliged to act in the late transactions, and of his desire to promote her marriage with the duke of Norfolk. At the same time she received the complaints of Elizabeth on certain violent proclamations which had been put forward by her partisans in Scotland, and on letters which she had written to excite them against the existing government, and which had been intercepted on the border. Mary disavowed the letters and declared herself innocent of the proclamations which had given offence. On the 28th of January she reached Pontefract, where she remained two days, and was removed to Rotherham on the 30th, where also she remained two days. This delay appears to have been the result of illness, for when on the first of February, she was on her way from Rotherham to Chesterfield, she was taken with such an alarming attack that it was found necessary to pass the night at a gentleman's house (Mr. Foljambe's) on the way, and it was not till the 3rd of February that she at last reached Tutbury castle.

Meanwhile the regent had gained his ends. He had with some difficulty, it is said, partly by the intermediation of the duke of Norfolk, obtained from Elizabeth a loan of five thousand pounds, which enabled him to relieve himself from debts he had contracted in England, and which had become embarrassing; while Mary and Norfolk had become so fully convinced of Murray's favourable feelings towards them, that the duke dispatched strict orders to the north that he should not be molested on his way home, while Mary is said to have dispatched similar orders to her partisans on the borders of Scotland. Murray accordingly took his leave of the court of Elizabeth, passed through England without interruption, and reached the Scottish capital in safety.

The regent's presence in Scotland was, indeed, now rendered necessary by the activity of Mary's partisans. Mary, to embarrass the regent, had appointed the duke of Châtelherault her lieutenant of Scotland, and it was understood that his object in



Engraved by W. H. Motte.

JAMES HAMILTON, EARL OF ARRAN.
DUKE OF CHATELHERAULT.

OB. 1571.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF RETEL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

attending on the English court during the conference was, to try and persuade Elizabeth of the justice of his claim to the regency before the earl of Murray. Buchanan has given us, at some length, the arguments adduced for and against the duke's claim, which seems to have been for a while kept in abeyance, to furnish Elizabeth with a check upon Murray during the proceedings. As soon as these were brought to a close, and the duke saw that he could expect no favour from Elizabeth, he hastened to Scotland, accompanied by the lord Herries. The duke had carried with him a commission from Mary, delegating to him extensive powers over her kingdom and subjects, and at the same time she was in constant correspondence with her friends in the north. A letter is preserved, written to the earl of Cassillis from Bolton, which shows the earnestness with which she was at this moment engaged in stirring up rebellion against Murray's government. She says, "We have received your letter from Glasgow the 9th of January instant, whereby we understand your concurrence with the earl of Argyle our lieutenant, thanking you heartily thereof, and praying you to continue in assisting him in all things that may redound to the profit and weal of our affairs; which, God willing, albeit our absence be presently tedious and irksome unto you, ye shall have our presence shortly in such manner that we shall be able to recompense your great expenses and travail ye bestow in our service, to your honour and contentment. Praying you likewise that whatsoever thing ye see of ours in cipher, that ye write not the same to us again so plainly, for danger that may fall us thereon, as ye are wise enough to consider the same, being in the estate we are in. Our rebels, for what offers they can make, will not get the support from this country that they pretend; and of our part we will assure you that, ere the month of March, we hope to get such sufficient succour of friends to impeach the malheureux intentions of our rebels, and cause them know their duty, to our honour." Some of Mary's letters were again intercepted on the border, and carried to Elizabeth, who was much displeased at them, as well as at some indiscreet proclamations put forth by her adherents, on which Mary disowned both the letters and the proclamations, stating, that "any letters she had sent were simply addressed to some of the nobles of her kingdom, tending only to the keeping of her good subjects in obedience." This

was written on the 28th of January, and on the 30th Mary wrote the following letter to one of her most zealous adherents, Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews: "Reverend father and right trusty cousin and councillor, we greet you well. We have received your letters yesterevening, dated the 20th of this instant, whereby we have understood your diligence and good will to the setting forward of our affairs and authority, whereof we are most rejoiced, and pray you that ye continue in your good proceedings. For weighty considerations, as taking of our letters commonly by the way, we cannot write to you our mind presently, but that ye hold yourselves all together in readiness, and behold (*watch*) the earl of Murray's doings, who, as I hope (*expect*) will not use extremity so hastily. And if he does, then spare nothing neither for fear nor fair offers. For if he begin, take no injury. We shall send the laird of Gartly, our loved servitor, to you within two days, with other particulars, to whom ye shall credit. Always, ye shall not need to be afraid at any boast but as is above written, thole (*bear*) nor begin nothing; albeit we be transported to Tutbury, and able for a time may not write to our faithful subjects as we would do, ye shall take no fear thereof; ye shall be resolved of all doubts by Gartly to your contentment. Our cousin, the duke of Châtelherault, has already got his leave from the court, and is on his voyage to come to you shortly."

Meanwhile, as soon as the duke of Châtelherault and the lord Herries returned home, they assumed a bold and hostile tone, and issued a proclamation against the regent as an usurper. They at the same time gathered their strength and fortified their houses, and showed a determination to appeal at once to the sword. But their plans were defeated by the energy and activity of their skilful opponent. As soon as possible after his return, Murray called a parliament at Stirling, which approved of his conduct, and ratified his proceedings in England. He then gave orders for a general muster of the forces of the kingdom, and the rapidity with which he assembled his army entirely disconcerted his opponents. In the danger in which they now found themselves, the nobles of Mary's party obeyed the summons to meet the regent at Glasgow, on the 13th of March, when a treaty of peace was concluded between them to the following effect. The duke and his adherents agreed to recognise

the authority of the king, and to acknowledge themselves his subjects, and to promise obedience and fidelity to him as their sovereign. On these conditions the duke, and the other nobles who acted with him, were to be restored and readmitted to their places as councillors, as their forefathers had been during the reigns of former kings; and the regent, bearing the authority of the king, was to swear solemnly that in future he would conduct himself impartially in all their honest and just causes, towards them and all the rest of the nobility, without any remembrance of their previous hostility. That all those who, having taken part with the queen or refused obedience to the king, should promise in future to bear themselves towards him with all humility and obedience as his loyal subjects, should be restored to their lands, offices, and possessions, notwithstanding any confiscation which might have been ordained against them, excepting only those who had been consenting to the death of the king. It was further agreed that the regent and the nobles should consent to all such articles as should be found profitable for the honour, commodity, and advancement of the queen-mother of the king, as should not be prejudicial to the king and to his sovereignty. In order to carry this agreement into further and fuller effect, it was agreed that a convention should be held on the 10th of April next following, in the town of Edinburgh, in peaceful manner, which was to be attended by the regent, the duke of Châtelherault, the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Morton, Athol, and Glencairn, and the lord Herries; and if either of these nobles should happen to be unable to attend, from sickness or any other cause, his place was to be supplied by some one of the nobles elected for that purpose. At this meeting, the nobles mentioned above were to consult together as good friends on the articles and points which regarded the queen; and whatever they, or the majority of them, should consider necessary to be done for her honour, without prejudicing the king and his authority, was to be accepted by the rest of the nobility. It was next stipulated that the duke of Châtelherault, and others his adherents, should not attempt to execute any office of lieutenant or other authority, under pretext that the queen-mother had given them any commission to do it, nor hinder the king's officers from doing their duty, in the name of the king and the regent, throughout the kingdom; and that

the regent, on his part, should allow no proceedings to be carried on against the duke and his adherents prejudicial to their persons, lands, or goods. The lords thereupon consented that the duke, the earl of Cassillis, and the lord Herries, should give hostages to remain with the regent until these articles were fulfilled, these hostages to be one of the duke's sons, the earl of Cassillis or his brother, and the lord Herries or his eldest son; and on the delivery into the regent's hands of these hostages, he agreed to disperse his forces.

Mary, who, we know from her own letters, had been urging her friends into the demonstration which was thus repressed by the regent, so soon as she heard of his proceedings, wrote repeated letters to Elizabeth and her ministers, complaining bitterly that Murray and his friends should be allowed to proceed to hostilities against her supporters; and even threatened, that if Elizabeth did not interfere in her favour, she would call in assistance from abroad. At first she was unwilling to believe that her friends had signed the treaty of Glasgow, and she seems for some time to have considered their proceedings as a desertion of her interests. Yet, when we consider the terms of that treaty, we cannot but acknowledge that the regent acted with great moderation. All that he demanded was an acknowledgment of the king's authority, with a promise to do nothing in prejudice of it, and he referred the queen's affairs to a conference of noblemen, a majority of whom were her friends. Yet, when the 10th April, the day appointed, arrived, two of them, Huntley and Argyle, absented themselves, and the duke with Cassillis and Herries, who attended, attempted to evade their agreement at Glasgow. By that document they had distinctly agreed to acknowledge the king's authority, which was, in fact, the foundation of the treaty, and when the conference was opened at Edinburgh, Murray began, as a matter of course, by demanding a formal repetition of this acknowledgment before they entered upon the subject of the meeting. The duke of Châtelherault pretended to be astonished at this demand, which he said was premature, and when the regent persisted in it, he told him that the object of the conference was to deliberate on the measures to be adopted towards their captive sovereign, and that when these were settled to their satisfaction, it was time enough to ask him and his adherents to subscribe to the authority of the

king. The regent replied by ordering his guards to arrest Châtelherault and Herries, the latter of whom was immediately committed to Edinburgh castle, and the duke followed him thither next morning. Herries and Cassillis had been, with the archbishop of St. Andrews (the duke's brother) the three hostages, so that in fact the duke himself was the only one of his party who came to the meeting.*

The duke of Châtelherault appears to have been following a weak and hesitating policy, and a letter which Huntley wrote about this time to Mary, shows at once the divisions which already existed among the queen's adherents, and the cause of the absence of Huntley and Argyle from the conference at Edinburgh. The two northern earls looked upon the treaty of the duke and his friends with the regent as an act of treachery. "Madam," says Huntley, "I have before written to your majesty, by way of my lord Herries, the trick which the duke of Châtelherault and those with him have played me, in making an agreement with the earl of Murray, of which I knew nothing until they appointed me a day at Edinburgh, which I refused. And I therefore implore your majesty to lose no time in informing me of your intention; for, being so far from the others, I can only trust in my lord Crawford and my lord Ogilby, who have no connexion with them; and on that account, if I can avoid my total ruin, I will remain quiet until I have your majesty's advice, otherwise I implore you not to take in ill part whatever I may do, and to be assured that, as long as I live, you will find me faithful to your service, and that it will be better I should be assured than to perish with the traitors who have unfortunately deceived you, unless it be your majesty's pleasure it should be otherwise, and that before the damage falls upon me; for which I have no care, provided I can serve your majesty, whom I implore very humbly to hasten the succour of foreigners, or the return of your majesty, if possible, in whatever manner it may be. If there come an army from France, cause it to land in the north, for this is the most sure, and I will hazard all for your service.

* Tytler, whose history at this period is extremely partial, gives not a fair account of this transaction, and conceals the fact that by the treaty at Glasgow the acknowledgment of the king's authority was made quite independently of any arrangement that was to be made for Mary; and that it was in nowise condi-

Meanwhile, whatever has happened, the duke of Châtelherault has not acted honestly neither towards your majesty nor towards me, and therefore I implore you very humbly to hasten the succour from France, and I will take the thing on myself. Two thousand or fifteen hundred men will be sufficient, with some munitions. And whatever I do, I implore your majesty to be assured that all Europe shall know that my life and all that I have are at your commandment. The bearer is safe, by whom I implore your majesty to send me word what it is your pleasure I should do."†

Such was the want of union among the queen's adherents, while the regent was reducing, one after another, his opponents, by the energy which had invariably characterized his actions. In the interval between the agreement at Glasgow and that at Edinburgh, on the 10th of April, Murray had marched with a part of his forces to the border, and had successfully chastised the lawless marauders who had become formidable during the late uncertain state of affairs. After the duke had been committed to prison, the regent turned his arms against the two northern earls who had disobeyed the summons to attend the conference. In spite of the urgent exhortations and encouragements they received from Mary, they were both alarmed at the power of the regent, and Argyle first, and subsequently Huntley, who proved more difficult to deal with, submitted, and made their peace with the government in a meeting held at St. Andrews on the 10th of May. Murray immediately led his army to the north, reduced the country to obedience, levying fines on those who had risen against his authority, and exacting oaths of allegiance from the clans. As he was returning from this expedition, he was met by dispatches from the English court, which will require some introductory explanation.

After Murray's return to Scotland, the secret intrigue for a marriage between Mary and the duke of Norfolk was continued, and assumed a character which probably but few of those concerned in it knew. Norfolk continued to correspond privately with Murray on the subject; he was in

tional on the nature of this arrangement, which was to be freely discussed in the conference at Edinburgh.

† This letter is translated from a French translation of the original, sent by the French ambassador to France, and published in M. Teulet's Collection, and the language is rather obscure.

immediate communication with the Scottish queen and with the bishop of Ross, and several of the English nobles were admitted wholly or partially to the secret. Some whispers on the subject reached Elizabeth's ears, and Norfolk received an angry rebuke from his sovereign; but he contrived to silence her suspicions, and then threw himself into this plot with more eagerness than ever. It was promoted not only by the catholic earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Arundel, but even by Leicester, Pembroke, Bedford, and Shrewsbury, and by sir Nicholas Throckmorton, and it is said even at one time to have received the approval of Cecil himself. But Norfolk, with the catholic lords, had been dragged into a much deeper intrigue, the object of which was to procure the marriage whether Elizabeth approved of it or not, and this was to be done with the assistance of Spain, by overthrowing the protestant establishment, and restoring the Roman catholic church in England; and for this purpose the duke of Alba was to send over troops and money from the low countries. Several remarkable letters relating to this conspiracy, written by Mary, are still preserved. On the 11th of May, she wrote from Wiugfield, where she was then residing, to the duke of Norfolk as follows:—"I would have been gladder nor I am, if the assurance of my carefulness in anything touching you might have prevailed against any suspicion in the contrary. Always, I am glad that ere now ye may know that one great haste to answer to your satisfaction might cause a fault to be done without danger, for the letters remained, but my keys are not in that peril you took them in. I pray you be sure I have none I trust in, shall oversee them. . . . Nor I trust in none more than in that I am not able to do; and if you will appoint one you trust, to have to do that I may not do, I am contented; for I assure you, I write as much as I may do, and spare not my travail, for I have none other matters in head than them that you have in hand to be occupied with, and I fear that it is too busy upon me presently, that I have not taken very much ease this last night, so that I am not able to write further, and this in pain, being in fever. I pray you take it not in evil part, for I mind it not, for I thought yesternight to have sent you the token you sent, to pray you not to leave your care of me for any extremity. I sent the bishop of Ross letters from Scotland; do you in them as

you think best. I may write no more. As soon as I be anything amended, I shall write more plainly. I pray God preserve you, and if you send me any news, I pray God they be more comfortable. From my bed, the 11th of May. I shall do what I may to be soon up, and for your answer to my last letters, shall fully resolve you daily with letters. My trembling hand here will write no more." A letter is preserved, which was sent by a secret messenger from Mary to the duke of Alba on the 13th of June, and another on the 8th of July, in which latter she urges him to assist her friends in keeping possession of the castle of Dumbarton, which was hard pressed. On the 24th of July, she wrote the following letter in cipher to the duke of Norfolk, in which she makes direct allusion to the secret communications with the duke of Alba, and in which she addresses Norfolk in terms of passionate affection. "Sunday," writes Mary, "I received a writing by Borthwick from you, whereby I perceive the satisfaction you have of my plain dealing with you, as I must do of my duty. Considering how much I am beholden to you many ways, I am glad the grant of my good will is so agreeable to you. Albeit I know myself to be so unworthy to be so well liked of one of such wisdom and good qualities, yet do I think my hap great in that, yea, much greater than my desert. Therefore I will be about to use myself so, that, so far as God shall give me grace, you shall never have cause to diminish your good conceit and favour of me, while I shall esteem and respect you in all my doings so long as I live, as you would wish your own to do. Now, good my lord, more words to this purpose would be unseemly to my present condition, and importunable to you amongst so many businesses; but this trust you, as written by them that means unfeignedly. This day I received a letter from you by this bearer, whereby I perceive the thought you take of my health, which, thanks to God, is much better than it was at his departing, but not yet very strong, nor quit of the soreness of my side. It causes me to be more heavy and pensive than I would or need to be, considering the care you have of me, for I have remitted all my causes to you to do as for yourself. I write to the bishop of Ross what I hear from the duke of Alba, governor of the Netherlands. Let me know your pleasure at length in writing, what I shall answer. Now, my Nor-



Engraved by W. H. A. L.

THOMAS HOWARD, DUKE OF NORFOLK.

OB. 1572.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.



folk, you bid me command you; that would be beside my duty many ways. But to pray you, I will, that you counsel me not to take patiently my great griefs, except you promise me to trouble you no more for the death of your ward. I wish you had another in his room to make you merry, or else I would he were out both of England and Scotland. You forbid me to write; be sure I will think it no pains, whenever my health will permit it, but pleasure, as also to receive your letters, which I pray you to spare not, when you have leisure without troubling you; for they shall fall in no hands where they will be better received. The physicians write at length; [this must mean the persons engaged in the plot;] they seem to love you marvellously, and not mislike of me. We had but general talk, and some of your matters, but not in anybody's name; therefore I answered nothing, but giving ear soberly. When Borthwick goeth up, you shall understand all; in this it is unintelligible; meantime I must warn you, when I hear anything touching you. Argyle sends me word expressly, that when he met at Stirling with Murray the regent of Scotland, he assured him I should never come home, and that he had intelligence for to be quit of me, remembered him of his promises. Borthwick will write it to the bishop of Ross and my lord Fleming. Argyle prayed me, if you were my friend, to advertise you hastily; take of this what pleases you, but I am sure they will be traitors to you and me, and if they were in Turkey, you and I were never the worse; albeit I will not be importune. But, and this summer past, I hope by the good all year. God preserve you from all traitors, and make your friends as true and constant."

During the progress of this intrigue, Mary kept up a constant correspondence with Elizabeth, professing the utmost confidence in her good intentions, and urging her to adopt a final resolution for the purpose of restoring her to her kingdom. Elizabeth lent an ear to these appeals, partly, it has been supposed, to use her prisoner as a check upon the regent, and partly, it is evident, in the desire to promote some arrangement between Mary and her subjects. At length, a proposal was drawn up to the effect, that Mary should be restored to the government of her kingdom, on condition that she should enter into a perpetual league with England, establish the protestant religion, receive her re-

bellious subjects into her favour, and enter into an engagement that Elizabeth nor her issue should be molested with her claims to the English crown. This proposal was sent to Mary through the bishop of Ross for her consent, and those who conveyed it to him added, unknown to Elizabeth, a private article recommending the marriage with the duke of Norfolk as the means of restoring repose to both countries. Mary agreed at once to some of the articles of this proposal; to others she hesitated, alleging that she must take time to consult with her friends, and that she could not rashly desert her foreign allies. She expressed her willingness to agree to the proposed match with Norfolk, although assuming a reserve on the subject, as though it were now agitated for the first time. Her objections to any of the other articles were not so great; but Elizabeth, urged probably by those of her councillors who were promoting the designs of the duke of Norfolk, determined to make a further move in the matter, and lord Boyd was selected to be the messenger of Elizabeth's wishes to the regent.

Lord Boyd left the English court at the commencement of July, and he met Murray at Elgin on his return from the expedition to the north. Elizabeth, in her letter to the regent, intimated three proposals with regard to the Scottish queen, one of which she said she wished to be accepted: they were, either that she should be restored fully and absolutely to her throne; or that she should be joined with her son in the government, retaining the title of queen, while the actual administration of the government remained in Murray's hands as regent until the king had attained the age of seventeen; or that Mary should return to Scotland as a private person, and be honourably maintained in retirement. Lord Boyd carried with him written instructions from Mary herself, chiefly expressing her willingness to consent to the annulling of her marriage with the earl of Bothwell, and evidently aiming at the proposed match with the duke of Norfolk. After expressing her readiness to enter into an accommodation with her subjects, she added, "And because that the earl of Murray and others, who had highly offended the queen of Scotland their sovereign, had divers times alleged that they stood in doubt if she would ever appoint with them, and remit all offences by-past freely and heartily; and also they had fear, and oftentimes alleged,

that if she was restored to her liberty and crown of Scotland, her highness would call home again the earl Bothwell, and join with him, and make him to be an instrument for their overthrow. In consideration of the which, and that all stumbling-blocks which might make impediment to the appointment should be removed from the way, it was thought good that the said lord Boyd should assure the earl of Murray and the rest of her inobedient subjects, that in case they did appoint with her highness, by the advice of the queen's majesty of England and her most honourable council, so they did agree to her restitution to her crown, authority, and government of her realm, freely, willingly, and lovingly, as becometh natural subjects to do to their native princes; then and in that case she would not only remit them of all injuries and offences by-past, but also embrace and use them as heartily and lovingly as ever she has done her subjects before in any times past; they persevering in their good minds, and doing their dutiful obedience to her majesty in time coming; and was content to make all security hereupon by the sight and advice of the queen's majesty of England and her council." Mary added, that "for the removing of the impediment aforesaid, against the returning of the earl of Bothwell to be joined with her for their overthrow, as they feared and did aliege, therefore her highness was content to make all kind of security that should be thought expedient to that effect. And because the pretended matrimony betwixt them was repute and holden never to be good from the beginning, therefore she was content that the same should be decreed (*decreed*) null, by process and order of law, in form of divorce, to be laid before whatsoever judge or judges, spiritual or temporal, having power to that effect." Mary's instructions concluded with an earnest desire that a resolution on this subject should be obtained without delay, and that in the meanwhile the siege of Dumbarton castle should not be pressed. In consequence of the pressing appeals of the two queens, Murray immediately summoned the nobility to a convention at Perth on the 25th of July.

Lord Boyd was also the bearer of private letters and private instructions, among which was one from the duke of Norfolk to the regent, assuring him of his warm friendship to the regent himself, and of his continued determination to proceed in the marriage

with the Scottish queen, which he urged him to promote, referring him for a further declaration of his mind to the verbal information to be given by lord Boyd. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton also wrote both to the regent and to Lethington. He urged upon Murray that, under present circumstances, it was his own interest and that of the two countries to promote the marriage, and if he did otherwise he prognosticated his speedy fall and disgrace. He pressed Lethington to hasten to the English court, and assist in breaking the matter to Elizabeth, suggesting reasons for believing that she might without much difficulty be brought over to approve of the plan.

At this moment the old cordiality between Murray and Lethington was entirely broken, and the latter, with his unconquerable love of intrigue and change, wished for the queen's restoration, and was a warm approver of the marriage. On the contrary, Murray saw well that the marriage with Norfolk, and the return of the queen to Scotland, would lead to the disgrace of himself and his friends; and, although he had agreed to it in England when it was the only means of securing a safe return to Scotland, he now secretly warned his friends against it. The result of this appeared in the convention at Perth. Elizabeth's three proposals having been laid before the meeting, the first two were at once refused, and the third, that of giving Mary her liberty and allowing her to live as a private individual, was taken only as a matter for deliberation. All allusion to the intended marriage with Norfolk was carefully suppressed, but when Murray's own proposal for a divorce from Bothwell was laid before the meeting, it led to a violent discussion. Lethington and his immediate friends, who secretly favoured the projects of the duke of Norfolk, spoke warmly for the divorce; but it was no less earnestly opposed by the presbyterian leaders in general, who, in answer to Lethington's arguments, answered, through their speaker Makgill, the clerk-register, that Mary's letters were an insult to their sovereign, who was their only head and master, yet she addressed them as her subjects, and subscribed herself their queen. Moreover, Makgill said, she wrote to the archbishop of St. Andrews as the head of the church, though he was known to be a heretic, an obstinate papist and rebel, a member cut off from the true vine. Lethington replied sarcastically

that a sudden change had taken place in the minds of those who had recently been very anxious to see their queen separated from Bothwell. Richardson, the treasurer, rose suddenly from his seat, and interrupted him. He called upon the assembly to bear witness that Lethington had argued against the king's authority, and he protested that all who supported him were traitors, and that they ought immediately to be proceeded against as such. This appeal put an end to the debate, the queen's proposal for a divorce was rejected indignantly, and the meeting separated with mutual feelings of animosity between the two parties.

It is not easy to see what might have been the consequence of this difference, had not a new cause of alarm arisen in England, at the moment when Robert Pitcairn, who was sent to communicate the result of the deliberations at Perth, arrived at her court. It is not easy to understand why several of the noblemen who favoured Norfolk's designs with regard to the marriage in the belief that Elizabeth might have been brought to consent to it, should have agreed to keep it from her knowledge so long; but the longer the delay, the more they seemed to dread the consequences, and they were now anxious for the presence of Lethington, who they believed would be able to help them through the difficulty. But at last, circumstances came to the knowledge of Elizabeth which excited her suspicions, and with the assistance of Cecil she proceeded in unravelling the whole plot. The first intimation Norfolk himself received of Elizabeth's discoveries was conveyed in some mysterious admonitions from the queen, taunting him with his lofty aspirations, and warning him, in allusion to a former speech of his own, to be careful on what pillow he laid his head. As soon, however, as she became more fully acquainted with the depth of the conspiracy, her anger was ungovernable. Leicester and the other protestant nobles who had promoted the marriage, hastened to appease their indignant mistress by declaring all they knew. Murray acted in the same manner, delivering up at once the whole of his private correspondence with the duke. He stated as his excuse that he had only given his approval of the marriage at a moment when it was necessary to save his life from assassination; but he at the same time justified himself by the uncertain policy of Elizabeth herself, in all the recent transactions relating to Scotland.

The duke of Norfolk was a man of little decision of character, and he now pursued the course which was most calculated to lead to his ruin. One part of his friends advised him to submit himself entirely to the queen's will, while the others, the catholic lords who knew the full extent of the conspiracy, and that Norfolk had actually been strengthening himself for the worst, urged him to throw off the mask and at once take the field. Norfolk did neither, but, on the 23rd of September, he left the court precipitately, and retired to his seat at Kenninghall in Norfolk, whence he addressed a letter to the queen, assuring her of his allegiance, excusing his delay in breaking the matter to her, and declaring that he never had any intention of marrying the queen of Scots without her approval and permission. At the same time Mary was suddenly removed from Wingfield to Tutbury, where she was kept much more strictly, and cut off from direct communication with her friends in Scotland, and the earl of Huntingdon was made one of her keepers, a nobleman especially obnoxious to her, because he was one of the claimants to the English crown, in case of Elizabeth's death without children. Two days after the flight of Norfolk from court, a circumstance of which she was then ignorant, Mary wrote in cipher to the French ambassador, M. de la Mothe Fenelon, a letter full of alarm. "I believe," she said to the ambassador, "that you know well how rudely I am treated, my servants sent away, and forbidden either to write or receive any letters, and that all my people have been searched. I am here at Tutbury, whence they say that my lord Huntingdon will receive me into his charge. He claims the same right that I claim [*i.e.* the succession to the crown of England], and expects to have it; judge if my life be in safety. I pray you to advise with those you know of my friends, and speak to the queen of England, that if there happen any evil to me, being in the hands of persons suspected of bearing me ill-will, she will be reputed by the king, my brother-in-law, and by all other princes, the cause of my death. Make use according to your discretion, and warn the duke of Norfolk to be on his guard, for they threaten him with the Tower. Communicate with the bishop of Ross on this letter, for I know not whether he knows anything about it. I have risked four of my servants to give him information of it, but I don't know if they have reached him for Borthwick nar-

rowly escaped being taken, and was searched, but he had laid his letters on the road, whence he found means to get them back. I have written to the king, and to the queen, the king's mother, and I have sent a packet to be given to you or to Ross. Make my excuses to them if I cannot write, and send to them that I have their favour. I pray you, cause also the ambassador of the king of Spain to accompany you to speak in my favour, for my life is in danger if I remain in their hands. I pray you, encourage and advise our friends to be upon their guard, and to act for me now or never. Keep secret this letter, that nobody may know anything of it, for I should be the more strictly guarded, and give your letters of favour to this bearer secretly for the ship of my lord of Shrewsbury, the safest and most favourable that you can, for that will assist me greatly in finding favour with him; but if it be known, you ruin me. Means must be found by some Englishman for conveying your information to me; the bailiff of Derby and some others might be tried; and remind Ross of the vicar near here, for he would convey it to me also. I implore you to have pity on a poor prisoner in danger of life, and without having offended. If I remain a time here, I shall lose not only my kingdom, but my life, although they do me no other ill than the displeasure which I have to have lost all intelligence or hope of succour from my faithful subjects. If prompt remedy is not found, may God of his grace give me patience, and whatever may happen to me I will die in his law, and in good will towards the king and the queen, to whom I pray you to impart my grief, as well as to Monsieur the cardinal of Lorraine, my uncle." She adds, in a postscript, "Since this letter was written, Huntingdon is returned, having from the queen sole charge of me. The earl of Shrewsbury, at my request, had demanded that I should not be taken from him, and will retain charge of me till the arrival of a second dispatch. I pray remind them of the injustice against the law of the country, to place me in the hands of one who lays the same claim to the crown that I do. You know also the great difference of our religion. I pray you also to write and favourably for the ship of the said earl of Shrewsbury by this porter, and that it be secret."

The final discovery of the plot, and of the persons who had lent themselves to promote it, was completed by the arrival in London,

on the 5th of October, of the abbot of Dunfermline, who had been dispatched by the regent to deliver to the English queen the letters relating to the marriage, which had been written to him by the English lords. No sooner had she received the documents, than Elizabeth summoned the duke of Norfolk to appear in person before the privy council, and the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, with lord Lumley and sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who were at Windsor, were placed under arrest. Norfolk hesitated in obeying the summons, but on receiving the opinion of Cecil that he was in no personal danger, proceeded to court, and was no sooner arrived, than (on the 11th of October) he was committed to the Tower. The bishop of Ross and Robert Ridolfi, an agent of the grand duke of Tuscany, who was suspected of being deeply involved in the plot, were also placed under arrest; and a commission, consisting of the marquess of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, sir Francis Knollys, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Walter Mildmay, and Cecil, was appointed to investigate the matter.

Meanwhile, in Scotland, divisions had broken out amongst those who had previously supported Murray, chiefly through the restless intrigues of Lethington. A hostile feeling had arisen between the earl of Morton and the laird of Grange, and Lethington added fuel to the flame, and at the same time created a coolness between Grange and the regent. At the meeting at Perth, Lethington seems to have met with a much stronger opposition than he expected, and having there committed himself farther probably than he intended, and soon afterwards finding himself seriously involved by the discovery of the plot for the marriage of Norfolk with Mary, he retired to Athol, to shelter himself among his friends. There, throwing off the mask, he exerted himself to strengthen Mary's cause in opposition to the regent. The latter, under pretence of requiring his advice in matters of state, summoned him to the court at Stirling, and with some reluctance he obeyed. Among those present at the council, besides the regent, and Lethington, who still held the office of secretary, were the earls of Mar, Morton, and Athol, and the lord Semple. They had hardly taken their places, when it was announced that a gentleman of the earl of Lennox, named Crawford, was in attendance, and requested to be heard on a business of importance. He

was immediately admitted, and, falling on his knees, proceeded to accuse Lethington and sir James Balfour as murderers of the late king, and demanded justice upon them. Lethington rose, and pleading his great services to the young king's government as an argument of the futility of such a charge, offered to find sureties to stand his trial on any day the regent pleased to fix. But Crawford, still on his knees, remonstrated against this proposal; he stated that he was prepared to substantiate the charge whenever called upon for that purpose, and he appealed to the council if it were prudent to allow any one labouring under such an accusation, to go at large. A rather violent debate followed, but it was finally determined that Lethington should be placed under arrest, and the regent conveyed him to Edinburgh, where he was temporarily confined in the house of one of Murray's own dependents, named Forrester. At the same time, Balfour was surprised by

a party of horse in his house at Monimail, in Fife, and he and his brother George were also carried prisoners to the capital.

So far the regent had been successful in his design, but his plans were suddenly disconcerted by the laird of Grange, who had appeared lately to be reconciled to him. Grange probably saw danger to himself in the destruction of Lethington. He therefore laid his plans with great secrecy, and suddenly issuing from the castle, and surrounding the house in which the secretary was confined, partly by force, and partly by means of a forged order pretended to come from Murray, he obtained possession of the prisoner, and carried him off. There were thus in Edinburgh castle with the laird of Grange, some of the ablest leaders of Mary's party. The regent, mortified as he naturally was at thus losing his prey, concealed his disappointment, and contented himself with fixing the 22nd of November for the day of Lethington's trial.

CHAPTER IV.

FURTHER PLOTS OF MARY AND THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

As the secret intrigues in which Mary and Norfolk were now engaged in England were quite distinct from the progress of Scottish affairs, it will perhaps render the history more clear if we follow the former to their final discovery and defeat. By the arrest of the duke, the conspirators were left without a head. As it has been already stated, the protestant lords who were involved in it drew back directly; but the catholics, who had deeper projects, urged the duke before he was arrested, to join them in taking up arms. Had he done so, and fallen back on the northern counties, which were almost entirely catholic, it is impossible to say what might have been the result. On his arrest, and that of the lords Arundel, Lumley, and Pembroke, the two great northern lords, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, took the alarm, and resolved to act in their defence. To gain time, they appeared before the earl of Sussex at York, and made professions which threw him off his guard, until, when their

preparations were more advanced, they refused to obey the queen's summons to court, and on the fourteenth of November, the two earls entered Durham in arms. This rebellion, the object of which was the deliverance of the duke of Norfolk from prison, and the re-establishment of the Roman catholic religion, was of short duration, but it appeared so formidable at first, that not only was Mary removed for safety from Tutbury to Coventry, but a conditional order seems to have been given for putting her to death. For a few days, indeed, the rebels acted with some vigour, and they moved rapidly to Ripon, Wetherby, and Tadcaster, and finally mustered their forces on Clifford Moor. Sussex, who was with lord Hunsdon and sir Ralph Sadler in York, was not strong enough to proceed against them, and they were allowed to march from place to place with impunity. They seem, however, to have been discouraged by the absence of any demonstration in their favour in the south, and sud-

denly retired into the county of Durham, where they wasted their time and strength in the siege of Barnard castle, held against them with great resolution by sir George Bowes. Meanwhile the lords Warwick and Clinton arrived with forces from the south, and joining with Sussex, marched against the insurgents. On their approach, the carls of Northumberland and Westmoreland dismissed their infantry, and, having retreated with their cavalry to Hexham, they there dispersed, and the chiefs sought refuge in Scotland. Thus ended a mad enterprise, which proved within a few days the ruin of those who had embarked in it.*

Of the nobles arrested for their complicity with the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Pembroke was soon set at liberty, and the treatment of the earl of Arundel and lord Lumley was comparatively mild, but considerable rigour was exercised towards the duke himself. Nevertheless, the inquiries of the commission appear to have led to no very definite result, and in the course of the month of November, Ridolfi was liberated. But the duke, instead of taking warning, madly threw himself deeper than ever with the Scottish queen, into the plot for restoring the Roman catholic church in England, which they now placed under the special protection of Spain. The duke of Alva had promised assistance to the northern lords, but under the unpromising circumstances which attended their enterprise, he thought it best not to fulfil his promise. The consequence of this was a violent jealousy between France and Spain, and while the latter power was anxious to persuade Mary to break with the duke of Norfolk, and accept a marriage with the house of Spain, which would perhaps lead to the dependence of England on the Spanish crown, the ambassador of France, M. de la Mothe Fenelon, did his best to promote the cause of the duke of Norfolk, and in a dispatch of the twenty-fifth of November, written in cipher, he describes his own activity in counteracting the Spanish intrigues, and informs his sovereign that, in spite of their close imprisonment, Mary and the duke were resolved not to abandon each other. Spain, therefore, agreed to this marriage as part of the plot reluctantly ;

* For full information on this rebellion, I would refer my readers to the valuable publication of my respected and lamented friend, sir Cuthbert Sharpe, entitled, "Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569," 8vo. London, 1841.

and only because it was feared that if opposed it might again throw the advantage to the side of France. In this manner, Mary was intriguing with France and Spain, quite separately from each other, but it was in the latter power that she placed her trust. In a dispatch of the twenty-first of December, the ambassador writes that the duke of Norfolk, in reply to questions which had been put to him, with a proposal for another marriage, which should render impossible his union with the Scottish queen, declared that he never had any communication with the northern rebels, that he had aspired to the marriage with Mary only so long as he thought it would be agreeable to the queen of England, but that he was unwilling to listen to any further matrimonial proposals until he should be set at liberty.

The letters written during this period by Mary to the duke of Norfolk, which were brought to light on the seizure of his papers a few months later, are especially interesting for the illustration of the history of this period, as well as of the personal character of that unfortunate princess. It appears from the following letter, written in the month of December, that there had been some talk of the renewal of the proposal for a marriage between Mary and the earl of Leicester, and that Norfolk had expressed some suspicions of Mary's constancy towards himself. "I perceive," Mary writes to him from Coventry, "you are of intent (*you have understood*) that I have uttered my suspicion of your misliking which is grounded upon yours. I was not the first, for you did me the first wrong to credit that I had written any otherwise to the queen of England nor you devised, and yet in that you have not satisfied me, for you tell me not in your letter if you believe them or me. For I have sworn to you I never meant such a thing, for I feared your evil opinion of me. You assure me of the contrary, I am most glad thereof. And therefore, when you say you will be to me as I will, then shall you remain mine own good lord, and as you subscribed once with God's grace, and I will remain yours faithfully, as I have promised. And on that condition I took the diamond from my lord Boyd, which I shall keep unseen about my neck, till I give it again to the owner of it and me both. I am bold with you, because you put all to my choice, and let me hear some comfortable answer again, that I may be sure you will mistrust

me no more, and that you will not forget your own, nor have anything to bind you from her. For I am resolved that weal nor woe shall never remove me from you, if you cast me not away. And if I be suspected by you, meaning so truly, have I not cause to be sorry and suspicious? Judge yourself what you see so far that it is time to you to run another course I had failed to you, and yet if you be in the wrong, I will submit me to you for so writing, and ask your pardon thereof. But that fault I could not forbear for very joy. Now Huntingdon goes up, beware of him; he loves neither you nor me. He said oft, it was a pity you should live, and now he speaks better, which puts me in some hope of his relief. He spake these days past of Leicester's marriage with me, but I told him that I had once taken his council in your favour, and if that might not come to the * * * should never be combered with marrying me. Forgive me, if I have been too plain, for I will never have them to enter in that practice again, for he spake four sundry times in it. But now he laid a wager with me that you should have me. And where he said afore, that the queen of England would never let you out unless you refused me, I said you were not worth a want if you did, and that shortly you should be out. I dare not trust him, but it did me good to hear it. And if you forget me, yet will I be glad of your weal, much more if you may have your liberty and your own granted. You may have better, but never nothing straiter bound to obey and love you than yours faithfully till death, and I should never rest so long in prison." Some of the obscurity of language in this letter arises, probably, from the circumstance that it was written in cipher, and rather epigrammatically.

The rebellion in the northern counties having been suppressed, on the 2nd of January, 1570, Mary was carried back to Tutbury, and was relieved from many of the restrictions which had been recently placed upon her, although strong suspicions existed that neither she nor Norfolk were strangers to the insurrection, and even their negotiations with the duke of Alva were surmised. On the 15th of January, Mary wrote to the duke as follows (a few words, it will be seen, have been torn out of the original, but they hardly affect the meaning.)—"I thank God, my own good lord, that you are in better case nor was * * * as the bishop of Ross will tell you, for I took the hazard to

Mendirll wh * * * for to learn the truth, being in such pain as I could not be satisfied till I understood it. Your satisfaction of my friends glads me also. I can bear all the practices of my enemies against me, so that you be still well persuaded of me and my constancy to you. But, alas! I fear of Murray, you should never believe shall be too true, he will seek to hurt you all he can. But I think if Leicester and Pembroke be your friends, they will find means to countermand his draughts. But I dare not write as I would, being where you are being; in all adventures, I pray you do all things for your weal; for if you do well, I trust to have my part less or more. I pray you let the bishop of Ross, or any of your servants, advertise me of your health, for I will not be at ease till I hear how you be mended. Last of all, I pray you, my good lord, trust none that shall say that I ever mind to leave you, nor to anything that may displease you, for I have determined never to offend you, but to remain yours; and though I should never buy it so dear, I think all well bestowed for your friendly dealings with me, undeserved. So I remain yours till death, conform according to my faith * * * dutiful promise. I look for good will and constancy again; so I pray God, as I do daily, to save you from all our enemies. Your own Dt." On the 31st of the same month Mary wrote again to Norfolk, and alluded to some plans for effecting their escapes. "Mine own lord," she said, "I wrote to you before, to know your pleasure if I should seek to make any enterprise; if it please you, I care not for any danger; but I would wish you would seek to do the like; for if you and I could escape both, we should find friends enough; and for your lands, I hope they should not be lost, for, being free and honourably bound together, you might make such good offers for the countries and the queen of England as they should not refuse. Our fault were not shameful; you have promised to be mine, and I yours; I believe the queen of England and country should like it. By means of friends, therefore, you have sought your liberty, and satisfaction of your conscience, meaning that you promised me that you would not leave me. If you think the danger great, do as you think best, and let me know what you please that I do; for I will ever be, for your sake, perpetual prisoner, or put my life in peril for your weal and mine. As you please, command me, for I will, for all the world,

follow your commands, so that you be not in danger for me in so doing. I will, either if I were out by humble submission, and all my friends were against it, or by other ways, work for our liberties so long as I live. Let me know your mind, and whether you are not offended at me; for I fear you are, seeing that I do hear no news from you. I pray God preserve you, and keep us both from deceitful friends. This last of January, —Your own faithful to death, queen of Scots, my Norfolk.”

Norfolk was still in the Tower, and on the 10th of February, when news had reached London of the murder of the regent Murray, Elizabeth again caused the bishop of Ross to be placed under arrest. In the course of February occurred the wild attempt by Leonard Dacre to raise a new rebellion in the north. These and other circumstances caused the duke of Norfolk to be more guarded in his correspondence, and we find Mary writing on the 19th of March a sort of expostulation on his silence, and urging him again to be more active. “Mine own good lord,” she says, “I have forborne this long time to write to you, in respect of the dangers of writing, which you seemed to fear; but I must remember you of your own at times, as occasion serveth, and let you know the continuance of my truth to you, which I see by this last looks much distrusted. But, if you mind not to shrink at the matter, I will die and live with you. Your fortune shall be mine; therefore let me know in all things your mind. The bishop of Ross writes to me, that I should make the offers to the queen of England now in my letters; which I wrote generally, because I would enter into nothing till I know your pleasure, which I shall now follow. I have heard that God hath taken your dear friend Pembroke, whereof I am heartily sorry; albeit [let] that nor any other matter trouble you to your heart; for else you leave all your friends and me, for whose cause you have done so much already, that I trust you will preserve you to a happier meeting in despite of all such railers; wherein I suspect Huntingdon for such like talk. But, for all their sayings, I trust in God you shall be satisfied with my conditions and behaviour and faithful duty to you, whenever it shall please God I be with you, as I hope for my part the * * * maker shall never have the pleasure to see or hear my repentance or discontentment therein. I have prayed God to preserve

you, and grant us both his grace; and then let them, like blasphemers, feel. So I end with the humble and heartiest recommendations to you of your own faithful to death.”

From allusions at times in the dispatches of the French ambassador, we can perceive that the plot for the overthrow of the protestant establishment, with the assistance of Spain, was still going on, though the proceedings of the conspirators were carried on under the greatest secrecy. They were, however, at times, evidently suspected, and then Mary's correspondence was more strictly watched. In the month of April, but on what day is not known, the Scottish queen wrote the following letter to the duke of Norfolk:—“You should have been informed of Candish's answer, but it was forgotten, as you shall hear. The bishop of Ross shall receive it presently by this messenger, who is more willing to further his message nor (*than*) close in keeping it from others. Therefore, take heed it do no harm, for it hath been spoken to many, and of his friends. I spake but little with him, and all of thanks to Leicester; for the earl of Shrewsbury shrinks to let me speak with him, for fear he should tell it again. Devise you what is to be minded in Leicester's answer. I have received this Sunday your letters, and think me more and more beholden to you, specially for your care of my health, which is not very good at this time, as this messenger will show you; but I shall after your persuasion seek to recover it again. I shall write into Scotland as you counsel me. I have taken some medicine this day, and have a little access of an ague, through the pain of my side; wherefore I will pray that you excuse me that I write not at more length. I have fully answered to the bishop of Ross his letters; I trust you will consider them well, as simply as they are meant. And so I pray God to preserve and prosper you in all your affairs. This Sunday at night.” A month later, on the 17th of May, Mary wrote to Norfolk as follows:—“I have received, my own good constant lord, your comfortable writings, which are to me as welcome as ever thing was, for the hopes I see you are in to have some better fortune than you had yet, through all your friends' favour. And albeit my friends' case in Scotland be of heavy displeasure unto me, yet nothing to the fear I had of my son's delivery up to queen Elizabeth, and those that I thought

might be cause of longer delaying your affairs. And therefore I took greater displeasure than I have done since, and that diminished my health a little. For the earl of Shrewsbury came one night so merry to me, showing that the earl of Northumberland had been in rebellion, and was rendered to the earl of Sussex, lord-lieutenant of the north; which since I have found false; but at the sudden such fear for friends combering me, I wept so till I was all swollen three days after. But since I have heard from you, I have gone abroad and sought all means to avoid displeasure, for fear of you; but I have need to care for my health, since the earl of Shrewsbury looks me to, and the pestilence was in other places. The earl of Shrewsbury looks for Bateman to be instructed how to deal with me; because he is ablest and clean turned from the earl of Leicester. This I assure you, and pray keep that quiet. I have no long leisure, for I trust to write by one of my gentlemen shortly more surely. I pray you think and hold me in your grace as your own, who daily shall pray to God to send you happy and hasty deliverance of all troubles, not doubting but you would not then enjoy alone all your felicities, not remembering your own faithful to death, who shall not have any advancement or rest without you; and so I leave to trouble you, but commend you to God. Your own queen."

On the 25th of May, the bishop of Ross was restored to liberty, and at the end of the month Mary was removed from Tutbury to Chatsworth, where she enjoyed more liberty, and where at this time the bishop of Ross was allowed to go and pay her a visit. It was then, apparently, that the communications with Spain and Rome became more definite and important. She determined, in the first place, to send to the pope, to obtain a bull declaring the nullity of her marriage with Bothwell, which at this time stood in the way of her immediate union with the duke of Norfolk. On the 14th of June, she wrote as follows to the duke:—"My good lord, it has not been small comfort to me to have the means to discourse at length with our trusty servant the bishop of Ross, that I might more plainly discover in all matters, nor betray it, both for the better intelligence of the state there to me, and of my heart to him; but especially for the better intelligence betwixt us two; being means whom I have declared

my opinion in all things, to use them by your advice, either to cover, as you please and shall best serve your turn, for that will I have respect unto above all other things, or to accept or refuse whatsoever conditions you think for both our weal; for without yours I will not have any. And therefore command me, as for yourself, and as your trusty servant; and believe him of all that he will assure you in my name; that is, in effect, that I will be true and obedient to you, as I have promised, as long as I live; praying you, if you be not, as you hoped you should be delivered, think no displeasure, but seek the best remedy, and having amply communed with him, I will not trouble you with long discourse, but remitting all to him, I will, after my hearty commendations to you, my good lord, pray God to send you your hearty desire. Your own faithful to death."

At the end of the month of May, the publication of the pope's bull against Elizabeth had again directed the attention of the government to the secret intrigues of the catholics. As I have said before, the French ambassador promoted the marriage with Norfolk as the only means of hindering a match with Spain, while the Spaniards gave in to it, merely because by opposing it they feared to lose the advantage they had gained. Thus Norfolk became the hinge of the whole conspiracy; although the ambassador of France was kept in the dark with regard to the real character of the plot, he gathered informations from time to time which appear in his dispatches.

It was very soon after the publication of the papal bull alluded to, that Mary gave the bishop of Ross instructions for a mission to the court of Rome. These instructions, drawn up in Latin and still preserved, were no doubt arranged during the bishop's visit to Chatsworth, and they were especially hostile to Elizabeth's protestant government, but the chief aim of the mission was to obtain a declaration of the nullity of the marriage with Bothwell. She returned thanks to the pope for the favour he had shown to her, and represented to him her present unhappy situation, held in close confinement by her mortal enemies, whose intention, she said, it was to procure her death by poison. She declared that she had only been preserved from this fate by the vigilant care of the earl of Shrewsbury, her keeper. Her enemies, she declared, were intriguing to get her out of the hands

of the earl of Shrewsbury, and to have her in those of the earls of Bedford, Hertford, and Huntingdon, which was like throwing a sheep to the wolves. Still she was confident in the influence she had over the English catholics, and, while she professed to have done all she could to conciliate the favour of Elizabeth that she might obtain her liberty, it was her ardent desire to effect the re-establishment of the catholic religion throughout Great Britain. She had entrusted the execution of this grand enterprise to the catholic chiefs of the country, who were urged to it by their zeal and devotion to the holy see. She then proceeded to urge her petition for a declaration of the nullity of her marriage with Bothwell, but she wished this declaration to be kept for the present a profound secret. She next implored the pope to request the catholic princes to write conjointly to Elizabeth in her favour, that she might obtain more personal liberty. She concluded by a strong recommendation to the pope in favour of the English exiles, particularizing the celebrated Thomas Stukely, who is well known as one of the most worthless of the traitors who had fled from Elizabeth's vengeance.

Meanwhile Elizabeth's anger towards the duke of Norfolk had been gradually appeased, until at the beginning of August, his prison was changed to his own residence, the Charterhouse, near Smithfield. Perhaps he would have been restored to full liberty, but for suspicions raised by the partial insurrection in Norfolk. The duke, immediately after this amelioration in his condition, sent to the French ambassador to inform him that his devotion to the Scottish queen was not diminished, and that he was determined to persevere in his efforts for her restoration. Mary's eagerness at this time to obtain a secret declaration of the nullity of her marriage with Bothwell arose apparently from a design to effect her escape from prison, and to have an immediate marriage with Norfolk; and at the end of October, the earl of Shrewsbury discovered a plot, in which the principal conspirators were two sons of the earl of Derby, the result of which would have been Mary's escape by one of the windows of Chatsworth. The grand conspiracy meanwhile went on slowly and languidly, owing to the state of the public relations between England, France, and Spain, at that moment, and to a negotiation which

was at this time going on for the conditional restoration of Mary to her kingdom. Thus passed the winter of 1570, amid doubts and uncertainties on all sides; but with the opening of spring, the Spaniards had formed new designs against Elizabeth, and at the beginning of February, 1571, we find Mary and the duke of Norfolk throwing themselves with renewed energy into the great catholic plot. Considerable sums of money had been entrusted by the pope and the king of Spain to the duke of Alva, to be employed in an expedition to assist Mary's friends at the discretion of that prince and an Italian named Ridolfi, and the latter was sent over to England on a secret mission to make final arrangements for this purpose. A memorial drawn up by Mary on this occasion, addressed to the bishop of Ross, but to be communicated to the duke of Norfolk, was afterwards found among this nobleman's papers. The official copy now preserved, is unfortunately somewhat mutilated, especially at the beginning, but the sense may everywhere be made out. Mary begins by stating that this memoir was drawn up for the purpose of being laid before Norfolk, whose advice and wishes she declares were to be her rule of conduct in the matter. She states her opinion that the proceedings of the king of France in her favour were not sincere, and that he only made a show of interfering out of jealousy to the Spaniards; if the Spaniards once gave up her cause, France would proceed no further in it. She put no more faith in the professions of the French ambassador that he approved of her marriage with the duke of Norfolk, and she was especially alarmed at the proposals for a marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou. Her thoughts were now turned to making her escape. "All the advices that come from the sea-ports," she says, "tend to persuade me to find the means to escape forth of the country. And as to the places for my retreat in that case, they find it not good that I enter into Scotland without forces, for to inclose myself in a fortress, I shall be in danger to remain there without succours. And in the meantime my rebels continuing in their usurped authority, I may fall in such inconveniences, that before I be supported the place must be rendered by hunger or otherwise. And to keep the field without the favour of my good and obedient subjects, I shall be constrained to sustain battle, whereof the issue

may be perilous for me, for notwithstanding the treason that is to be feared, my rebels may have such and so prompt favour, that they might be made the strongest party before I get any mean to have foreign aid. To retire myself into France, albeit I have friends and rents there, the place which I held, the state I am reduced into, and that wherein things of France dependeth presently, are sufficient considerations to cause the desire pass from me to remain there. And to think for to obtain succours in those parts to return and establish myself in my own realm, the affairs that the king of France is within his own country, and the appearance there is of new affections, shall not permit him, although he would, to help me. And in the meanwhile the jealousy which the king of Spain would take to see me take that way, would be occasion to make him retire himself wholly from me. And so I should remain destitute of all sides. There rests furthermore Spain, where I may save myself, and have succours of the king of Spain, a prince full of pity, and his countries whole, quiet, and flourishing, out of the which means may be easily drawn. As to Flanders, the negotiations would not be so commodious nor expeditious in absence as in my presence; and therefore they are of advice that I should pass the high way to Spain, where I may treat with my friend the king of Spain myself, and obtain promptly of him more nor I could in a long time by the ambassador or deputies, alleging the goodness, conscience, and uprightness of him may be pledge for the surety of my person. And whatsoever I accord to him, I need not fear that he would usurp the same upon my states. To speak truly, I have better hope to be supported by that side nor by any other way. And in what sort that ever it be, methinks it is needful to follow that part. And therefore I would be of advice to send some faithful man towards the king of Spain, whom he might trust, to make him understand of the state of my realm and of this also, the friends that I have here, the deliberations, and the means they may have to set themselves in the field, and seize them of me, if the said king of Spain will sustain and embrace my causes and theirs." She next proposes to deliver up her son to the Spanish king, but she expresses a fear that the latter might object to her marriage with the duke of Norfolk, and wish her to match herself with don

Juan of Austria, which she was determined to refuse. She hoped, however, that the pope would take her part in this matter, and she thought that no agent better than Ridolfi would be found to negotiate on this and all other points. "The fear," she continues, "that they have on yonder side that the duke of Norfolk will remain protestant, stays and holdeth all things in suspense, and maketh that my proper servants and ministers, what to believe, to favour his desire, are suspect in such sort, that they would not then they should have any knowledge of it that shall be practised here among them. To take away wholly the said suspension, and accomode the whole to the contentment and satisfaction of the said king of Spain and pope, I see no other mean but to assure them of the duke of Norfolk, for that is the knot of the matter, and on the which resolution must be taken, otherwise not to look for any succours of them, but by the contrary, all the traverses that they may make by the means of the catholics of this country, in whom is my whole esperance, to impeach the marriage, which this only respect of religion makes them to fear. The negotiation must be holden very seeret, and that Ridolfi keep himself well, that he make no semblance thereof in France, nor yet to seem to meddle in anywise in my affairs, for the jealousy that is betwixt France and the king of Spain would be the occasion that there should not be a stone but it should be removed for to break all." Mary concludes with urging haste; "the season requires diligence and eelerity, and therefore if the duke of Norfolk thinks the voyage of the said Ridolfi good, I am of advice it be rather sooner nor later, and not to tyne (*lose*) more time."

In the month of Mareh John Hamilton came to England, on a seeret message from the duke of Alva to Mary, and she sent him baek with instructions, of which a copy is still preserved in the archives at Brussels, and which have been printed by prince Labanoff. In these instructions, Mary thanks the duke of Alva for his expressions of goodwill, and regrets that the ill-conduct of some of her servants had given him cause of mistrust. She declares her intention of acting in future by his advice and by that of the king of Spain, "the defender and refuge of the catholic church, for the defence of which I alone will now expose life, estate, goods, and honour, in this isle." She states that her friends in Scotland had chosen the lord

Seton to be sent over to Flanders, to treat with the duke for an armed force to be sent over to assist them in resisting the authority of the regent; and at the same time she acknowledges the receipt of money sent her by the king of Spain, which she promises shall be applied in such a way as to show not only her obligation, but that of "all this island," to the Spanish king and to the duke as the faithful executor of his commandments. She speaks of various messages which had passed between them, alludes to offers she had made to the king of Spain regarding her right to the crown of England, and of her willingness to deliver up to him her son as a hostage. She promises to send the duke of Alva a secret cipher, by means of which they may carry on their correspondence in safety; but, perhaps from some mistrust of the messenger, she makes no allusion to the mission of Ridolfi, or to the detailed instructions given to that agent by herself and the duke of Norfolk.

These very important instructions are preserved in Italian in the secret archives of the Vatican at Rome, and are printed in prince Labanoff's collection. Ridolfi was to proceed to the pope and to the king of Spain, but he was to take Flanders in his way, in order to communicate his instructions to the duke of Alva. He was first to declare, on the part of Mary, "the miserable state of this island, and the appearance there is of greater cruelty and tyranny against the catholics, already so much afflicted, if God by his mercy and goodness does not send a prompt remedy to it, and put it in the hearts of the christian princes to embrace their cause;" for the catholics of Great Britain, she said, looked for the re-establishment of their church in this island from the support which these christian princes were to give to her claims to the crown of Scotland and England, in opposition to any protestant claimant, such as the earls of Hertford and Huntingdon. Ridolfi was next to represent the danger of some of the chief nobles, in consequence of plots which had broken out or been discovered before they were ripe; and especially the cruel position of Mary herself, held as a captive, and moved from prison to prison, while her friends were sacrificed, or compelled to seek safety in exile. Mary further accused Elizabeth of a design to put her to death, declared that she had once sent an agent to put that design into execution, and that she only let her live because, by holding out delusive hopes of

her restoration, she expected more effectually to overcome her faithful subjects. For these various considerations, she said, she was urged by her friends to apply for assistance to all christian princes, but more especially and directly to the pope and the king of Spain, and with that assistance her friends "were prepared to hazard their goods and lives, and all they had in this world, for the advancement of my title and the re-establishment of the catholic religion. The duke of Norfolk, the first of the English nobility, constitutes himself head of this enterprise, who, although for certain considerations and respects, he have before shown himself one of the most obedient subjects of the queen of England, and follows the pretended religion established by law, has always supported the catholics, opposing to the utmost of his power all oppressions to which they were subjected. Moreover, the lords of England, with whom he has continually shown himself most familiar, and by whom he is most trusted, are catholics, and likewise all his domestic servants from the greater number to the lesser, and even the preceptors which he has employed about his sons, in order that they should be instructed in the catholic religion. He has himself embraced my cause against the evil accusers of my rebels, who, supported and favoured by this queen, and generally by all the protestants of this island, expected to deprive me of honour and life, and by still greater rage and malignity, when on one side they loaded me with threats, and on the other attempted to treat and persuade me that I should change my religion, to put an end, as they said, to all my troubles, the duke was one of those who underhand counselled and admonished me to stand firm and constant, and whenever there has been question of the title and succession to this crown, he has never favoured any of the protestants who pretended to it, but has always fully declared that, after the queen of England, whom he acknowledges as his sovereign lady, the right belongs to me; which demonstrations and proofs of his good intention are the cause that the catholics place their confidence in him, and trust his sincerity and determination for the re-establishment of the catholic religion." Mary goes on to state, that the only reason why the duke did not at once change his religion was the necessity of temporising, for he had so many friends among the protestant nobles who would follow his course, from love

to his person, and hatred of the two protestant claimants to the succession, the earls of Hertford and Huntingdon, that it would be imprudent to run the risk of losing them by throwing off the mask too soon. Although Elizabeth had tried to frighten the catholic nobles by imprisoning the duke, who was still under guard, they were determined, in conjunction with many of the protestant lords, to take up arms in defence of Mary's claims, and to oppose Elizabeth's marriage with the duke of Anjou, which was at this moment in treaty, and which might have disappointed all Mary's prospects, and defeated whatever ambitious or selfish projects the king of Spain entertained. Ridolfi was to explain the various subjects of discontent which, Mary doubted not, would make the greater part of the protestant nobles join with the catholics in this enterprise, or at least not oppose them; and he was to assure the pope, on her part, of the duke of Norfolk's sincere devotion to the catholic religion. She implored the pope to urge the king of Spain to let no consideration hinder him from giving his active support to an enterprise which promised to be so advantageous, not only to all Christendom, but to himself in particular. Ridolfi was further to state that this enterprise had been carefully concealed from the French and from all Mary's own relations, as she was determined to owe her delivery to his holiness and the catholic king alone. As a set-off against her marriage with the duke of Norfolk, which was disapproved by Spain, she proposed to deliver her son to the guardianship of the Spanish king, and to marry him to one of the infantas. With regard to the means of putting this enterprise into execution, Mary referred to the separate instructions given to Ridolfi by the duke of Norfolk. Ridolfi was further to state that if any succour were sent by Spain to her friends in Scotland, she was ready to deliver up Dumbarton castle to the Spanish troops; to represent that with money her friends there would easily raise troops and obtain provisions; and he was to address himself privately to the queen of Spain, and to urge her to use her influence over her husband for the promotion of the enterprise. Finally, Mary tells her envoy, "You shall declare to his holiness the great grief we have that we were made prisoner by one of our own subjects, the earl of Bothwell, and led as a prisoner, with the earl of Huntley our chancellor, and the lord Lethington our secre-

tary, as well as ourselves, to the castle of Dunbar, and afterwards to the castle of Edinburgh, where we were retained against our will in the hands of the said earl, until the time that he had procured a pretended divorce between him and his wife, the sister of my lord of Huntley, our nearest kinswoman, and further constrained us to give our consent, also against our will, to him. Wherefore I implore his holiness to take such order upon this that we may be quit of such indignity by way of process at Rome, or by commission sent to Scotland to the bishops or other catholic judges, according as shall appear well to his holiness, as he will understand particularly and at length by the memoir which will be given you by the bishop of Ross." This is a very different account of the marriage with Bothwell to that which Mary had given on previous occasions; and, perhaps, on that account she referred this article especially to Ridolfi's discretion. She recommended at the same time the greatest attention to the separate instructions given to him by the duke of Norfolk and the bishop of Ross.

The instructions given to Ridolfi by the duke of Norfolk were in the highest degree treasonable. He began by declaring that the great confidence which the queen of Scots and himself, as well as "other nobles our friends in this kingdom," placed in Ridolfi, had led them to entrust to him "the negotiation of a commission of the utmost importance (*di una pratica importantissima*), not only for the safety of our own persons, but for the greater part of the inhabitants of these two kingdoms, and in general to all Christendom." For this purpose they determined to send him as their agent, first to Rome to the pope, and then to the king of Spain, to represent to them the miserable condition of the island, and the means they had of restoring it; and for further assurance he sent a list of the English nobility, indicating those who were favourable to their enterprise, or who were neutral or opposed to it. He was to declare the persecutions to which Mary, as well as himself, and all the English catholics, were exposed, and the danger that they would increase, unless his holiness and the king of Spain interfered promptly to assist them in supporting by force of arms their cause, and the claims of Mary to the English succession, against the earls of Hertford and Huntingdon, who, for being protestants (*per essere Ughonotti*), were supported by the

greater part of those who were of their religion. They would thus, he said, not only benefit the island of Great Britain, but all Christendom, which was everywhere threatened by the plots of the protestants. "*Item*, you will signify to our lord (the pope) and to the catholic king, the good and ready disposition of the catholics of this kingdom, who are the greater number and more powerful [he means among the nobles], and the occasion which offers itself of restoring all this island to the catholic faith, and of undertaking and advancing the just title of the queen of Scotland, by means of which many of the protestants themselves, who are enemies to the said Hertford and Huntingdon for divers causes, will assist, although they be protestants, not moving so much the matter of religion, as that of the succession. And where our lord (the pope) and the catholic king till now have had some doubt of me, on account of my not having declared myself (a catholic), but on the contrary being more ready to show myself a protestant, you will signify that this did not arise from ill-will that I had towards the holy see, but that I might be able, when time and occasion presented themselves, as they now present themselves, to do some eminent service to all this island, and generally to all Christendom, as the effect itself will show, if the succours which I now seek shall be granted to me; and of this you may thereupon assure our lord (the pope) and the catholic king, that I am not so much moved by the advancement of the marriage with the queen of Scotland, as by the desire of uniting all this island under a true prince, and restoring the ancient laws and the true christian and catholic religion; and because many of the protestant faction follow me and support me for the advancement of the said title of the queen of Scotland, let our lord (the pope) and the catholic king not wonder that I avoid declaring myself (a catholic) to everybody." Ridolfi was therefore to kiss the feet of the pope in Norfolk's name first, and then on the part of all the English catholic nobles, and to beg that he would take, as a proof of his devotion to the catholic religion, until circumstances would allow him to profess it openly, various circumstances which have already been detailed in Mary's instructions. He was to declare to the king of Spain Norfolk's great attachment for his person, and his gratitude for favours which he had formerly received from him; to assure him, that though cir-

cumstances had sometimes forced Mary to appear to throw herself into the arms of France, they had always placed their chief confidence in Spain, and that he had always done his utmost to counteract the influence of France in Elizabeth's court, and to support that of Spain. Norfolk urged the necessity of the king of Spain's intervention at that moment, not only to protect Mary's rights, but to put a stop to the progress of protestantism in Europe. He further urged how much it was the interest of the king of Spain to hinder Elizabeth's marriage with the duke of Anjou, and offered, with Philip's assistance, to take up arms to oppose it. Ridolfi was then to request the Spanish king's approval of Norfolk's marriage with Mary; in return for which the duke promised to maintain the ancient alliance between England and Spain on conditions most favourable to the latter power, and to cause full satisfaction to be given for all the offences against Philip which had recently been committed by England. The duke next proceeds to enumerate the means of success which were at his command. "To advance the said enterprise, many of the nobles and of the people offer to take arms under my conduct, and to expose themselves to all the risk of battle to effect the restoration of the catholic religion and of the queen of Scotland." As, however, they wanted many things necessary for such an enterprise, they had recourse to the king of Spain, praying him to send some forces, under an experienced commander who might direct the war, with money and ammunition, who might take possession of some fortified place on the coast which might serve as a point from which to direct their operations, and Norfolk promised to join them immediately with twenty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry. He recommended, as the most convenient places for this purpose, either Harwich on the eastern coast, which lying close to his own territory, he might be ready to join the Spanish troops immediately; or Portsmouth, in the south, which was more conveniently situated with regard to Spain, and where he doubted not to be able to unite his forces with theirs. Norfolk requested that in the succours sent there should be six thousand arquebusiers, or, as we should say, musketeers; four thousand arquebuses, or muskets, to equip his own troops; two thousand corselets, and twenty-five pieces of field-artillery, with munitions in proportion, and three thousand cavalry.

The whole amount of troops required was ten thousand men, and all the expenses were ultimately to be repaid by Mary, if successful. The duke of Norfolk suggested further that, for the purpose of distracting Elizabeth's attention, and dividing her armies the moment of the invasion of England, two thousand Spanish soldiers should be landed in Scotland, to join with Mary's friends there, and two thousand in Ireland, to unite with the Irish rebels. He represented the dangers which would arise to the catholic cause throughout Europe, from the marriage of Elizabeth with the duke of Anjou, which he represented to have been sought by the protestant party in France, and expressed his opinion that, in spite of the negotiation going on at this time for the restoration of Mary, this French marriage would effectually put a stop to all hopes in her favour. Be this, however, as it might, the duke declared that, even if Mary were restored freely to her throne, it was nevertheless the intention of himself and his friends to take up arms for the re-establishment of the Roman catholic religion in England, and in support of the claims of Mary to the English throne; although, in this case, if the king of Spain thought it best to temporize for a while, and delay the enterprise against England, he was ready with his friends to retire into the king of Spain's dominions, and wait his time. If, however, the Scottish queen were detained a prisoner, Norfolk declared that it was his firm resolution to join with the catholic lords to take up arms for the purpose of making themselves master of the person of Elizabeth, and setting her captive at liberty; and he represented the great advantage to the king of Spain, and especially to his possessions in Flanders, which would result from the success of this enterprise. Ridolfi was to urge upon the pope and the catholic king the necessity of putting this design into prompt execution, before it should be suspected by the French, who were to be kept in entire ignorance of this plot; and to assure them that there was no more certain way of breaking the French marriage. He was to proceed on his mission with the utmost diligence, and to press for an immediate answer; and he was entrusted with letters of credit to the duke of Alva, as well as to the pope and the Spanish king. For greater security, if it were thought advisable, the original copies of these letters and of the

instructions were to be placed in the hands of the Spanish ambassador in London, and Ridolfi was to carry with him authenticated copies in cipher, which were to be announced to the Spanish monarch, and the other persons concerned, by the ambassador. We know that this precaution was taken, and that when the plot was discovered in England, the duke of Alva wrote to the ambassador to warn him against letting these important documents fall into the hands of the English ministers; and it is probable that they were then destroyed, for they only now exist in the authenticated copy carried to the pope, preserved in the secret archives of the Vatican, and in that presented to the king of Spain, preserved in the archives of Simancas. The duke of Norfolk's instructions to Ridolfi contained a further recommendation, that, as the king of Portugal had been grievously offended by the English, Ridolfi should pass, after his visits to Rome and Madrid, to Lisbon, and endeavour to secure his assistance in the enterprise; which, it was suggested, he might promote very materially by sending a body of troops into Ireland.

With these instructions, as before stated, the duke of Norfolk sent a list of the English nobility, with a mark to each, indicating whether they were favourable, hostile, or neutral towards the enterprise. This list is a very remarkable one, and unless we believe (which is not improbable) that the duke was too sanguine in his calculations, it shows us how much secret treason was lurking in the hearts of the English nobility at this time. The nobles set down as favourable to the conspiracy were the duke himself, the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Derby, Worcester, Cumberland, Pembroke, and Southampton, the viscount Montagu, the lords Howard, Abergavenny, Audley, Morely, Cobham, Clinton, Grey de Wilton, Dudley, Ogle, Latimer, Scrope, Monteagle, Sandys, Vaux, Windsor, St. John, Burgh, Mordaunt, Paget, Wharton, Rich, Stafford, Daere, Darcy of Theworth, Hastings, Berkeley, Cromwell, and Lumley. The duke marked as neutral, or lords who would not oppose the enterprise, the marquess of Northampton, the earls of Rutland, Sussex, Bath, Leicester, and Warwick, the viscount Bindon, and the lords de la Zouche, Mountjoy, St. John of Bletso, Lucy, North, Daere of Chiche, Willoughby, Chandos, and Buck-

hurst of Hunsdon. To seven of these names the duke has attached a cross, apparently to indicate some doubt with regard to their sentiments—these are, the earls of Sussex, Leicester, and Warwick, and the lords de la Zouche, Willoughby, Chandos, and Buckhurst. The only nobles whose hostility the duke anticipated, were the earls of Huntingdon, Bedford, and Hertford, the viscount Ferrers of Hereford, and the lords Wentworth and Burghley, to which last title Cecil had now been raised.

After a last interview with the duke of Norfolk, to whom he was secretly introduced by Barker, the duke's secretary, Ridolfi left London on the 24th of March, and proceeded direct to Brussels, where he was to wait upon the duke of Alva, and receive his letters of recommendation to the pope and the king of Spain. These letters he obtained, and continued his journey to Rome, where he was received in the most favourable manner by the pope, who gave him letters to the king of Spain, strongly approving of the project. But the duke of Alva, who seems not to have put much faith in the duke of Norfolk, had written to king Philip in a contrary sense, throwing discredit on Ridolfi himself. Accordingly, when that agent reached Madrid on the 3rd of July, his reception was not warm, and, after some delay, he received for answer that he could only advance a small sum (twelve thousand *ecus*) at that time, for the service of the queen of Scots, and that for any other aid that might be given to her, he left it to the discretion of the duke of Alva.

In the meantime extraordinary events had taken place in England. On the unexpected capture of Dumbarton castle, at the beginning of April, 1571, a quantity of important papers fell into the hands of the Scottish regent, among which was a written statement by Claude Hamilton, of his negotiations with the duke of Alva on the subject of an expedition to be sent from Flanders to second the efforts of the English catholics. This was immediately sent to England to lord Burghley, and the suspicions and vigilance of Elizabeth and her minister were at once aroused. At this time, one of the secretaries of the bishop of Ross, Charles Bailly, was on his return from Flanders, and, having met with Ridolfi at Brussels, and being employed by him to put his dispatches in cipher, he undertook to carry them with him to London. When, however, he reached

Dover, orders had been given for examining all persons passing, in consequence of the suspicions raised by the document sent to lord Burghley, and Bailly was seized, and his papers taken from him, and deposited in the office of lord Cobham, who commanded the cinque ports. But the bishop of Ross, obtaining information of what had taken place, managed adroitly to get these important documents away, and some insignificant papers substituted in their place. The bishop's cleverness was, however, again counteracted by the imprudence of his secretary Bailly, who had been carried from Dover to London, and lodged in the prison of the Marshalsea. Bailly wrote thence a letter to the bishop of Ross, who replied to him. This correspondence was carried on through William Hearle, who was then in the prison, but who is well known as one of the agents of lord Burghley, to whom it was immediately betrayed. Lord Burghley thus discovered that the letters brought from Ridolfi were in the possession of the bishop of Ross, and, after a vain attempt to induce Bailly to reveal their contents, this agent was committed to the Tower. At the same time, the queen of Scots was placed under close restraint, and her correspondence watched and intercepted.

Enough, however, had now come to the knowledge of Elizabeth's ministers to convince them of the danger which threatened their mistress, and of the necessity of proceeding by more rigorous measures; and on the 1st of May, Bailly was examined, and it is said that torture was used. The consequence was that he made a full confession, stating the circumstance of his being at Brussels, and assisting Ridolfi in putting into cipher two dispatches, containing the assurance that the duke of Alva was ready to assist the English catholics with an army, as soon as he had received instructions to that effect from the pope and the catholic king, and that these dispatches were now in the possession of the bishop of Ross. These dispatches were really addressed, in cipher, to the duke of Norfolk and lord Lumley; but to save these noblemen, Ridolfi declared that the ciphers mean the queen of Scots and the Spanish ambassador. The bishop of Ross was immediately arrested, and given into the custody of the bishop of Ely, and his house was searched, but no papers of much importance were found. On the 13th of May, the bishop himself underwent an examination before the earl

of Sussex, lord Burghley, sir Ralph Sadler, and sir Walter Mildmay, but he attempted to turn the investigation from its right course, by asserting that the negotiation with the duke of Alba was only to obtain assistance for Mary's friends in Scotland, and declaring that he had done nothing contrary to his duties as an ambassador. He remained in custody, and in the latter part of the month of August, was carried by his keeper to Ely.

At the end of August a new accident fell out, which led to further and very important discoveries. The French ambassador, La Mothe Fénelon, then sent, through the duke of Norfolk, two thousand crowns to the garrison of Edinburgh castle, who now held that fortress for Mary, and were in want. It appears that the duke was not sufficiently cautious in his choice of agents for the transport, and one of them carried both the money and the letters which accompanied it to lord Burghley. The French ambassador received a severe reproof for his conduct in this matter, but the consequences were far more serious to the other persons concerned in it. The duke of Norfolk's secretaries, Higford and Barker, with another of his servants, named Bannister, were arrested, and, under fear of the torture, confessed all they knew of their master's projects. Higford gave information of the place in which the secret correspondence between the duke of Norfolk, the queen of Scots, and the bishop of Ross, was concealed, and this consequently fell into the hands of the English government. Many persons were compromised in these confessions, and a considerable number, including the earls of Arundel and Southampton, the lord Cobham, and his brother, sir Thomas Cobham, sir Henry Percy, sir Thomas Stanley, and the sons of the earl of Derby, were placed under arrest. On the 7th of September the duke of Norfolk was carried back to the Tower, and orders were given for putting him on his trial for high treason; while the earl of Shrewsbury was directed to redouble his vigilance over the Scottish queen, the number of whose attendants was again diminished. The earl of Shrewsbury was now further directed to inform Mary of the discovery of the plot against Elizabeth. She was, up to this time, quite ignorant of what had been going on, and not suspecting the confessions that had been made, or the discovery of the secret correspondence, she boldly denied that she had had any com-

munication with the duke of Norfolk since he was first put under restraint, or that she had any knowledge of the plot alluded to.

Elizabeth's ministers now consulted the crown lawyers on the subject of an ambassador's inviolability, and these authorities gave it as their opinion, that ambassadors who had taken part in a conspiracy against the state or sovereign to whom they were accredited, lost thereby all claim to the privileges attached to their office, and that the bishop of Ross was in this position. Upon this he was brought back from Ely to London on the 19th of October, and committed first to the custody of the lord mayor, and two or three days afterwards to the Tower. He there underwent an examination, on the 26th of October, by lords Clinton and Burghley, sir Francis Knollys, and sir Thomas Smith. At first he protested against the outrage on the inviolability of an ambassador's person, but on being threatened with the torture, and told that other persons engaged in the plot had confessed, he became faint-hearted, and declared, without reserve, all the intrigues which had been carried on in Mary's interest. The examination of the bishop was conducted chiefly by two of Elizabeth's ablest ministers, sir Thomas Smith and Dr. Wilson, and was continued during several days.* In a letter from Dr. Wilson to lord Burghley, written on the 8th of November, the writer uses the following strong and remarkable language: "The bishop seemeth to me to be very glad that these practices are come to light, saying they are all naught, and he hopeth that when folk will leave to be lewd, his mistress shall speed the better. He saith farther, upon speech that I had with him, that the queen his mistress is not fit for any husband; for first, he saith, she poisoned her husband the French king, as he hath credibly understood; again, she hath consented to the murder of her late husband, the lord of Darnley; thirdly, she matched with the murderer, and brought him to the field to be murdered; and, last of all, she pretended marriage with the duke, with whom, as he thinketh, she would not long have kept faith, and the duke should not have had the best days with her. Lord!" exclaims Dr. Wilson, "what people are these, what a queen, and what an ambassador!"

On the very day that Dr. Wilson made

* Many of his confessions, with those of other witnesses, are printed in Murdin's Collection of State Papers of this period.

this remark, the bishop of Ross was allowed to write a letter to Mary, in which he describes the circumstances under which he was constrained to confess. His account of the matter is as follows. After stating how he was imprisoned, and who were his examiners, "I was accused," he says, "of divers and great points of importance, of having communicated with the duke of Norfolk and other subjects of the queen, as was already proved and confessed by him, his servants, and others, who were placed there (in the Tower) long time before and in their hands, requiring me to make answer to such particular demands as they began to put to me; declaring that otherwise the queen was determined to proceed against me, and to treat me as a private individual, and one of her subjects who had offended against her, and that she would make me suffer also as an example and for a terror to others from attempting the like. To this I replied that I was sorry that the said lady had conceived such an opinion of me, considering that I have always borne so great good will to please this lady before every other prince, after my mistress, as it has been manifested from day to day by my proceedings since my arrival in this kingdom, and that I hoped nothing would be found to the contrary, and that I had been often before messieurs of the council this summer, and made satisfactory answer each time to their questions, and, if they would not be satisfied with that, I could say no more for the present, for, in respect that I was the ambassador of a free princess, and had also the safe-conduct of her majesty, which I then produced there before them, sent to me, before my arrival in this kingdom, to come and return to Scotland at my pleasure, I desired, therefore, that I might be sent to your majesty to answer and justify all my proceedings, who had power and authority to correct me, in case that I had transgressed the limits of my charge. The council was greatly offended at this answer, and declared to me that the queen suspected that some defence like this would be brought by me, and that upon it she had already taken the opinion of the best heads in the kingdom, that, notwithstanding the privilege, I might be treated as a private individual and subject; and that it was the intention of the said lady to act accordingly. And, because I would not make any other particular answer to their demands, after great threats, I was sent immediately to the Tower; where I was

kept strictly in close prison, and the small number of my servants who were in the town were commanded to quit this kingdom within three days. Subsequently, on the 26th of October, I was taken before the admiral, lord Burghley, sir Francis Knollys, and sir Thomas Smith, and several other days before them, and sometimes the earl of Leicester, or Bedford, Walter Mildmay, and others, who declared to me the queen's resolution and determination towards me, as before, and also gave me to understand a little more clearly their proceedings here during my residence in the country. Whereby I learnt that a great part of your majesty's letters, sent from time to time to the duke, and also some sent by me to him, of the greatest importance, were fallen into their hands; of which some were produced before me, so that by them they were made certain of the most secret affairs which your majesty has treated with him at any time, either by your ministers, or otherwise; which also he and his servants, immediately after his last imprisonment in the Tower, have fully and plainly confessed, submitting themselves all together to the clemency and mercy of the queen for their offences, as also sir Thomas Stanley and others have done in other divers matters; and to such an extent that there was no longer left me room to deny my being implicated in these causes after such manifest proofs. This is why I declared fully and truly to the council all the proceedings from time to time between your majesty and the duke, in conformity to that which he has declared, and of the occasion inciting your majesty to give ear to such design and deliberation, as was lately proposed in part by foreign princes and their ministers, and in part by the subjects of this land, and that principally through the little good hope which your majesty had of deliverance by any treaties, and specially because, in the month of January last, John Hamilton was sent to your majesty by the duke of Alva, and several other messages and letters were sent by the nuncio of the pope from Paris to Ridolfi, which were sent to your majesty by the same Ridolfi at that time, to the effect that, in case the treaty should not have good success, these princes, and specially the pope and the king of Spain, would come to your majesty's succour, and send an army into England for your restoration, in case that some noble lord of that land, who professes friendship for your majesty, would assist

them; of which they desired to be certified, and that Ridolfi should be sent over with the answer. Upon which your majesty caused a letter to be written, addressed to me, containing a long discourse, with certain articles in French, and a letter to the duke, which were all delivered, declaring at length the cause which made your majesty think that discourse to be the best to be followed, and desiring his opinion in it, and his assistance, and that of his friends, in case he found it good; and because there was no other person better fitted to make the voyage and to be the minister to obtain all things necessary than Ridolfi, your majesty in these same letters recommended to the duke that he should confer with Ridolfi at length, and send him to the princes there, with such credit and instructions as should seem to the duke most expedient to obtain his demand; which letters, discourses, and instructions have been found in the duke's house, and are in the hands of the council; and that thereupon Ridolfi conferred with the duke at length, and was fully instructed and sent by his advice and letters sent in the duke's name and by his advice, although he would not subscribe them, to the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva; to which also he received answer from the pope and from Ridolfi, who has made the voyage and is now returned to the Low Countries. In the same manner various other devices, chiefly invented to lead you by the subjects of this kingdom, which were negotiated partly with yourself and partly with me and others your ministers and servants, to this effect, are discovered and specially by themselves now, so that that can no longer be concealed, being confessed so fully." "I thought it necessary," the bishop continues, "to advertise your majesty of this, in order that your highness may understand the proceedings here, imploring you to take all in good part, and to refer it to the divine providence of God, and to submit yourself entirely therein to his good pleasure with patience, hoping among other great benefits which have appeared towards you, that it will please him to move the heart of the queen, your good sister, to consider your state and your country so miserably torn by civil wars, to the end that, by the advice of her grave and prudent council, she may take some order in this for the common repose of all this isle. And to this end I would pray your highness to move the queen and some of her council by

your letters or messengers, as it shall seem most expedient to your prudence, as also for my deliverance out of these prisons; for I have reminded the council of your great desire expressed last year to obtain an interview with the queen your good sister; which, had it been granted, I assured them that your majesty would have negotiated so fully and kindly with her that all occasion would have been taken away of such jealousy and suspicion as has now arrived. And yet I am kept here very strictly, waiting her highness' pleasure; and when she considers that I have been continually, since my first detention, during seven months, at my own expense; whereby, as also by the sending away of your majesty's servants and mine out of the kingdom, I have spent so much that I am not well provided with money. I therefore implore your majesty to write to France and to the French ambassador resident here, to be means that money may be sent me here."

This letter appears to have disconcerted Mary considerably, and she was naturally angry at the disclosures made by her ambassador. It was delivered to her by the earl of Shrewsbury, her keeper, on the 19th of November, and on the 22nd she wrote the following reply, in which she makes no allusion to the vexatious events which had just taken place, but complains of her own wrongs, and declares that she will give no credit to any of the bishop's letters so long as he remains in confinement. "Reverend father in God and trusty counsellor, we greet you well. The 19th of this instant the earl of Shrewsbury delivered to us a letter, like to be of your hand writ, containing divers points, whereof we will remit to show you our mind to a more convenient time, nor during our prison and yours, and when ye may be able to render us a more free and sure account of your charge nor now. For we think of your letter as Isaac did say, it is Esau's hand and Jacob's voice; for albeit we trust to know the draughts of your pen, yet can we not know the inditer of your discourse. Nevertheless, we will answer you in two points. The one as touching it which ye writ that ye have remembered the queen our sister's council of her meeting and ours, which of before she has been so oft and so earnestly required by us, we fear the time be not meet to make any instance for it, in respect of the many refuses and disdainful answers we have gotten thereof, yea, accompanied with unkind deeds, choosing rather

to bear patiently the wrongs already received, nor to try further our discredit to our grief, except ye had some more certain hope for obtaining your suit nor that which we have been abused with in time past. As to the other point, anent our debts paying, we have written as well to have means to that effect as to obtain the grant of a matter more necessary for discharge of our conscience, as by the double of our letter, which we send you herewith, ye will see; whereof we have yet gotten no answer, but when it comes to our hands (which possibly ye have better mean to purchase) occasion may move that we shall yet suit (*seek*) more in your favour and our own for better treatment, as we have good need, being so straitly restrained these ten weeks past within the bounds of our chamber, a thing (considering our disease) no less important nor the danger of our life, although the shortening thereof were no otherwise sought by quiet enemies, as we take God to witness we do not yet suspect any danger to ensue, remaining in such a nobleman's hands, who we trust will have regard to his honour. And at the worst, as we are deliberate (*determined*) to do our duty to preserve our life, so when it shall please God we leave the same, it shall not be much to our grief, but with the constancy of a good christian, worthy of a queen descended of such blood as we are come of. Praising God that albeit men have power over our life (for too much trust reposing on their conscience), they shall have none to deprive us by detractions nor false impostures, of the reward and honour due unto those that live and die well and generously. And therefore rejoicing to depart of this false world with a free conscience, leaving (we thank God) a son and heir after us, not unprovided for, nor destitute of many alliances and friendships, yea, of the best, that will maintain and strengthen his cause and ours in time and place when we are gone. And in the mean time we pray God to encourage you in all your proceedings with your duty toward him, conform to your calling, as a member of his church, and that which ye owe to us your sovereign in the charge we committed to you; like as for our part, we shall endeavour to work all we can to his pleasure and to give you example. From Sheffield castle, the 22nd day of November, 1571." Mary added a postscript in her own handwriting, "And if for your necessities you have need to write to us, let your

letters contain no other discourse so long as you are not used in the respect of a free ambassador, for of my part I will not use or credit the counsel of no prisoner till I hear him speak *viva voce*."

But however the bishop of Ross' confessions may have disconcerted and displeased Mary, they proved more fatal to the other personage mainly concerned. By the bishop's depositions, compared with those of the other prisoners, and with the documents in possession of Elizabeth's ministers, the latter obtained full information on all the details of Ridolfi's mission, and there was no further room for doubt of the plans and designs of the duke of Norfolk, and of the enterprise for the re-establishment of the Roman catholic religion in England by means of a Spanish invasion. The Spanish ambassador, don Gueraldo d'Espés, who was deeply compromised by the confessions of the bishop of Ross, was ordered to leave the kingdom immediately. The commission appointed to investigate the conspiracy, and to examine the prisoners, concluded their labours on the 28th of November, by declaring that there was sufficient matter brought to light to justify proceedings against the duke of Norfolk for high treason. Preparations were immediately made for carrying this decision into execution, and, on the 22nd of December, the earl of Shrewsbury, as lord marshal of England, was appointed to preside over the court of peers which was to be summoned for the trial. Sir Ralph Sadler was sent to Sheffield to take charge of the queen of Scots during the earl's absence. On the 14th of January, 1572, the trial commenced. The duke pleaded his cause with much moderation, but the evidence against him, furnished by the depositions of his own agents and of the bishop of Ross, who stated all the heads of the negotiations in which Ridolfi was employed, left no room for justification, and on the third day of the trial the court pronounced him guilty of high treason, and condemned him to the scaffold. When his sentence was read to him, he declared solemnly that he was innocent of the crimes laid to his charge, that he had never been other than a loyal and faithful subject to his queen, but that, as man had agreed to condemn him, he resigned himself patiently to the will of God. He begged his judges to intercede with the queen for his children, and for the recompense of his servants and the payment of his debts. In his letter to his children, written on the 20th of January,

the duke spoke of his "false" accusers, under which name he especially designates the bishop of Ross. "When I am gone, forget my condemning, and forgive, I charge you, my false accusers, as I protest to God I do, but have nothing to do with them if they live. Surely Bannister dealt no way but honestly and truly; Hickford did not hurt me in my conscience willingly, nor did not charge me with any great matter that was of weight otherwise than truly. But the bishop of Ross, and specially Barker, did falsely accuse me, and laid their own treasons upon my back. God forgive them, as I do, and once again I will you to do; bear no malice in your mind." On the 23rd of January, Norfolk wrote to the queen a letter, in which he said, "The Lord knoweth, that I myself know no more than I have been charged withall, nor much of that, although, I humbly beseech God and your majesty to forgive me, I knew a great deal too much. But if it had pleased your highness, that whilst I was a man in law, to have commanded my accusers to have been brought to my face, although of my own knowledge I knew no more than as I have particularly confessed, yet if it had pleased your majesty, there might perchance have bolted out somewhat amongst them, which might have made somewhat for my own purgation, and your highness perchance have thereby known that which now is undiscovered. For certain it is, that these practices of rebellions and invasions were not brutes (*rumours*) without some full intention. God, of his merciful goodness, I hope will disclose all things that may be dangerous to your excellent majesty; and then I hope your highness shall perceive that Norfolk was not such a traitor as he hath, not without his own deserts, given great occasion of suspicion." The letter then goes on to point out the false accusers, the two chief of whom are designated as "a shameless Scot" (the bishop of Ross), and "an Italianified Englishman" (probably Barker.) For weeks after this date Norfolk remained in the Tower in a state of uncertainty, the queen having several times given orders for his execution, and then recalled

them. At length, a parliament having been called for the end of May, the commons drew up a petition to the queen, requesting her to grant three articles—the execution of the Scottish queen, the cutting off of Mary and her issue from the succession to the English throne, and the immediate execution of the duke of Norfolk. Elizabeth refused the first and second of these three demands, but she yielded to the popular clamour on the third. Accordingly, early in the morning of the 2nd of June, the duke was led to the scaffold and beheaded. At the place of execution he made a confession aloud, that he had offended God as a sinner, and that he had offended the queen his mistress, inasmuch as, contrary to the promise he had made to treat no more with the queen of Scots (which promise, however, he had not confirmed by oath), he had written to and received letters from that princess; that he had also received a letter from the pope, which he had not sought, but which had been brought to him by Ridolfi; but he declared solemnly that he had never attempted anything, either by deed, word, or even in thought, against the queen his mistress or against her kingdom; and this, he said, he averred with his dying words, before God and man.

I have been particular in giving all these last declarations of the duke of Norfolk, because, when we compare them with his own instructions to Ridolfi, which have been discovered in the most authentic form, and leave no doubt of the full extent of his guilt, they furnish us with an extraordinary example of the little trust to be placed in the dying declaration of a condemned criminal. They are further deserving of our consideration, because in the rather warm historical discussions which have been published relating to the events of this important period of our annals, the writers on either side are too apt to argue on probabilities founded on the presumed veracity of certain persons engaged in them, under extraordinary circumstances like that of the duke of Norfolk when he made these asseverations of his innocence.

CHAPTER V.

LETHINGTON'S TRIAL; PROPOSAL FOR MARY'S RETURN TO SCOTLAND; MURDER OF THE REGENT.

DURING the period which we have passed over in the last chapter, many and strange revolutions had taken place in Scotland. There was a calm while people were waiting for the trial of Lethington, though some of those who supported him, especially the lord Home and the border chiefs, were known to be gathering their followers and strengthening themselves. The laird of Grange acted with dissimulation, and the regent's friends seemed to have hoped if not believed that he would still remain true to them.

The first intelligence of the rebellion of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, as might be expected, caused considerable agitation in Scotland, where the supporters of queen Mary were ready to support their cause warmly, and prepared to offer them an asylum, if beaten. Murray, on the other hand, no sooner heard of the rising, than he offered Elizabeth his zealous co-operation to suppress it, and he sent word that, if she should think it desirable, he was ready to march to her assistance with ten thousand men, and the earl of Morton is said to have offered to accompany him with three thousand more. Proclamation was made in the towns of the south, forbidding all men to assist the English rebels on pain of treason, and the regent addressed private letters to some of the borderers to the same effect. Murray's offer in this instance was not intended to be an empty promise, for he summoned the whole force of the country to assemble at Peebles on the 20th of December; but before that time he received news that the rebellion was at an end, and that the two earls with a few of their followers had fled into Scotland. The earl of Northumberland found a refuge in a stronghold of the Armstrongs, called the Harlaw, where he was sustained by the Laird's Jock, black Ormiston, and other borderers. The earl of Westmoreland found protectors in the two more powerful lairds of Buccleuch and Fernyhirst. Murray no sooner received information of these events, than he sent orders to the seaports to intercept any of the English rebels who might attempt to make their escape to the continent, and he made a rapid march in person to the border,

and laid siege to the Harlaw. The possessor of this fortress, Hector (or Hecky) Armstrong, with the treacherous spirit too common among the freebooters of the border, but which in this case became proverbial, sold the earl of Northumberland to the regent, who carried him first to Edinburgh, and thence sent him to be imprisoned in the castle of Lochleven.

Such was the position of affairs when the day approached for the trial of Lethington. The friends of the secretary had, as we have just stated, not been inactive, and early on the morning of the trial the lord Home entered the city with a large body of horse. He was speedily followed by other chiefs of his party, similarly accompanied, until their force was so formidable that the earl of Morton, who was not easily daunted, refused to trust himself within the city. Murray, however, proceeded to the council chamber with a strong guard, and took his place. When the trial should have commenced, no prosecutor ventured to appear, and Lethington's advocate, Clement Little, stepped forward and protested that, as his client was ready to stand his trial, and there appeared no accuser, he was entitled to a verdict of acquittal. It was then that the regent rose and boldly addressed the court. He protested against the attempt to overawe justice by force, and declared that until the capital was cleared of the armed partisans who now occupied it, no verdict should be given. He represented to them that they had chosen him as their ruler under the king, that he had sworn to administer justice impartially, and that they had promised him obedience and support, and in reminding them of that promise, he asked what was the meaning of the armed concourse which now sought to overawe the judgment-seat. He told them that they were mistaken in supposing that such proceedings would intimidate him, and he declared the trial to be prorogued until such time as it could be proceeded with in a legal and peaceable manner. This energetic conduct produced its immediate effect, and a letter from the regent to Cecil, giving an account of what had taken place, and expressing satisfaction



Engraved by W. Finlay

SIR WILLIAM MAITLAND
OF LETHINGTON.

OB. 1573.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

that the prorogation of the trial would give him time to receive further instructions from queen Elizabeth, shows us how entirely English influence prevailed at this time in the Scottish court.

Elizabeth's apparent cordiality at this moment emboldened Murray to make a rather bold proposal with respect to the queen of Scots. On the 2nd of January, 1570, the regent dispatched Nicholas Elphinston to London, with written instructions to represent to the English queen that, considering that Mary was the centre and source of all the dangers which at this time threatened the government and religion as established not only in Scotland but in England also, and that her position in England gave her greater facilities in communicating with her friends abroad, there could be no more certain remedy for the practices which were then giving uneasiness to both countries, than to send her back to Scotland. He proposed, therefore, that the royal prisoner should be delivered into his hands, and he offered to give a solemn assurance that, while she was closely watched and kept safely, she should be allowed to live her natural life, and that no sinister means should be employed to shorten it, and he promised that she should have a maintenance suitable to her rank. This application was backed by the signatures of the earls of Murray, Morton, Mar, and Glencairn, the lords Lindsay, Ruthven, and Semple, and the masters of Marshall and Montrose. Elphinston's secret instructions went further than the public document, or, if we may call it so, petition, which was to be presented to Elizabeth. He was to urge on the attention of that princess the difficulties with which the Scottish regent was surrounded, the multitude of his enemies, and the impossibility of overcoming them without her active co-operation. He was to represent to Elizabeth the incessant intrigues of Mary and her partisans in both countries; the activity of the Spanish faction, supported by the influence of the pope, which kept the catholics in these islands in continual agitation; and the certainty which Mary held out to her friends in Scotland of speedy succours from France. He was to state that Murray was convinced that the only way to put a stop to Mary's intrigues was to send her back to Scotland, and to place her in the keeping of the protestant party there. So anxious was the regent to effect his purpose, that he was even ready

to make a return in kind for the favour he asked. Queen Elizabeth's rebel, the earl of Northumberland, was, as we have already seen, Murray's prisoner in Lochleven castle, and she had applied to the regent that he might be delivered up to her to receive the punishment which his offences merited from the English law. To accede to this request would not have been an honourable act, and would certainly have diminished the regent's popularity at home. Yet Elphinston was instructed to tell Elizabeth that Murray was ready to deliver up his prisoner, if she would send back Mary and support the government of the young king of Scots with an advance of money, arms, and ammunition, in order to enable him to withstand the designs of their common enemies at home and abroad. On his part, he undertook not only to preserve the closest friendship with England, but to assist Elizabeth with a Scottish army against her rebels at home, or in war against her enemies abroad. The Scottish ambassador was to point out to the queen of England the greatness of the efforts which the popish party were then making to effect the destruction of the reformed faith and the ruin of all who professed or supported it, and to urge upon her that, since the heads of all these troubles were at her commandment, she should not let slip the opportunity of securing her own safety. If she did not do so, the fault would be her own.

On the very day that Elphinston left Edinburgh, John Knox, now far advanced in years but with no diminution in the fervour of his zeal, wrote a letter to Cecil, of which no doubt Murray's ambassador was the bearer, and it was evidently intended to interest the English minister in favour of the regent's proposal. The letter is too remarkable and characteristic to be merely alluded to, and it will be better for many reasons to let it tell its own tale. "Benefits of God's hands received," Knox writes, "crave that men be thankful, and danger known would be avoided. If ye strike not at the root, the branches that appear to be broken will bud again, and that more quickly than men can believe, with greater force than we would wish. Turn your een (*eyes*) unto your God; forget yourself and yours, where consultation is to be had in matters of such weight as presently lie upon you. Albeit I have been fremedly (*strangely*) handled, yet was I never enemy to the quietness of England. God grant

you wisdom. In haste, of (*from*) Edinburgh, the second of January. Yours to command in God, John Knox, with his one foot in the grave." Knox adds in a postscript, "Mo days than one would not suffice to express what I think."

It has been asserted, I think without grounds, that Knox intended in this letter, which is certainly worded rather mysteriously, to recommend the immediate putting of Mary to death. When we compare it with this celebrated preacher's usual mode of expressing himself, and consider all the circumstances, I think the letter was intended as nothing more than an appeal to Cecil to give his support to the proposals which Elphinston was instructed to make to Elizabeth on the part of the regent, and in which Knox saw only a necessary measure of self-defence against the sanguinary designs of the papists.

It is doubtful whether this proposal originated with himself, for a similar proposal is said to have been made by Elizabeth herself a few weeks before. The French ambassador at London, M. de la Motte Fénelon, in a dispatch written on the 10th of December, 1569, stated to Catherine de Medicis, that "the practice to put the queen of Scotland into the hands of the earl of Murray had been carried on so secretly, that when six weeks ago I had some suspicion of it, as I immediately wrote to your majesty, the queen of Scotland, to whom also I gave information of it, and the bishop of Ross not being able then to obtain any certain notice of it, looked upon it as a false report, but now she, and he, and I, are very certainly informed that Mr. Carey, eldest son of my lord Hunsdon, was last September dispatched by post to Scotland, to go and propose it to the earl of Murray; and since that, in the October following, the proposal was renewed to the abbot of Dunfermline, when he was come hither; namely, to deliver the said lady to the earl of Murray, provided that he should come to take her at the port of Hull, to carry her by sea into Scotland, so as not to pass through the north country; and that, in order to acquit the honour of the queen of England, he should bring with him two earls and two lords, and the eldest sons of two other earls and two other lords, eight persons in all, to be hostages in England for the safety of the person and life of the said lady; whereupon, the said Murray, having already communicated the affair to the earls of

Morton and Mar, and to my lord Lindsay, the earl of Mar offered his eldest son, and the said Lindsay offered himself, to be two of the said hostages. A thing which the said queen of Scotland fears above all other things, and to hinder it she implores your majesties very humbly, with tears, to send a thousand hagbutteers, or at the very least five hundred, to Dumbarton, in order to give so much courage to those of her party that they may hinder her adversaries from prevailing so easily against her and against her estate as they reckon upon. And although I have already sent you word before that I have been informed that, in the English council, this plan was interrupted by the dealing of the protestants, who had caused it to be decided that the detention of the queen of Scotland here is very necessary, and that there is no other means but that to enable them to be well assured of her; nevertheless, since there might be some uncertainty in the advertisements which are given me, which, as you know, madame, can only come to me by third hands, and since there happen rather frequent changes of plans here, I implore very humbly your majesty to provide for the lamentable and very urgent need of this poor princess, your daughter-in-law, and the principal ally of your crown, by the best means which you conveniently can, and that you will send me word by the next courier what I may say to her on the subject by way of consolation."

The bishop of Ross also obtained information of the similar proposal now made by Murray to Elizabeth, and he protested against what he considered as the death-warrant of his mistress. We are not very well informed of the real intentions of Elizabeth at this moment, or of the deliberations which must have taken place on Murray's demand, except that we know that the English queen was anxious to obtain possession of the earl of Northumberland. A difficulty had arisen in Scotland from the reluctance of the nobles to give up the English nobleman, and sir Henry Gates and the marshal of Berwick (sir William Drury) were sent to the regent, no doubt to communicate with him on this subject. But a sanguinary tragedy occurred at this moment to interrupt the negotiations.

The influence of Murray among the protestant party, his popularity, his talents as a statesman, and his energy and skill as a soldier, rendered him an object of especial

hatred and jealousy to his opponents, and especially to Mary and her partisans, and it is understood that already numerous plans had been formed for his assassination, all of which had been prevented by one accident or other. The later plans of this kind had mostly originated with the Hamiltons. Among the prisoners taken in the battle of Langside was a gentleman of this name, James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who had been condemned to death on the charge of treason, but his life had been spared by the regent, and he had been punished only with the forfeiture of his estate. His wife possessed, in her own right, the small estate of Woodhouselee, on the banks of the river Esk, and in the belief that this would be exempt from the forfeiture of her husband's property, she retired to it after being obliged to quit Bothwellhaugh. But Bellenden, the justice-clerk, who had obtained a grant of Hamilton's forfeited estate, interpreted the sentence of the law differently, and claimed Woodhouselee as a part of it. He pursued the lady to her retreat, seized the house forcibly, and turned her out, nearly naked, in the middle of a severely inclement night. Next morning she was found in the woods raving mad; and this act of savage barbarity so provoked the husband, that, considering the regent (from whom the sentence of forfeiture came) as responsible for the acts of his subordinates, he determined to slay him. We are assured that he had already attempted twice to carry his design into effect, without success, and that he would perhaps have given it up in despair, had he not been urged on by the Hamiltons to attempt it again. It was certainly with the leaders of that faction, the archbishop of St. Andrews, his uncle, the lord Arbroath, and others, that he planned the murder. It was ascertained that the regent, who was at Stirling, would pass through Linlithgow on his way to the capital on the 22nd of January. The archbishop had a house in the High-street of Linlithgow, through which the regent and his suite always rode, and a small room or gallery in this house, commanding the street, was chosen for Bothwellhaugh's station. His preparations were made with the utmost deliberation, both with a view to the perpetration of the murder, and to the escape of the assassin. For the latter purpose, he was ready booted and spurred, and, while the door in front was strongly barricaded, a swift horse was placed, ready saddled, in

the stable behind. As the garden gate was too low to admit of his riding through it on horseback, and his flight might have been hindered if the horse had been led outside for him to mount there, the lintel of the doorway had been removed to give him easier passage. In the room in front of the street, where Bothwellhaugh waited his opportunity, he had taken the precaution to place a feather-bed on the floor, that the noise of his heavy boots might not be heard; and he hung a black cloth on the wall opposite the window, that there might be the less chance of detecting him by his shadow, in case the day should prove a bright one. He then cut a hole in the wooden panel beneath the window, large enough to admit the barrel of his caliver or gun, which he loaded with four bullets.

All these preparations could hardly have been made without some rumour going abroad, and we are accordingly assured that Murray received more than one warning of his danger, which his habitual boldness caused him to neglect. On the very morning of the day in which he was to pass through Linlithgow, one of his followers, named John Hume, urged him with great earnestness not to pass as usual along the High-street; and his confidence had such an effect on the regent, that he agreed to pass with him round the back of the town, and Hume even offered to conduct him to the place where he might seize the assassin. This plan, however, was unfortunately frustrated by the great crowd of people which assembled to welcome the regent as he passed, and which compelled him not only to take his way through the High-street, but to proceed at the same time at a very slow pace. Bothwellhaugh, who had been awaiting patiently his arrival, was thus enabled to take deliberate aim, and when Murray came opposite the window, he fired his piece, and one of the bullets passed through the lower part of the regent's body with so much force that it killed the horse of Arthur Douglas, who rode on the other side of him. The people rushed to the door of the house from whence the shot was fired, and proceeded to burst open the door; but the confusion which had immediately followed the deed gave the assassin time to mount his horse and fly; and though pursued at a distance, he arrived in safety at Hamilton, where he was received in triumph by the archbishop and the chiefs of that faction, who were assembled there in arms to await

the result of this attempt, ready to take immediate advantage of his success to advance Mary's cause. We have Mary's own declaration, in a letter written at a later period, that the murder of her brother was committed without her complicity, but she approved of the deed, and exulted in its success. We may recommend the letter in which, full eighteen months after the murder, Mary avows these sentiments, to those zealous champions of her character who object, to every attempt to throw blame upon it, her gentle and forgiving character. Writing to her agent in France, the archbishop of Glasgow, on the 28th of August, 1571, she says—"That which Bothwell-haugh did, was done without my commandment, for which I feel myself under as great obligation to him as if I had been of council in it, and even more. I wait for the accounts which are to be sent to me of the receipt of my dowry, in order to make up my state, in which I will not forget the pension of the said Bothwellhaugh."* The assassin had then indeed made his escape to France, where he received a pension from the queen of Scots as a reward for his crime.

The fatal ball had struck the regent just above the belt of his doublet, and, passing through his body, passed out near the hip-bone; yet he had strength to proceed on foot to the palace. His medical attendants at first believed the wound not to be mortal, but they were soon obliged to relinquish all hopes of his recovery, and it became evident that he could not pass the night. He received the information of his danger with the utmost calmness; rebuked those who blamed him for the clemency which had spared a Hamilton to be his murderer; commended the young prince to the care of the nobles who were then present; and a little before midnight he breathed his last with the same calm demeanour with which he received the intimation of the fatal nature of his wound.

* The original words of Mary's letter are,—“Ce que Bothwellhach a faict, a esté sans mon commandement, de quoy je lui sçay aussi bon gré et meilleur, que si j'eusse esté du conseil. J'attend les mémoires qui me doivent estre envoyez de la recepte de mon donaire, pour faire mon estat, où je n'oubliera la pension du dict Bothwellhach.”—Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, vol. iii. p. 354. In the part of the letter immediately preceding this quotation, Mary wishes for the murder of some one who had offended

Thus perished one of the greatest Scotchmen, if not the greatest, of his age. Much has been said of him, both for and against, according as the writers were favourable or hostile to his party; and his conduct at various times presents contradictions which can only be explained by the circumstances of the times and the extraordinary difficulties with which he had to contend. His abilities alone had preserved his country from much greater disorders than those which it had already experienced, and his loss was at this moment irreparable. The first intelligence of the murder produced in the court of Elizabeth a general feeling of consternation, and no time was lost in consulting on the best measures for supporting the protestant and English interests in Scotland. Randolph, whose diplomatic skill had been well tried in Scottish affairs, was immediately dispatched to that country to watch the course of events. In France and Spain, on the contrary, the news of the assassination of the regent was received with the utmost joy, and preparations were made to assist Mary's party, which, it was supposed, would now be in the ascendant.

The regent's funeral was celebrated with great solemnity on the 14th of February. The body had been moved from Linlithgow to Stirling; it was conveyed thence by water to Leith, and deposited in Holyrood-house, from whence it was carried in procession to the high church of St. Giles, accompanied by the magistrates and citizens, and followed by a large concourse of the nobility and gentry. The body was carried by the earls of Morton, Mar, Glencairn, and Cassillis, and the lords of Glamis, Lindsay, Ochiltree, and Ruthven. It was preceded by the laird of Grange, who bore the banner with the royal arms, and Colvil of Cleish, who carried the regent's coat armour. A sermon was preached by John Knox, and the body was then interred in St. Anthony's aisle.

the duke of Guise, and assures the archbishop of Glasgow that it would give her satisfaction to know that it was one of her own followers who had done the deed. “Je voudray qu'une si meschante créature, que le personnage dont il est question, fust hors de ce monde, et seroy bien ayse que quelqu'un qui m'appartiens en fust l'instrument, et encore plus qu'il fust pendu de la main d'un bourreau, comme il a mérité.”

CHAPTER VI.

TRoubles WHICH FOLLOWED THE DEATH OF MURRAY; TURBULENCE OF THE BORDERERS, AND INVASION OF SCOTLAND BY AN ENGLISH ARMY; REGENCY OF THE EARL OF LENNOX; CAPTURE OF DUMBARTON CASTLE; DEATH OF LENNOX.

MANY circumstances seemed to show that the murder of the regent was the result of an extensive conspiracy, and that Mary's friends were prepared, at various points distant from each other, to take advantage of it. The Hamiltons, as we have said, were assembled together to be ready for immediate action, and they were encouraged by the arrival of some succours from France, which had already entered the Clyde; while one of their agents had returned from a mission to the duke of Alba with assurances of the sympathy and support of Spain. The exultation of this party was, however, shown most openly and boldly on the border. The fugitive earl of Westmoreland still remained concealed among the borderers, and it is said that when he first heard of the murder of the regent, he threw his hat into the fire in the excess of his joy. His friends and hosts, Scott of Buccleuch and Ker of Fernihurst, had already collected their followers in arms, and on the morning following the regent's death they led them across the border, in company with the earl, and effected a destructive raid on the English territory. We are assured by Buchanan that this invasion was made at the instigation of the Hamiltons, who hoped thereby to embroil the relations between the two countries, and so perhaps afford a better pretence for foreign interference.

But, with the exception of this raid, the hostile factions were satisfied to try the effect of dissimulation and intrigue, before appealing to arms. The Hamiltons professed to repudiate the crime which had rid them of their opponent, but they joined with the earl of Argyle, and sent a messenger to Edinburgh to warn their opponents in their names, as the queen's lieutenants, to acknowledge no authority but that of Mary. They declared their willingness, in her name, to proceed against the murderer and bring him to punishment. The protestant leaders replied to this by a public proclamation, forbidding all persons from holding communication with the Hamiltons or any of their faction. This was fol-

lowed by an intrigue which ended in the liberation of Lethington. Kirkaldy of Grange, who held Edinburgh castle, continued to profess allegiance to the king, and he had, as we have seen, attended at the burial of the earl of Murray. He now made advances in favour of Lethington, who still remained in the castle, and these were gladly listened to by the protestant chiefs, who were willing to secure the services of this skilful politician. A meeting of these chiefs was held in the capital, and Lethington voluntarily presented himself before the privy council to answer to the charges which had been brought against him. He protested his innocence, and declared his readiness to stand a trial; and after an investigation, which appears to have been a mere matter of form, the council acquitted him. He was immediately restored to his place and office, and being called upon to consult with the rest on the steps to be followed in the present emergency, he evidently aimed at bringing about the election to the regency of one of the queen's friends, for he urged that at a meeting which was to be held in Edinburgh on the 4th of March, to which the choice of a new regent was to be referred, the nobles of the queen's party should be invited to attend; and this, it appears, was reluctantly agreed to.

After these things had been settled, the English ambassador, Randolph, who had arrived in Edinburgh, was admitted to an audience. He complained of the late inroad on the borders, declaring that his mistress blamed only the actors of it, and continued her friendly feelings towards the young king's government, whom she would either assist in punishing the transgressors, or she was ready to take the task of punishing them upon herself. She offered the protestant leaders her support in case they persevered in the policy of the late regent; and she urged them to watch over the young king, and prevent his being carried into France, to maintain the protestant religion, remain steady to the peace and friendship with England, and to surrender to her her rebels, the earls of Northumberland and

Westmorland. Randolph was requested to wait for a reply to his message until after the election of a regent; but the protestant leaders had already determined to run the course of the queen of England. Two English ambassadors, sir William Drury and sir Henry Gates, had arrived in Scotland on a mission to the regent just before Murray's death, and within a week after that event, the earl of Morton, who was now the leader of the protestant party, requested an interview, which was held in the lodging of sir Henry Gates. The other persons present at this meeting were Grange, Lindsay, sir James Balfour, Makgill, Bellenden, and the lairds of Pitarrow and Tullibardine. Makgill, in the name of his colleagues, declared their devotion to the English queen, and their resolution to persevere in the same policy which had been followed by Murray. He expressed the hope that Elizabeth would accept their services, protect them in their religion, and assist them in resisting the intrusion of foreigners; and suggested that the most desirable person to be selected to fill the office of regent was the earl of Lennox, a nobleman then in England, who, a Stuart by name, combined the bloods of the Stuarts and Douglasses. If Elizabeth would send him home, they were ready to accept him as their chief, and it was even suggested that she should send with him a confidential person to act as his adviser. Many circumstances seemed to point out the earl of Lennox as a fit person to fill the office of regent at this time; but it is not very clear with whom the suggestion originated, with Elizabeth or with the Scottish leaders. It is certain that Elizabeth had resolved to do her utmost to promote the election of one whose profound hatred of the Hamiltons would hinder him from any leaning to the faction in Scotland which was opposed to the English influence. Lennox himself was no doubt aware of the advantage of his position, and on the first intelligence of the murder of Murray, he addressed to Elizabeth what he called a supplication, deploring the great danger in which his grandson, the infant king of Scots, was placed, and suggesting that she should provide for his safety by prevailing with the keepers to deliver him into her custody. This proposal must have been especially agreeable to the wishes of the English queen.

Elizabeth had as yet taken no steps to avenge the inroads of the Scottish borderers, when a new cause of provocation was

given. In the latter days of February, there was a renewed rebellion of the English catholics of the north under Leonard Dacres, the second son of the lord Dacres of Gillesland, which caused some uneasiness at the English court; but lord Hunsdon, who was then commanding in Berwick, and watching the movements of the Scots, immediately marched against the insurgents with part of the garrison of that important fortress, and, joining with the warden of the middle marches, sir John Foster, who had raised the border militia, they entirely defeated them. Dacres and his brother escaped into Scotland, where, like the earl of Westmoreland, they were received and protected by the Scottish border chiefs.

There was far too much mutual hatred and mutual distrust between the two parties in Scotland to render it probable that they would meet together in parliament to consult deliberately on the affairs of the kingdom. The murder of the late regent was, in itself, a sufficient cause for each party holding itself aloof from the other, for his friends did not point to an individual as the murderer, but they charged the whole faction of the Hamiltons with the crime. In the same assembly to which Randolph had delivered Elizabeth's message, the earl of Murray's two half-brothers, William and Robert Douglas, demanded justice against his murderers, and their demand was the subject of no little debate, as a question arose as to who were to be proceeded against, and in what form the proceedings were to be instituted; and it was finally determined to put off the further consideration of the matter to the beginning of May, when the Scottish parliament was to assemble. The Hamiltons, on their part, although they were strengthening themselves and gathering their friends, seem to have been desirous of gaining time. They held meetings at Glasgow, Linlithgow, and other places, and sent proposals to their opponents to meet them at Linlithgow, or Falkland, or Stirling; but the latter seem to have suspected them of sinister designs, and turned a deaf ear to their proposals. There was at the same time considerable disunion among Mary's faction, and while Argyle kept aloof in the north, and the archbishop of St. Andrews remained at home in his palace, the other chiefs, including Huntley, Athol, Crawford, and Ogilvy, with lords Home and Seaton, repaired to Edinburgh in the beginning of March to be present at

the parliament. At first they overawed Morton, who was in the capital alone with only a small force; but the earls of Mar and Glencairn arrived with their vassals, and the queen's lords, taking fright in their turn, went away. The citizens, indeed, were warm friends of the other party, and their zeal had just been excited by the distribution of printed bills and placards, calling upon them to remember the murders of Darnley and Murray.

Morton and his friends were now left to deliberate among themselves, but they seem to have been as little unanimous as their opponents, and they were occupied in the discussion of one sole but embarrassing question, that of their right to elect a regent. "Some," says Buchanan, who has left us a short account of the proceedings on this occasion, "argued that, according to the deed of the queen, in which, three years before, eight of the principal noblemen had been named, from among whom one or more, as should be thought fit, might be nominated as tutors to her son, some one of these ought now to be appointed chief of the government. Others contended that, a regent having been already created according to that deed, there was no authority for acting further; that it was granted for a particular purpose, and was not of perpetual obligation. There were also several who thought that the whole should be referred to a convention of the nobility; but these were chiefly of the Maitland (Lethington) faction, who wished to raise a disturbance, which, among a great multitude without a head, is easily excited, but suppressed with difficulty. A third party condemned both these opinions; the first, because the queen's deed, in point of law, had never from the beginning been of any value, and now was, if possible, of less; the second, because an adjournment of the question carried danger with it, and long delay was what the country, in its present state, could not bear. They, therefore, wished all those who had originally crowned the king, and who had constantly adhered to him, to be called together to provide for the public welfare; and that they should immediately elect such a regent as would be able and willing to provide for the safety both of the king and of the commonwealth. This opinion also was rejected, upon which the convention was dissolved, without coming to any conclusion."

The convention which was called for the

beginning of March, had thus failed entirely, and the two factions, now popularly designated as the king's lords and the queen's lords, held frequent meetings, armed their retainers, and made active preparations for war. In the latter part of the month of March, Randolph, writing to the earl of Sussex, says, "I find this country so divided, that I know not how to unite them, but by such aid as must be given by some part to the one, that may constrain the other to obey to reason. And as now the question is who shall govern, the king or queen, so may her majesty employ that support she mindeth to give where she like, seeing I cannot judge which number is greatest, though I do account much better of the one than of the other; and how they are divided, your lordship shall see in a writing herewith sent." The two factions were, indeed, at this time very equally balanced. The king's party, as it was now termed, was strong in the talents and fearless courage of the earl of Morton, who was supported by the earls of Angus, Mar, Glencairn, Buchan, Cassillis, Montrose, Marshal, and Menteith, with the lords Lindsay, Ruthven, Semple, Ochiltree, Glamis, and others. The burgesses of all the chief towns, and the lesser barons, are stated by Randolph to have been chiefly of this party. The opposing party are divided by Randolph under two heads, those who were "utter enemies" to the king's faction, including all the Hamiltons, Argyle, Boyd, Fleming, Seaton, Herricks, and others; and those whom he characterizes as "doubtful persons," by which we are to suppose that he means those who were more easily to be gained over by their private interests. The chiefs of the latter were the earls of Huntley, Athol, Crawford, Eglinton, and Caithness, and the lords Ogilvy, Home, Oliphant, &c. To these we must add Lethington and Grange, who, though they still used dissimulation, were decidedly acting with the friends of Mary.

Although Randolph's mission was nominally to observe the state of things, and promote the pacification of the country, his instructions were no doubt to encourage the king's lords against their opponents. The queen's party accused him of labouring to foment the divisions among the nobility, and of being the cause of much of the disorder which now prevailed throughout Scotland. The king of France was pursuing the same course on the contrary side, though

his opportunities of acting were much less than those of the English queen. In the latter days of March, Monsieur de Verac, a gentleman of the French king's household, arrived in the Clyde with succours for Dumbarton Castle, and he brought with him letters of encouragement to the lords of Mary's party, with promises of further assistance. The arrival of M. de Verac gave new spirit to the queen's lords, and on the 9th of April they assembled in great force at Linlithgow, and began to discuss projects in a hostile spirit towards England. The result of their deliberations, however, was, that they should march at once upon Edinburgh and form a junction with their friends in the castle. They arrived in the capital on the 11th of April, but they appear to have been disappointed in their expectations of gaining over the citizens, and we are assured that they were only admitted on certain conditions, one of which was that they should publish no new edicts derogatory to the king's authority. "On these conditions," Buchanan tells us, "although hard, they entered the city, thinking that, by degrees, they would gain upon the unwary multitude, and, by flattering them, obtain the complete sway over them; but they could not induce the citizens, notwithstanding the endeavours of Kirkaldy, the governor, either to deliver up the keys of the gates to them, or to discontinue their usual watch. During the whole of this time, such numbers met daily at Maitland's house, who was either ill or pretended to be ill of the gout, that it was commonly called the school, and he the schoolmaster. Nor did Athol cease, in the meantime, by frequent excursions to different quarters, to endeavour to induce those of the opposite party to come to the meeting then at Edinburgh. They, however, unanimously refused to assemble before the first of May, the day which they had all agreed upon, unless they were informed of the necessity which forced them to assemble before that time; and if anything of importance occurred which would not suffer delay, they would communicate with the earl of Morton, whose house was only four miles distant, and he would inform the rest. At last a day was appointed by Athol, on which a few of both factions should meet at Morton's seat at Dalkeith. The place, however, did not please the queen's party; not that they feared any treachery, but lest they should seem to compromise their authority if they went to Morton, rather than that

Morton should come to them; wherefore, after many unsuccessful attempts, they were suddenly obliged to break up their assembly." During their stay in the capital, Grange had liberated from the castle the duke of Châtelherault and lord Herries; and before breaking up their assembly, they summoned a general convention of the whole nobility at Linlithgow, to return an answer to the offer of assistance made by the French king, and deliberate on the means of restoring peace to the country. They also addressed a petition to Elizabeth, praying her earnestly to restore the Scottish queen to her throne.

Randolph, the English agent, was not present during these transactions. In the sequel of his letter to the earl of Sussex, quoted above, he announced his intention of returning to Berwick, "to meet and attend upon your lordship, until some such time of service be, when I may do good either here or elsewhere, and write my mind more at large and with better surety than I can here at this time, all matters standing in such terms as now they do." Sussex, to whom this letter was addressed, was at this moment advancing to the Scottish border at the head of an army of seven thousand men. The shelter given to her own rebels, the invasion by the Scotts and Kers immediately after the death of the regent, and the continued turbulence of the borderers, offered a ready pretext for this expedition, but Elizabeth no doubt designed it also as an encouragement to the "king's lords," and a check to the French influence. The queen's lords were in the midst of their deliberations at Edinburgh, when they were thrown into the greatest consternation by the intelligence of Sussex's advance, and some of them hurried away to their homes to use the force they had collected in support of their party for the protection of their own estates. Among these was the lord Home, who was well aware that in such an invasion his castle was not likely to be spared. Messengers were hurried off to England, some to the earl of Sussex to obtain a delay of hostilities until others might have time to obtain from his mistress a countermand of his orders. Lethington was especially active and earnest in his attempts to avert the unexpected storm, and he urged upon Elizabeth's ministers the impolicy of provoking the whole Scottish nation by advocating the cause of a weak faction, and running the risk thereby of drawing upon England the

combined vengeance of France and Spain. It is said that he even assured the lords of Mary's party of his belief that, for these considerations, Elizabeth would not dare to push matters to extremities.

All expostulation, however, was ineffectual. The earl of Sussex entered Teviotdale and the Merse, and ravaged without mercy the lands of Scott of Buccleuch and Ker of Fernihirst, destroying no less than fifty castles and three hundred villages. In another part, the possessions of the lord Home were visited with similar vengeance, and Home castle itself was captured by the English. Lord Scrope at the same time invaded the country of Herries and Maxwell on the western border, and committed similar devastation. Meanwhile the earl of Lennox, who was now generally considered as the future regent, was sent to Berwick, the marshal of which, sir William Drury, was directed to join him with twelve hundred foot and four hundred horse of the veteran bands of that garrison, and they were to march to Edinburgh and take vengeance on the Hamiltons.

The queen's lords who were in Edinburgh had been much weakened by the departure of Home, Herries, Maxwell, and other border chiefs, and when they heard that Lennox and Drury were preparing to advance, they deserted the capital and retired to Linlithgow. The king's lords again entered Edinburgh, and there assembled in considerable force. An attempt was made by their opponents to cut off the earl of Mar, but it failed, and he reached the capital in safety. The two parties had thus their head-quarters in Edinburgh and Linlithgow, only sixteen miles distant; and messengers passed between them, carrying, it is said, conciliatory proposals. These, however, were rendered futile by the publication at Linlithgow of a proclamation commanding all the people to obey the queen's commissioners; and the three earls of Arran, Argyle, and Huntley, in the queen's name, summoned a parliament to be held at Linlithgow on the 3rd of August. The Hamiltons then collected their forces and marched to Glasgow, the castle of which they hoped to surprise, as they knew that the garrison was small and that the governor was absent. After a rapid march, the Hamiltons entered Glasgow so suddenly, that they cut off a large part of the garrison, which happened to be out, from re-entering the castle. Those who remained, however, offered such an ob-

stinate resistance, that, after losing many of their men, the assailants were obliged to convert their attack into a siege, and to summon their friends to their assistance.

Such was the state of things when the English force under Lennox and Drury arrived at Edinburgh, and formed a junction with Morton and the other lords of the king's party. They immediately marched to the relief of Glasgow; and the queen's lords were no sooner informed of their approach, than they raised the siege, and, separating their forces, retreated into the Highlands. The king's lords, with their English allies, then invaded the territories of their enemies in Clydesdale and Linlithgowshire, destroying and laying waste their houses and villages, and among a vast amount of other destruction, they plundered and east down the palace of Hamilton, and the castles of Linlithgow and Kinneil. They returned to Edinburgh about the middle of May. Lethington had taken refuge in the castle, which was still held by Grange, who had now entirely deserted the king's party. From thence, on the 17th of May, Lethington wrote a letter apparently to one of the nobles at the English court (I think not to Cecil, as has been supposed), strongly protesting against the policy of Elizabeth. "Take not in evil part," he says, "of the long time ye have received no letter from me, albeit I have received divers from you. The cause was, for no means I could make, I could not convey any to you. Albeit ye may think me negligent in writing, some men in Scotland think I have been more busy in doing than they allow of, and will recompense me accordingly, and (*if*) they may get their hand beyond me in any fashion, but that shall be as late as I may. The bearer can declare you the whole state of the country; what the nobility has done in the queen's causes, and of the in-coming of a part of the English forces to this town, and passing forward they gave it out to us that they will not meddle with the division of titles, and in the mean season they own they join their forces with five or six lords to suppress the rest; wherein I marvel mickle how the queen's majesty of England is advised to east off the amity of all Scotland for the pleasure of such a few number that cannot at length serve her highness' turn in anything, and whose forces her subjects that are here can testify to be of so small moment, that now this day when they passed towards Lithquo (*Linlithgow*) all the

Scotchmen that are in their company hath not made them two hundred horses. It is a mystery to me whereof I cannot conceive the reason, that so many noblemen who would be glad to do the queen of England service, should be altogether neglected by her for the pleasure of a few inferior to them in degree, forces, and all other things, whereby otherwise they who were well affected to the queen of England are constrained to seek foreign aid for their defence. The principals of this nobility have written long since to the queen of England, but as yet have received no answer. This faction that aspires to rule without reason, and can be content neither of fellowship nor union, lays the whole burthen on me, and makes me the author of all things, thinking that they might have carried away the ball, they alone, and haled the duill without impediment, if I had not cast a trump in their way by this mean. They go about to make me odious to England, yet I have dealt so plainly with England by my letters to my lord of Leicester, that I think they have cause to judge well of me. I fear Mr. Randolph hath been an evil instrument, and cannot believe the queen's majesty would have taken the course she runs, if she had been truly informed of the state here, as I went about to do by my letters to my lord of Leicester, whereof I could never get answer. Because I have informed the bearer of all things, I will not trouble you with many words, but pray you that I may be sufficiently and truly informed of the state there, whereof I shall make the best to serve the turn. Every way, be sure I shall not be Lot's wife. So I commit your lordship to God. From the castle of Edinburgh, the 17th day of May, 1570."

Lethington was no doubt, by his intrigues and his desertion of his old friends, a principal cause of the advantages which had recently been gained by the queen's party. How far he acted conscientiously and patriotically is another question; he seemed to imagine, as far as we can judge by the preceding letter, that Elizabeth's line of policy ought to be merely to identify herself with the party which appeared to be the strongest.

In England, the Scottish queen had been greatly alarmed at the proceedings of Elizabeth, and she was earnest in her applications to France for immediate assistance. Elizabeth herself was aware that secret plots against her were in progress, of the extent of which she was as yet ignorant, but she

felt the necessity of acting with caution. It was the moment when Norfolk and Mary were conspiring most actively to bring in the Spaniards; and the fear that their friends in Scotland might be entirely put down, made them more anxious to hurry on their designs. The French ambassador had expostulated in the name of his master on Elizabeth's armed interference in Scotland, and even held out threats. We need not therefore be surprised if Elizabeth began to hesitate, and if she had recourse to dissimulation. She suddenly made a new proposal for an arrangement by which Mary might be restored to her throne, and she sent back the abbot or commendator (as he was called) of Dunfermline, who had been dispatched to England by the king's lords, with a discouraging answer, requiring them not to proceed immediately to the election of a new regent. She wrote to Sussex, informing him of an audience she had given to the French ambassador, and of the explanation she had given him relating to the expedition into Scotland. She said that her only object in sending him on this expedition was to chastise the borderers; and she threw upon him the blame of having proceeded further, and forbade his undertaking the siege of Dumbarton, which was the next exploit contemplated by Lennox and Morton. She directed Randolph, who was still at Berwick, to return to Edinburgh, and tell the rival factions that she was satisfied with the chastisement she had inflicted on her rebels, and that she had been induced to listen to proposals for the liberation and restoration of their queen. The bishop of Ross was sent to Chatsworth to confer with his mistress, and the English troops returned to Berwick.

These first steps towards a pacification had hardly been taken, when Elizabeth made some discovery which led to new irritation against the bishop of Ross and his royal mistress, and on the 6th of June she addressed the following letter to the earl of Sussex, which was intended to counteract the effect of her previous messages:—"Right trusty and well-beloved cousin, we greet you well. Where of late we advertised you in what sort we did answer and return the commendator of Dunfermline, whereby we doubt that the party favouring us (from which he was addressed) may enter into some further doubt of our maintenance of them than were meet or than we have cause, and seek by indirect means to pro-

cure some end with the contrary part, we having, since the departure of the said Dunfermline, found some new intercourse taken here and practised on the Scottish queen's behalf to abuse us, have therefore thought good not to proceed either in such sort or with such speed to her advantage as before we were inclined. And therefore we require you speedily and secretly to admonish our party there not to conceive any misliking by any part of our answer to Dunfermline, nor of any advantage that either the queen of Scots or her party shall make of our dealing with them, for indeed we have lately found cause that, if the bishop of Ross were not already gone to the queen his mistress, he should not have gone, neither should have had any dealings in these matters. And it shall shortly appear, when he shall return, their accounts of their advantages shall not be warranted, as they shall pretend. And therefore in the mean time we require you to comfort our party there, that in nowise they shrink or yield to the contrary. Given under our signet, at our manor of Hampton-court, the 6th of June, in the twelfth year of our reign." Randolph communicated the substance of this letter to the earl of Morton, who thereupon "conceived some better hope of the matter than before, though not without great perplexity what may be done in a case so full of difficulty."

At this time some of the chiefs of the queen's party, the earls of Huntley, Athol, and Crawford, with the lords Arbroath and Ogilvy, and Lethington, were assembled at Aberdeen. The lords of the contrary faction had also called a meeting of their friends at Stirling, on the 16th of June, and there, having been secretly assured by Randolph that such a step would not be disagreeable to his mistress, they proceeded to elect the earl of Lennox to the temporary office of lieutenant-governor of the kingdom, or, as he was termed, inter-regent, until the 12th of July. A messenger was immediately dispatched to the English queen to inform her of their choice, and to request her advice on the selection of a regent. On the 10th of July they received her answer, in which she approved of what they had done, disclaimed all wish of dictating to them in the choice of a regent, but expressed her good opinion of the earl of Lennox, and her belief that he was a nobleman in whom they might safely put their trust. They accordingly met in convention on the 12th of July, the

day on which the temporary authority of Lennox expired, and formally elected him their regent.

The proposal for a general pacification and the restoration of Mary was still under consideration, and a correspondence was opened between the English agents in the north and some of Mary's partisans, especially between the earl of Sussex and Lethington, and between Randolph and Grange. Sussex had taunted Lethington with his desertion of his old colleagues, on which the secretary reproached him with the devastation he had recently committed on the Scottish territory, and complained of the harsh conduct of the king's lords to their queen. Sussex, in reply, told Lethington that he had formerly been one of the foremost persecutors of Mary, that he had joined with Murray in accusing her of murder, and that his present principles were totally inconsistent with his former conduct. "Your lordship," he said, "must call to remembrance that your queen was by you and others, then of the faction of Scotland, and not by the queen my sovereign, nor by her knowledge or assent, brought to captivity, deprived of her royal estate, to which she was by God's ordinance born lawful inheritor, condemned in parliament, her son crowned as lawful king, the late earl of Murray appointed by parliament to be regent, and revoked from beyond the seas; yourself held the place of secretary to that king and state; and after she escaped from her captivity, from the which the queen my sovereign had by all good means sought to deliver her, and had been the only means to save her life while she continued there, yourself and your faction at that time came into England, to detect her of a number of heinous crimes, by you objected against her; to offer your proofs, which to the uttermost you produced; to seek to have her delivered into your own hands, or to bind the queen's majesty to detain her in such sort as she should never return into Scotland, and to persuade her majesty to maintain the king's authority. Now, my lord, to return to my former questions, which be but branches from those roots, and cannot be severed from them, I do desire to know by what doctrine you may think that cause to be then just, which you now think to be unjust? (how) you may think your coming into England, your detecting her of crimes by you objected, your proofs produced for that purpose, your requests delivered to the

queen my sovereign to deliver her into your custody, or to promise to keep her as she return not to Scotland, and to maintain her son's authority (then allowed always by you to be your lawful king),—by what doctrine, I say, may ye think the causes hereof to be then just, which you now think to be unjust?" In answer to a defence which had been put forward, Sussex proceeded to say,—“I would be glad to admit your excuse, that you were not of the number that sought rigour to your queen, although you were with the number, if I could do it with a safe conscience. But as I will say, *non est meum accusare, aliud ago*, and therefore I will not enter into those particularities, so can I not make myself ignorant of what I saw openly delivered by word and writing, with a general assent of the late regent and all that were in his company; which tended not to a short restraint of your queen's liberty, but was directly either to deliver her captive into your own custody, or to bind the queen my sovereign to detain her in such sort as she should never after trouble the state of Scotland; wherein, if her perpetual captivity or a worse matter were meant, and not a restraint for a time, God and your own consciences, and others that dealt then with you, do know. It may be you dealt openly on the one side and secretly on the other, wherein how the queen my sovereign digested your doings I know not; but this I know well, that if her majesty would have directed that which was openly delivered unto her by the general assent of your whole company, in such sort as you all desired, devised, and earnestly (I will not say passionately) persuaded her at that time to do for her own surety, the benefit of Scotland, and the continuing of the amity between both the realms, there had been worse done to your queen than either her majesty or any subject of England that I know, whomsoever you take to be least free from passions, could be induced to think meet to be done.”

These extracts are given by Tytler from copies of the time preserved in the state paper office. In a reply, Lethington evaded an answer to these accusations, on the plea that it would implicate others beside himself, and he returned to his taunts on the earl's recent hostile doings in Scotland. A letter from queen Elizabeth to the earl of Sussex is preserved in the British Museum, in which she alludes with satisfaction to this correspondence. “We have seen,” she says,

“your several letters to our secretary of the fourth and sixth of this month, and with them the copies of sundry letters sent from Livingston, Lethington, Randolph, and the regent, and your answers to the same, and your further directions that you have taken for the aid and relief of the party favourable to us, in all which we are right satisfied, as therein beholding the continuance of your care and wisdom in our service. And amongst other things we have taken great pleasure to read your answers to Lethington, wherein, besides your other good gifts proper to a nobleman, and meet for the place that ye hold under us, we do certainly see such a sufficiency of wisdom mixt with good learning, as we are glad to think that Lethington, who is accounted the flower of the wits in Scotland, shall see himself overmatched, and we surely judge upon the matter much confounded, not only with the truth, but with the sharp and good order of the explaining of the same. Truly, cousin, we have always judged you wise, and we know you very sufficient for the place you hold, but we have not seen at any time a more absolute proof of your wit and learning than in these your late answers to Lethington, and we find all others that do read the same to be of like opinion. For one matter, whereof you desire answer, which is, what assurance you shall require of the duke (of Châtelherault) and his party for performance of the act whereof we accorded to the bishop of Ross, upon consideration of your own writing, doubting that they will not give hostages, we think it sufficient at this time to have their writings with their hands and seals, as Lethington seemeth to offer. But if there shall follow hereafter any argument for the queen of Scots, we must of necessity then have hostages of good persons and some castles either in our own possession or the possession of such as shall be thought will always depend upon us and upon the young king. And so we see yourself doth always by your writing to Lethington press, that the sureties to be made for us must be of that nature that they may be in our possession to command, and not depend at the pleasure of them from whom they shall proceed. We are sorry that you could not have attempted the enterprise upon the west borders without money, whereof some portion is already upon the way, and we wish you could devise how to borrow any further sum there, to be repaid here at London, because that the

carriage is so tedious and dilatory. And upon your letters and the treasurer's bills the same shall be paid. Given under our signet, at our manor of Cheney, the 12th day of August, 1570, the twelfth year of our reign."

To understand the allusions in the latter part of this letter, we must refer to the negotiations which were going on in England. It has been already stated that proposals had been made for a treaty for the restoration of Mary to the throne of Scotland on certain conditions, and that Mary herself and the French ambassador, La Mothe Fénelon, eagerly caught at it. In her letters to Fénelon and to the king and queen-mother of France, Mary expressed an earnest desire that this treaty should be proceeded with, though she urged them at the same time to hasten as much as possible the succours they were to send to her party in Scotland. Fénelon wrote to his king on the 20th of June, that in an audience with Elizabeth, that princess appeared much irritated against the queen of Scots and the bishop of Ross, and that she declared she had detected them in some new practices against her, which made her regret that she had taken any steps in Mary's favour. Within a day or two after this interview, Elizabeth sent for the French ambassador again, and told him that she had received certain intelligence of preparations in Brittany for sending French troops into Scotland, and that if these were not stopped, she would break off the treaty with Mary, and adopt rigorous measures against her partisans. The ambassador, in his dispatch to the French king, urged that this expedition should be delayed. The king had already determined to send a special agent to England to assist in the negotiation, and the sieur de Poigny, a gentleman of his chamber, received his instructions for that purpose at Argentan, on the 19th of June. He was directed to approve of all that M. de la Mothe Fénelon had done, and to act in concert with him. They were to assure Elizabeth of his wish to promote a pacific arrangement of the difficulties, and of his readiness to withdraw his own troops from Scotland at the same time that she withdrew those under the command of the earl of Sussex. M. de Poigny was then to visit the queen of Scots, and afterwards to proceed to Scotland, to communicate with the lords. He arrived in London on the 4th of July, and met with a friendly reception from Elizabeth, who con-

sented that the king of France might be a party to the negotiations, but she refused to allow de Poigny to proceed to Scotland, although he obtained permission to visit the Scottish queen. Accordingly, after having, on the 1st of August, addressed a letter to the Scottish nobles of the queen's party, informing them of the wish of the French king for the conclusion of the treaty for her restoration, and of his intention, in case it failed, to send an army to support her rights, he had an interview with Mary, and then returned to France. The negotiations went on slowly, until, in the month of September, a series of articles were presented to the Scottish queen by Cecil and sir Walter Mildmay, to the following effect:—1. That a league of perfect amity should be established between the two kingdoms, and that Mary should confirm all existing treaties. 2. That Mary should specially confirm the clause of the treaty of Edinburgh made in 1560, by which she promised "to forbear from all manner of titles, challenges, or pretences to the crown of England, whilst the queen's majesty and any issue to come of her body shall live and have continuance;" Elizabeth, on her part, promising "that thereby she should not be secluded from any right or title that she or her children might thereafter have, if God should not give to the queen's majesty any issue of her body to have continuance." 3. That Mary should neither enter into nor continue any leagues with foreign powers to join in any offensive demonstration against England, and that England and Scotland should mutually assist each other by land and by sea. 4. That no foreign troops should be allowed to repair into Scotland, or to occupy any castle or place of strength there, but that all such who might be there at present should be sent away within a month after the conclusion of this treaty. 5. That the queen of Scots should receive neither directly nor indirectly intelligence from any subject of the queen of England, without the allowance or knowledge of the latter. 6. That she should deliver up the earl of Northumberland and the other English rebels who had sought refuge in Scotland. 7. That she should cause amends to be made for the damage and outrages recently committed on the English territory by the Scottish borderers. 8. That Mary should promote and assist in all prosecutions against the murderers of the king her husband, and of the regent Murray. 9. "*Item*. For the more

surety of the person of the young king against his enemies, that murdered his father, or were parties thereto, from whose secret malice it shall be hard to preserve him; and also in consideration that he shall be a hostage for the queen his mother; the queen of Scots, before she be put to full liberty, shall cause that the said young king her son shall be brought into England, to live in some meet and honourable place, under the government of such lords or gentlemen of Scotland as shall be named by the earl of Lennox, his grandfather, and the earl of Mar, now his governor, or by either of them, with the queen's majesty's consent; and to continue in this realm as long as the queen of England shall please. Providing that the queen of England shall covenant and bind herself, that, to her uttermost, he shall be favourably used and treated, and to all purposes as her majesty's nearest kinsman. And that it shall be lawful for the queen of Scots, his mother, to send into England at all times to visit him, so as the messengers shall come by the wardens of England and have their passports. And whensoever God shall call to his mercy the said queen of Scots, or that the said queen shall at any time be content, when he shall come to maturity of years, to demit the government of the realm to him her son, then the said young prince shall be immediately restored to Scotland, and by the queen of England's means established in his kingdom in such freedom to all purposes as if he had never remained or come into England." 10. "The queen of Scots shall not enter into any communication of marriage with any person for herself without the queen's majesty's knowledge, nor shall conclude of any marriage without the consent either of the queen's majesty, or of the greatest part of her own nobility which be now lords of parliament at this present, to be testified by them in writing to the queen's majesty under their hands and seals, that the same marriage is convenient and profitable for the realm of Scotland." 11. That Mary should allow none of her subjects to resort to Ireland without a safe-conduct of the queen of England. 12. "The queen of Scots shall presently deliver such testification as she hath in writing, from the French king, Monsieur d'Anjou, and the cardinal of Lorraine, for this disavowing of a pretence of marriage betwixt her and Monsieur d'Anjou." Six other articles defined the securities of the intended treaty. The first

described the manner in which the treaty was to be drawn up. The second required that there should be six hostages given for its performance, three to be of the degree of earls, and three lords of parliament, to remain in England for three years, each having liberty to return at any time to Scotland, in temporary exchange for one of his own rank. The third article stipulated, that if Mary should attempt anything derogatory to Elizabeth's right to the crown of England, or if she should assist any one in depriving the queen of England of any part of her kingdoms, or if she should give aid to any of her rebels, she should, *ipso facto*, forfeit all right on her part to the succession to the English crown; and that it should be lawful in that case for Elizabeth to countenance the Scots in deposing her, and raising her son to the throne. The fourth article provided that the treaty should be confirmed by act of parliament of Scotland before Mary's departure from England. By the fifth it was stipulated, that Home castle should remain in possession of the English garrison until the English rebels who had been maintained there were delivered, but that it should be restored unconditionally at the end of three years, if the rebels could not be delivered within that time. The sixth article required that, "for the better assurance that no Scots nor Irish Scots shall resort into Ireland, as they are accustomed, and continually to do great annoyance to the queen's majesty of England, it shall be ordered that the queen's majesty shall have in possession any one castle or stone-house that she shall name in Galloway or Kintyre only for the space of three years; so assurance shall be given by the queen of England to deliver the same at the end of the said three years."

After Mary had deliberately considered these articles, she returned them on the 5th of October to Elizabeth's commissioners, with her corrections and remarks. The greater part of them she returned with none or very trifling alterations. She required that at the end of the second article (relating to her forbearance of her claim to the English succession) there should be added a clause to the effect, "that in the meantime the queen of England, nor her issue aforesaid, shall not suffer any act of parliament to be made, or do any other public act material in law, to the prejudice of the queen of Scots and her lawful issue, of their title in succession to the crown of England, in case of fail of the queen of England without

issue aforesaid; except the queen of Scots shall be first duly summoned and warned, and licensed by any her ambassadors or procurors to allege or show forth anything that for her interest or title or maintenance thereof may serve." To the sixth article, relating to the delivery of the earl of Northumberland and his fellow rebels, Mary replied: "Forasmuch as the queen of Scotland cannot think that it may stand with her honour to deliver those who are come for refuge within her country, as it were to enter them in place of execution, therefore in most humble wise she doth request the queen's majesty her good sister, to show her clemency towards them, and give them her pardon, and in that case they shall be restored to their country; and if that will not be obtained, they shall within certain space be abandoned forth of the realms of Scotland; and in time coming all notorious rebels that shall come into Scotland shall be apprehended and delivered, according to ancient treaties; provided that England shall observe the like unto Scotland." Mary pretended ignorance of the recent depredations of the borderers, but she promised that commissioners should meet to consider the subject of redress within a month after her return to Scotland. Mary's reply to the ninth article, relating to the sending of the young king of Scots to England, is as follows: "In consideration of the tender love and kindness which the queen of England beareth to the prince of Scotland, for that he is so near of blood to her, being descended of her nearest kinswoman the queen of Scots, and of her late kinsman the lord Darnley, her late husband, whereby she is careful of the surety and preservation of his person, and of his good nurture and education; and also in consideration that he shall be a hostage for the queen his mother, and for other respects; and upon special trust and confidence reposed by her at all times unto the queen of England her good sister; the queen of Scots, although her son be the thing in earth is most dearest unto her, yet, nevertheless, willing to satisfy the queen of England in all things to her possible, before she be put to full liberty, shall, with the special assistance and concurrence of the queen of England, cause that the said prince her son shall be brought into England to live in some meet and honourable place, under the government of two or three lords or gentlemen of Scotland, one of them to be named by the queen of Scot-

land, and the remainant by the queen of England, with the advice of the earl of Lennox his grandfather, and the earl of Mar now his governor; and to continue in this realm, as the queen of England shall please, until he come to the age of fifteen years, and longer, if the queen of Scots his mother shall afterwards agree thereto. Providing that the queen of England shall covenant and bind herself, that to her uttermost he shall be favourably used and treated, and to all purposes as nearest of kin to her, failing of the queen his mother; and that it shall be lawful for the queen his mother to send meet persons into England at all times to visit him, so as the messengers shall come by the wardens of England, and have their passports, which shall not be refused unto them, so as in the whole year the same be not above four times; and that, likewise, it shall be lawful for the queen of Scots his mother to come within some place of England, to be limited by the queen of England, once or twice in the year to visit him, so as knowledge thereof shall be first given in convenient time to the queen of England before her coming, and licence obtained thereto, which shall not be refused; and that during his remaining in England his person shall be sure and forth of danger; and that he shall not be procured without the queen of Scots' consent to make any contract or bond whatsoever; nor shall not be made an instrument to attempt anything in Scotland or in England, contrary to the tenure of this treaty, to the prejudice of the queen of Scots or any her titles whatsoever. And whensoever God shall call to his mercy the queen of Scots, or if it shall please her when he shall come to maturity of years to demit the government of the realm to him her son, then the said young prince shall be immediately restored to Scotland, and by the assistance of the queen of England established in his kingdom, in such freedom to all purposes as if he had never remained or come into England. And, likewise, if God shall call to his mercy the queen of England, that the said young prince immediately shall be restored freely to the realm of Scotland; and shall not be made an instrument to hinder or prejudice the queen his said mother in any of her titles in anywise. And because the revenue and patrimony of the crown of Scotland is not sufficient to entertain the queen of Scots in Scotland and the prince her son in England, both as meet were,

therefore she most humbly and affectionately doth request the queen of England (that, besides the revenues that shall be due to him as prince of Scotland, and the interests and profits of any one abbey or priory of some of the best sort in Scotland, now void or shall happen to be void), to bear the remanent of the charges of her said son and his train, during his remaining into England."

On the second article relating to securities, which required six hostages for three years, Mary remarked, "As to the desire of hostages, the queen of Scots thinketh the prince her son, and those noblemen who shall be appointed to be his governors, to be sufficient hostages. And yet, nevertheless, if the queen her good sister will not otherwise be satisfied, she shall cause four of the degrees of noblemen, whereof there shall be an earl and an earl's son or brother being heirs apparent, and one lord and one lord's son or brother being heirs apparent, to be named by the queen of England (always the persons of the duke of Châtellherault, the earls of Huntley, Argyle, and Athol, and lords Fleming, Seaton, and the wardens of the borders being excepted), to remain in England in places meet for their degrees (as hostages have heretofore done), as sureties for her to perform the covenants that cannot be accomplished before her returning home into Scotland, to continue in England for the space of two years. And if any of them shall desire at any time to return home, it shall be lawful for them so to do upon request made, so as the like person in quality be first delivered by the queen of Scots' order into England, with the queen's majesty's consent and allowance." Mary requested that the last paragraph in the third article relating to the securities, which gave the queen of England the power of deposing her in case of breach of covenant, should be omitted. With regard to the fifth article, she made an appeal for the lord Home that his castles might be restored to him; and, in reply to the sixth, she stated that she herself possessed no castle in Galloway or Kintyre, and that she feared to provoke the hatred and jealousy of her subjects by taking any of them and delivering them to a foreign power.

It is evident that the grand object of Elizabeth in these articles was to protect herself against the designs of France and Spain, and against the intrigues of the

pope. It must not be forgotten that the latter had recently published his celebrated bull absolving her subjects from their allegiance, and provoking them to depose her and even to put her to death; and that at the very moment when Cecil and Mildmay were sent to Chatsworth to carry these articles to the Scottish queen, there was a rising among the catholics in Lancashire to carry out the pope's intentions. On the 16th of October, the French ambassador informed his king of the visit of Cecil and Mildmay to Chatsworth, and of the general tenor of the terms they carried; he said that some of Mary's friends objected strongly to the articles, but that there was reason to fear that not only Mary herself, but the Scottish lords of her party would be quite willing to agree to them. Next day, La Mothe Fénelon sent a copy of the articles, which he had received from the bishop of Ross, and pressed for immediate instructions for his own conduct, as he saw that they were calculated to withdraw the Scots from their ancient alliance with France. He stated that he had prevailed with the bishop of Ross to delay further proceedings until the answer of the French king arrived. Two or three days after writing this last dispatch, the ambassador received a letter from Mary, written on the 17th, in which she expressed her desire to have the advice of the king of France and the queen-mother before proceeding any further, although she was anxious to conclude the treaty without delay. New causes of delay, however, arose, in the non-arrival of the answer of the king of France to his ambassador, and of the deputation of the lords in Scotland who were to take part in the negotiation. At length, early in November the French king's instructions arrived, and in accordance with them, M. de la Mothe Fénelon protested against any league between Mary and Elizabeth to which France was not a party, and urged Mary not to consent to send the prince into England. It had indeed been a favourite project with the French court to obtain possession of the young prince of Scotland by procuring him to be sent into France. The ambassador states, in his dispatch on this subject, that both the queen of Scots, and the lords of both parties in Scotland, seemed desirous that the prince should be sent into England, rather than otherwise, but that persons had already been sent secretly to intrigue among them and persuade them otherwise, and that he

should continue to do his utmost to hinder this part of the treaty from being agreed to. This intervention gave great offence to Elizabeth, who complained of it somewhat passionately to the ambassador, and declared that for her own part she was determined to conclude the treaty, if it might be concluded, without any reference to the king his master. The continuation of the troubles in Lancashire, and the repeated discovery of one indication or another of Mary's secret intrigues, added to Elizabeth's irritation. On the 10th of November, at the very moment when the commissioners were expected from Scotland to take part in the negotiations, Mary addressed a letter in cypher to the lairds of Lethington and Grange, which is still preserved, and which, mysteriously as it is worded, would lead us to suspect that she was acting insincerely in regard to the treaty, and that her only object was to obtain her liberty, in order that she might co-operate more freely with her Spanish allies. "I wrote to you," she says in this letter, "by my lady Livingston, which I know ye have received, but since her parting have understood nothing of your state, other nor (*than*) it which I cannot believe, having no certainty but by bruits (*rumours*) that ye have appointed with my meubles (*goods*, i.e. her jewels) at the queen of England's procurement. I trust, if so be, it is rather for my advantage nor otherwise, and will make no new alteration without my advice. I am in the same state (to be short) that my lady Livingston left me in, except that I am continually pressed to talk freely, wherein I have herunto kept me within my bounds, which I intend not to exceed for anything I see yet. Notwithstanding whatsoever they have discovered of others ways, I know perfectly it may be for their relief who would have jeopardised themselves for me. I dare not hazard you long letter for this time, for the vehemency of this gakis storm (*temporary obstruction*); but I pray you to remain constant, specially now in this extremity, wherein your good affection may be tried; for all will not perish, God willing, that is in danger. If ye shall hold hard to them on the one side, as I shall do on the other, we shall yet work them a pirne (*mischief*) that study to circumvent us. Since the heat begun of these troubles, I had not mean to have great intelligence, more from other parts nor from you; saving that I have been oft advertised that friends beyond

seas hold good, awaiting convenient time to put to their hand. I wrote to you in my last letter how the duke of Alva had granted ten thousand crowns to Seaton, for to serve the most urgent of your necessity, but know not if ye have received the same, or more, as was looked for. Wherefore I have sent you herewith a letter in cypher marked with A, to be sent to the said duke of Alva in case ye have not received his already; and if the messenger be wise, discreet, and secret, as he must be, and can by tongue declare the state of the country, I am assured that he shall not only receive the said money, but also other. I hear that now of new the queen of England has appointed to hold a parliament; for what effect I know not certain. But to the end the commons of Scotland and nobles also may be irritated (*irritated*) against her for the same, I would ye should cause the bruit (*report*) run that it is for to establish a new successor to the crown of England; as it may fall indeed; and that they may beware who show them fervent to advance my son for despite of me, that they be not occasion of his disadvantage. Farewell. The 10 of December. From Sheffield."

About this time the abbot or commendator of Dunfermline arrived at the English court. According to the statement of La Mothe Fénelon, he was sent to oppose the treaty altogether, but finding that he was not likely to succeed in this, he wrote back to the regent Lennox, recommending him to send his commissioners. On the 23rd of December, the bishop of Galloway and the lord Livingston arrived from Scotland as commissioners for the queen's lords, and they were joined with the bishop of Ross. To these three Mary gave her instructions on the 26th of the same month. She now modified her answers to some of the articles proposed to her by Cecil and Mildmay. She expressed some doubt lest the second article might affect her title to the succession, and ordered her commissioners to take counsel of some learned in the law. In regard to the third article, that relating to the alliance, they were to assure Elizabeth of her constant amity and good friendship, and that nobody should ever persuade her to do anything that might be offensive to her state or country, but they were to represent that if she agreed to this article as it stood, she would offend her friends in France, and run the risk of losing her dowry, besides the loss of other advantages to her

country as well as to herself. In the fourth article she wished it to be expressly stipulated that all English troops, as well as French, should be removed out of Scotland within a month after her return, and that afterwards, in case of rebellion of her subjects, Mary should be at liberty to send for assistance from any of her foreign allies or confederates to suppress it. As regarded the fifth article, she wished that the intelligences should be defined to be only such as might be prejudicial to Elizabeth, and that the latter should undertake to act reciprocally towards Scotland. With regard to the English fugitives in Scotland, the commissioners were to represent that they were all in the power of Mary's rebels, and none of them remained any longer at the disposal of her friends. A somewhat similar difficulty was raised in regard to the delivering of the young prince, as required by the ninth article. The commissioners were directed to "consider the advise of the nobility our good subjects sent to us thereupon, and inform our good sister upon the same, assuring her nevertheless for our part that we shall leave nothing undone in our power to her satisfaction in that point, trusting always that she will not press us and our good subjects further nor (*than*) for our consent in respect that the delivering of the prince our son stands not in our hands, he being kept by our rebels, and being made a colour to their pretended rebellion, to our great hurt and prejudice, and therefore the delivery of his person should not hinder our liberty, as being a thing impossible to us, unless the queen our sister will make us to be freely restored within our own realm, and in the meantime receive other pledges of our nobility."

These evasive objections were evidently dictated by foreign influence, and were intended to favour designs which she would not avow. Her objections to the articles relating to securities were much in the same spirit. To the third she objected as being expressed in captious and general terms, and as calculated to furnish Elizabeth at any time with an excuse for depriving her not only of her title to the English succession, but even of her right to the Scottish crown. She demanded, moreover, that satisfaction should be given for all the outrages committed by the party of the regent against her Scottish partisans since the commencement of the treaty. Mary wrote letters

at this time to Elizabeth and her ministers, urging that the treaty might be brought to a speedy conclusion, and declaring that she now placed herself entirely and unreservedly in the hands of the English queen; yet, at the very moment when Mary's commissioners were sent to court to open the negotiations in form, she wrote a letter, on the 7th of January, to her ambassador in France, the archbishop of Glasgow, in which, under the protection of a cypher, she told him that she had no faith in Elizabeth, and pressed him to urge the king of France to send her speedy succours, which, she said, would encourage Grange, with the forces he had in Edinburgh castle, to do some notable service. In the same letter she told the archbishop that the catholics of England were all at her beck, and that they put in her all their hopes of the restoration of the Romish faith in England. From this time to the end of March, Mary continued on one side to complain of the delays in the arrangement of the treaty for her restoration, to redouble her professions to Elizabeth, and to protest against the countenance shown to the regent Lennox; on the other, to urge the king of France to send troops immediately to the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton. Neither Elizabeth nor the king of France were as yet aware that during this time Mary and the duke of Norfolk were deeply engaged in that treasonable conspiracy which proved so fatal to the latter. On the 31st of March, Mary wrote a long letter to Elizabeth, partly remonstrating against some parts of the treaty, and partly declaring her affection for "her good sister," and her wish to act in everything according to her desires; she reminded her of her promises to restore her to her kingdom, and urgently pressed her to labour with the king of France to that effect. The same day she wrote a letter to La Mothe Fénelon, of which the following is a translation. "Monsieur de la Mothe Fénelon, by the double of the letter of the king my brother, which I received with yours of the 24th of this month, I have been more clearly informed of his meaning than by the answer made to the archbishop of Glasgow my ambassador, or by any other preceding dispatch which I had received before. I see that, according to what it has pleased the queen my good mother to write to me, he is satisfied that I should refuse none of the

queen of England, my good sister's, conditions, provided that I withdraw myself from her hands; which advice and counsel is interpreted to you by this restriction, that he hopes that, without delivering my son into this country, my said good sister will not refuse to proceed to the treaty whereby his alliances of so long time made and contracted between France and Scotland, will be more strongly augmented rather than diminished, in which he prays you to put a hand. Thus are excepted my son and the article of the league, without which two points my said good sister declares now plainly to my deputies that she will proceed no further, and, moreover, not satisfied with my simple consent to do what I can for the delivering of my son, she demands that *de facto*, I cause him to be delivered, with all the chiefs of the nobility, my obedient subjects, for hostages with him, and all the fortresses of my kingdom in the hands of those who are my enemies. This I believe you had not particularly understood when you added this postil to your said letter, 'that I shall see what the queen of England has given in charge to the bishop of Ross to communicate to me, and what he counsels me thereupon; to which counsel it seems expedient that I conform, since it cannot be done otherwise.' The said bishop writes to me in substance, that in the expectation that in two months hence she will proceed to the treaty, my said good sister requests me, at the solicitation of the contrary party, that I agree to Morton's returning to Scotland to cause a parliament to be held, under the pretended authority and in the name of my son. It is a new demand, the yielding of which would be too prejudicial to me, for the cold hope of the fruit of a treaty such as now my said good sister declares she is willing to make with me. I have given in charge to the said bishop of Ross to remonstrate to her that, for the consequences of the other pretended parliaments which my rebels have heretofore held, I cannot in any way authorize or consent to this one, and less to the extreme and unreasonable conditions which are proposed anew for the effect of the said treaty, on which I am resolved to stand, and not to pass beyond the limits of the meaning of the king my good brother, now that it is plainly declared to me, never having had any other wish but to follow it, as I could at need, Monsieur de la Mothe Fénelon, call you as a faithful witness of this negotiation.

You will see what expedient it shall please my said good sister to adopt thereupon, and I leave it to your discretion and good judgment to remind her of the promise concerning which you wrote to me heretofore, and further I beg you to give advice of it all to my said good brother, that he may know there is no appearance that I may or should, as indeed I do not, expect anything more from this treaty. I hope also to let him know thereupon my opinion by a dispatch I am making to send by Chesain, the present bearer, who will wait for it in London, and will tell you the principal object of his voyage, which I beg you will favour as need requires. Meanwhile, I pray God to give you, Monsieur de la Mothe Fénelon, what you most desire. Written at Sheffield, the last day of March, 1571. Your very good friend, Marie R."

I have thought it necessary to follow up the narrative of these negotiations in England by itself, because, although it had an important influence over events in Scotland, it was in some sort independent of them. We have just seen Mary, in a letter to Lethington and Grange, deliberately ordering them to spread reports which she acknowledged that she knew to be untrue, for the purpose of irritating her subjects against Elizabeth, and we shall find her in her transactions with others continually making statements which were equally unfounded. To judge from the complaints set forth in her letters, we might suppose that the lords of her party had during the period of this treaty laid aside their arms, and that they offered themselves as quiet and unresisting victims, while Lennox and his friends attacked them without provocation, and overwhelmed them with insults and outrages. This view of the case is, however, not quite correct.

When the king's lords chose Lennox for their regent, the lords of the queen's party, as might be expected, refused to acknowledge him, and they announced their intention of holding a parliament at Linlithgow on the 4th of August. Not content with this, they prepared for war in almost every quarter of the kingdom. Huntley was gathering his forces to establish himself at Brechin in Angus; while the earl of Argyll had assembled a powerful force of highlanders; and the Hamiltons were gathering their strength in the west. Encouraged by these signs of approaching turbulence, lord Herries, and the lairds of Lochinvar, Buc-

cleuch, Fernyhirst, and Johnston, also armed their followers, and the borderers began again to plunder and waste the neighbouring districts of England. The regent, in the utmost alarm, dispatched his agent Elphinston to the earl of Sussex, to inform him of the storm which was gathering around him, and to implore his assistance; and, as the inroads of the Scottish borderers and the protection they gave to the rebel Dacres furnished a ready pretext, Sussex received directions from his queen to invade the western marches. Meanwhile the regent himself acted with unexpected energy. He summoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh on the 10th of October, and to hinder the assembly called by the lords of the other party, he commanded by proclamation all the lieges to meet him in arms at Linlithgow on the 2nd of August. At the appointed day, he joined Morton at Linlithgow, and found himself at the head of a considerable force; and he there learnt that Huntley had not, as was expected, taken the field with his forces, but that a troop of hagbutteers or musqueteers, the only one Huntley possessed, occupied the castle of Brechin, and had rendered themselves formidable to the country around by their depredations. The regent had heard that some of the more obnoxious of the leaders of the queen's party were with them, and he hoped to take them by surprise. But these received intimations of his approach, and made their escape. Lennox stormed the castle, and hung thirty-four of the garrison, including most of the officers, who are said to have been men already pardoned for former offences. On the regent's departure, Huntley came down from the hills, but he only committed some petty acts of retaliation.

The advance of Sussex, at the head of an army of four thousand men, into Annandale, had the immediate effect of hindering the queen's lords from uniting their forces, and at the same time held them in check by the fear of Elizabeth's interference. The earl crossed the border on the 22nd of August, and carried destruction through the lands of the offending borderers up to the gates of Dumfries. He destroyed the castles of Annan and Hoddum, belonging to lord Herries, those of Dumfries and Caerlaverock, belonging to lord Maxwell, with the strongholds of the lairds of Tynehill and Cowhill, and of two of the Graemes, "ill neighbours to England," with numer-

ous lesser piles. "I have not," he said, in a dispatch to Cecil, "left a stone house to an ill neighbour within twenty miles of this town (Carlisle)."

Lord Livingston now arrived in Scotland with a message from Mary to her friends, and the country was allowed to remain somewhat more tranquil, while the negotiations were going on in England for Mary's restoration. Early in October a parliament met in Edinburgh, according to the summons of Lennox, but it did little more than confirm the election of the regent, and, when it separated, the regent summoned another parliament to meet on the 25th of January. This day was subsequently prorogued to the month of May. At the beginning of February he dispatched the earl of Morton to London to join with the commendator of Dunfermline and James Makgill in watching rather than taking a part in the negotiations there going on for the restoration of Mary, the course of which has been already described. Meanwhile the year 1571 had found the two parties in Scotland more bitterly hostile than ever. The Hamiltons had seized upon Paisley in the county of Renfrew, and the Kennedys were attacking and plundering those who acknowledged the authority of the regent in that of Ayr. Lennox assembled a small force among his friends, and marching suddenly into Renfrewshire, expelled his enemies from Paisley, and then proceeding south, compelled the Kennedys to submit to his authority. This success alarmed some other chiefs of the queen's party, and the earl of Eglinton and Robert Boyd made their peace with the king's government; but the most signal success obtained by the regent at this time was the capture of Dumbarton, a daring exploit, which had a very important influence on subsequent events.

The castle of Dumbarton had been, since the commencement of these troubles, commanded for the queen by lord Fleming, one of her most zealous partisans, and its possession was of the utmost importance to her cause. The castle, situated on a precipitous rock at the confluence of the little river Leven with the Clyde, was considered by its position almost impregnable, and it might have remained long in the hands of the queen's friends but for the negligence of the garrison, and the desertion of one of them named Robertson. This man's wife was in the custom of visiting him in the castle, and on one occasion, having been

accused of theft, she was, by order of lord Fleming, publicly flogged. Her husband, stung with mortification at the disgrace to which he conceived that he had been unjustly subjected, took the first opportunity of deserting from the castle, and hurried to Glasgow, where the regent was at this time suffering from an accidental fall from his horse. Robertson had been warder of Dumbarton castle, and he was familiar with every step of the rock on which it stood, and knew how its weak points might be approached. He addressed himself first to a kinsman of the regent's, named Robert Douglas, to whom he offered for a moderate consideration to betray this important fortress. Douglas consulted with John Cunningham, laird of Drumwhassel, one of the bravest and most skilful officers of his time, who examined Robertson, and assured himself of the feasibility of the attempt. He then communicated the project to the regent, who, after privately consulting with his council, determined to put it in execution, and he placed a small body of men for this purpose under the command of captain Crawford, of Jordanhill, a brave soldier, devotedly attached to the house of Lennox, who was to be accompanied by the laird of Drumwhassel. As the truce between the two parties expired on the 1st of April, it was determined to make the attempt in the night following.

Having prepared rope ladders and other things necessary for their purpose, Crawford appointed for the place of rendezvous the hill of Dumbuck, within a mile of the castle, where, having sent a few light horse before him to seize all passengers, so as to hinder intelligence of his movements from being carried to the garrison, he arrived about midnight. He was there joined by the laird of Drumwhassel and captain Hume, with a hundred men. At this place Crawford, for the first time, explained to the soldiers the hazardous service on which they were engaged, encouraged them by promises of reward, introduced to them Robertson, who was to lead the way, and distributed the ropes and scaling-ladders. The horsemen were left at Dumbuck, and a little before dawn the foot marched silently to the river Leven, where it flowed at the bottom of the castle rock. Here they found the wooden bridge broken, and they were further disconcerted by the sudden appearance of what seemed to be a bright flame, which they took for a signal of the enemy.

The latter, however, turned out to be nothing but a meteor, and they succeeded in making the wooden bridge passable without giving any alarm. They had, however, lost some time in effecting this, and they were fearful that the approach of daylight might betray their design to the garrison too soon. Their joy, therefore, was great, when, on reaching the foot of the rock, they found that the summit on which the castle was built was involved in a thick mist, which reached about half-way down, entirely concealing them from the view of the garrison above, while they had sufficient light below to enable them to place their ladders and commence the ascent with confidence. And now a new accident happened, which had nearly ruined the enterprise. The rock was hard and slippery, and when the soldiers were already upon the ladders, the latter lost their hold, and they were all thrown rudely to the bottom, with much noise. The garrison, however, appeared to have been engaged in a debauch the previous night, and they were plunged in a deep slumber not easily disturbed. Crawford's men soon ascertained that no one was seriously hurt by the fall, and having remained quiet until they had assured themselves that no notice had been taken of the noise, they again placed their ladders, but with more caution, and they were this time more successful, and reached a projecting ledge about half way up the rock, where they could lodge themselves securely. Here they found an ash tree, which had taken root in the rock, and which proved of great service to them; for they tied their ropes to it, and lifted up their companions without difficulty. But now that the greatest obstacle was overcome, another accident arrived. They had fixed a ladder to help them to the top of the rock, and one of the men had mounted half way up, when he was seized with a convulsive fit, in which he grasped the steps so firmly, that it was impossible to detach him. Daylight was now approaching, and every minute was of fatal importance; but in this emergency the other soldiers tied their comrade to the ladder, that he might not fall when he recovered, and then gently turning it, they passed over him. They were now at the foot of the wall, which was here old and crazy, for it had never been supposed possible that it would be made a point of attack. Alexander Ramsay first placed the ladder to this wall, and with two

others mounted to the top. They were immediately perceived by three sentinels, who gave the alarm, and thought to drive them away by throwing stones at them. Ramsay and his two companions, not liking this mode of fighting, immediately jumped down into the court and attacked the sentinels. Their companions rushing hurriedly up the ladder, in their anxiety to come to their assistance, the old wall gave way, and fell, making a breach through which Crawford and his men rushed, shouting as their watchword, "A Darnley! a Darnley!" The garrison seems to have been panic-struck, and offered little resistance. Many fled, and among the rest the governor, lord Fleming, who let himself down an almost precipitate gully of the rock, and reaching the river by a postern gate, threw himself into a boat, and passed over to Argyleshire.

Thus did the king's party obtain possession of the important castle of Dumbarton, with the loss of only one man. When the regent arrived next day, he was taken to view the rock where the ascent had been made, and he is said to have shuddered at the perilous character of the exploit. The men engaged in it could hardly believe what they had overcome. The surprise had been so complete, that four men only of the garrison were killed. But several important prisoners fell into the hands of the regent. Among them were, the lady Fleming (the wife of the governor of the castle), Hamilton archbishop of St. Andrews, the French agent Monsieur de Verac, Fleming of Boghall, and Alexander Livingston, with an English gentleman who had been implicated in the northern insurrections, and who was set at liberty. The regent treated the lady Fleming with the greatest courtesy, and allowed her to depart and carry with her her personal property. Monsieur de Verac had a rather narrow escape, for it seems that when he entered the Clyde with the French ships, he had attacked and plundered some merchantmen belonging to the king's party, and the merchants who had suffered from these depredations insisted that he should be put on his trial as a pirate. Lennox, however, was averse to such a vindictive proceeding, and he allowed him to claim protection under the character of an ambassador, but he was retained a prisoner at St. Andrews. Fleming and Livingston were also imprisoned. But the whole vengeance of the

regent fell upon the archbishop of St. Andrews, who had been from the first the firebrand of his party, and who, when captured, was found in his coat of mail and his steel cap. He was carried immediately to Stirling, where he was put upon his trial for the murders of the king and of the regent, and he was convicted, and hanged and quartered, on the fifth day after his capture. His fate is said to have been thus hurried in the fear that Elizabeth might interfere to preserve him from death.

The plunder of Dumbarton castle was given to the enterprising soldiers who had captured it, but many important papers fell into the hands of the regent, and among them some documents which revealed Mary's dealings with the duke of Alva. These were sent to England, and first put Elizabeth's ministers on the track which ended, as we have already seen, in the discovery of the grand conspiracy for which the duke of Norfolk was brought to the scaffold. These discoveries put an end to the treaty for Mary's restoration.

However, a few days after the capture of Dumbarton, the earl of Morton and his two colleagues returned from England, to give an account of their proceedings with regard to this negotiation. It appeared that on Morton's arrival in London towards the end of February, he and his fellow-commissioners were required by Elizabeth to give an account and justification of their proceedings since the conferences at York and Westminster. They might naturally be astonished at such a demand, but they proceeded to draw up an elaborate memorial, which was presented to the privy council on the last day of February. A delay of some days was caused by the removal of the court from London to Greenwich, but Morton was informed that the justification was not considered quite satisfactory, and he was requested to join with the other parties in the negotiation to bring about an arrangement which should put a stop to the discords then existing in Scotland. Morton and his colleagues replied, that they had not been sent with discretionary powers, but were limited to certain instructions; and that they had no liberty to enter into any discussion which might tend to lessen the prerogative of the king. Immediately afterwards they sent to the queen at Greenwich a representation in accordance with their answer to the council, with a request that they might be permitted to return

to Scotland to attend their parliament. The result was an order to attend at court on the 5th of March. Elizabeth received them rather rudely, told them she disapproved of much they had done, and requested that they would further confer with her council on the design for a general pacification. He replied that they were willing to listen to any proposals which involved no change in the existing state of the kingdom, nor diminution in the power of the king, concerning which they neither could nor would deliberate. Next day they attended the council, and the proposals for the restoration of the queen were communicated to them and discussed. In the end, they demanded a copy of the articles, which was given to them, and having examined them and perceived that they tended much to diminish the king's authority, and were far beyond the limits of their commission, they sent a reply by the commendator of Dunfermline, to the effect that the subject was one proper to be laid before the Scottish parliament, and could not be discussed by them. On the 9th of March, the commendator had an audience of the English queen, to whom he presented the same reply in writing, and earnestly requested her that, having fulfilled as far as it was in their power the objects of their mission, she would now permit them to return to Scotland. The Scottish commissioners were kept ten days in suspense, and then they were called again to court, and being introduced to the privy council, various arguments were used to induce them to approve of the articles then in negotiation. They persevered in stating that they could accept of no form of pacification by which the power of the king should be abridged. On the 20th of March, they were again admitted to an audience of the queen, who told them that she had fully considered, with her council, the answer they had given, and that she was convinced that the Scottish parliament alone was capable of giving a direct answer to what she required. She had, therefore, she said, discovered a plan by which she could under a sufficiently honourable pretext leave the whole matter as it was. As she understood that there was soon to be a meeting of the Scottish parliament, she wished Morton and his colleagues to return home in order to attend in it, and she begged them to use their endeavours that a committee should be chosen from both parties, composed of equal numbers from

each, who were to consider all questions in dispute; she also would send commissioners who should labour to reconcile them. She required that, in the mean time, the truce between the two parties should be renewed. A new delay was caused on the pretext that the bishop of Ross waited for further instructions from his mistress. The Scottish commissioners urged that their mission had nothing to do with the bishop of Ross or his mistress; but they were still kept waiting, under one pretext or another, until the queen returned to London on the last day of March. Meanwhile, the queen of Scots protested against Morton and his colleagues being allowed to return to Scotland at all, on the somewhat singular ground that they were nothing more than rebels, and that giving them a passport to return would be acknowledging their right to hold a parliament independent of her authority. She overlooked the circumstance that they were representatives of a *de facto* government, and that they had come to England on a safe conduct. Elizabeth gave them a final audience on the 4th of April, when she made excuses for the delay, told them that Mary had given new instructions to the bishop of Ross which were equivalent to breaking off the treaty, and dismissed them kindly and courteously. They left London on their return on the 8th of April. It is not improbable that Elizabeth was pleased with the turn things had taken. But whatever readiness Mary may have shown to deliver up her son to procure her own freedom, her opponents in Scotland were certainly unwilling that their young king should be carried away, even to England, and they were glad that this negotiation was broken off. The parliament unhesitatingly approved of the conduct of Morton and his two colleagues, and then separated; and another meeting of parliament was called for the month of May, to meet in Edinburgh.

All truce was now at an end between the two parties, and they proceeded to appeal to arms, but neither had the resources at command to strike a decisive blow. Although Dumbarton was lost to the queen's party, Grange still held the castle of Edinburgh, and he had received considerable sums of money from France and Flanders which enabled him to strengthen himself. He had also received from France a supply of artillery and ammunition, and his guns commanded the capital. Around him, therefore,

the forces of the queen's friends collected. The duke of Châtelherault brought into the castle a reinforcement of three hundred horse and a hundred hagbutteers; and the lords Herries and Maxwell, with the laird of Fernyhirst, occupied the city with a strong body of border horse. Morton, meanwhile, established himself at Dalkeith, with the troops which were in regular service and pay, and the regent summoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet him at Linlithgow on the 19th of May.

The proximity of Dalkeith to the capital could not fail to lead to frequent bickerings and skirmishes between Morton's soldiers and those who held the castle and city. Leith was still in the power of the king's party; and on one occasion Morton having, by the regent's desire, sent a small party of horse and foot thither to publish a proclamation forbidding any one to furnish the opposite party with provisions, arms, or other warlike stores, on their return, approaching too near the walls, they were attacked by a superior force of the queen's party from the city, but Morton's troops had the advantage, and drove their opponents with some loss into the town. At length, on the 9th of May, Lennox and Morton united their forces and encamped at Leith, where, at a spot called the Dove Craig (the pigeon's rock) they erected a battery which commanded the Cannongate of the city. The regent was ill provided with artillery, and he did not venture upon any serious operations against the castle or the town, but he held his parliament in the camp, and it was numerous attended in spite of the cannon of the castle, which played upon it continually, though ineffectively. In this parliament, Lethington and some of the more obnoxious of those who were in the castle were attainted and forfeited. The other party pretended to hold a parliament in the city, and retorted by acts of attainder and forfeiture against their opponents. Edinburgh was all this time a reluctant victim to the armed tyranny of the queen's lords, who threatened with the severest punishment all who should show any partiality to the regent. Nevertheless, two hundred citizens stole away and joined Lennox in his camp. Grange, in a passion, deposed the provost and magistrates of the city, and intruded the fierce and unscrupulous laird of Fernyhirst and a council of his retainers in their places. The business of his parliament being concluded, the regent

broke up his camp and returned to Stirling, while Morton resumed his old station at Dalkeith, both factions having announced their intention of calling a parliament in August.

The bickerings between Morton's troops and those of the opposite party in Edinburgh continued; and the latter hearing one day that Morton was slenderly attended, determined to attack him in his house. For this purpose they sent a hundred horse and upwards of two hundred hagbutteers, with a couple of brass field pieces, in the direction of Dalkeith. Morton's men received the first intelligence of their approach by seeing them drawn up in battle array on a hill near the village, and the alarm having been given, they mustered about two hundred foot and sixty horse, and went out to attack them. The two parties faced each other for a short time, but, disappointed in their hope of surprising their opponents, the troops from Edinburgh retreated, after a few shots, in good order towards the capital. Morton's men followed them closely, until they came to Craigmillar castle, about half way between Dalkeith and the capital, where a few of Morton's people, having made a circuit of the castle, suddenly attacked their opponents in the rear. The latter were instantly thrown into confusion, and fled precipitately towards the city. But the scene of this skirmish was distinctly visible from the heights of Edinburgh castle, and a party of the garrison was sent out to assist their friends. These now rallied, and Morton's party in their turn were obliged to flee. The loss was about equal on both sides.

Such were the scenes now of constant occurrence in the neighbourhood of the capital. Buchanan relates how at this moment a regiment of Scottish mercenaries who had been serving for some years in the pay of the king of Denmark, returning home, offered their services to the regent. Having been allowed to separate and visit their friends, they were to reassemble on a certain day and proceed by water up the Forth to the regent's headquarters. Grange, having received information of their movements, determined to embark a strong body of soldiers to intercept them. But this design, in turn, was betrayed to Morton, who collecting as large a force as he could on the instant, hurried to Leith, and very nearly surprised Grange's men before they embarked. Sixteen of the hindmost, who were still on shore, were made

prisoners. Some time was lost before Morton could embark his men in the pursuit. This, however, was rendered unnecessary, partly by the activity of the regent, who also had received intelligence of the design of his enemies, and partly by the diligence of the soldiers from Denmark, nearly the whole of whom had embarked in a large vessel and been beforehand with their pursuers. They were protected at their landing by Lennox himself, who had marched along the left bank of the Forth with a considerable though irregular force, and was ready to receive them. Twenty-six only, who had been slower than their comrades, and had embarked in a small vessel, were captured by the queen's ships, and carried into the castle.

During this time sir William Drury, who had been sent to Edinburgh by the queen of England, was negotiating between the two parties; and in repeated conferences with Grange, Morton, and the regent, endeavoured to prevail upon them to agree to a truce, and confer together for an adjustment of their differences. But Drury's arguments proved of no effect, and on his departure, the queen's party marched out with their whole force, under pretence of escorting him from the city, but in reality as an act of defiance to Morton, who, as they knew, was lying sick at Dalkeith. But the intelligence of this proceeding no sooner reached the ears of Morton, than he rose from his bed, put on his armour, and placed himself at the head of his men, whom he drew up in battle array in face of his opponents. Drury rode anxiously between the two armies, and urged both parties to withdraw, and return home. To this they consented; but a difficulty arose in arranging which was to leave the ground first. But this was also arranged by Drury, who proposed that both sides should hold themselves in readiness to retire at the same moment when he, standing in the middle between the two armies, should give the signal. Before this plan could be carried into effect, all Drury's efforts were rendered unavailing by the intemperance of some of the queen's officers, who sent a threat to Morton that if he did not go home of his own accord, they would send him away in disgrace. Thus provoked, Morton immediately attacked his opponents, whose flanks being cut off by the first charge of his cavalry, the rest took to flight, and made for the nearest gate of the city, closely

pursued by the victors. Unfortunately the gate was not wide enough to admit the fugitives, and many were slain outside, or trodden down in the confusion, and a great number were taken prisoners. The only attempt at resistance was made by a party of foot, who rallied in a churchyard adjacent, but they also fled on the first attack. The terror of the fugitives was so great, that they rushed through the city into the castle, without attempting to secure the city gates behind them; and Morton might have made himself master of the city, if his troops had not been too intent upon plunder. About fifty of the queen's party were killed, and a hundred and fifty taken prisoners. Amongst the latter was one captain Cullen, a kinsman of the earl of Huntley, who was an object of great fear and hatred to the populace for the barbarous outrages he had committed. He was found concealed in a poor woman's pantry, and was carried to Leith, where he was immediately hanged.

Mary's partisans in Scotland were supplied with money and munitions chiefly from France. The loss of Dumbarton, and the occupation of Leith by the other party, rendered the passage of these supplies more difficult than formerly, and they were not unfrequently intercepted and captured. Several of the more active of the French agents thus fell into the hands of the regent, and the papers they carried with them showed that the courage of the queen's lords was sustained by the expectation of speedy assistance from France. Among the persons thus captured at the time of which we are now speaking, was Monsieur de Verac. We have already seen how Verac was made prisoner at the surprise of Dumbarton; he had been carried to St. Andrews, but he effected his escape, by the connivance (it was said) of his keeper, and returned to France. He was now recaptured, as he was bringing supplies from France to the garrison in the castle of Edinburgh, and he was again carried as a prisoner to St. Andrews. From this place, on the 20th of August, he wrote to La Mothe Fénelon a letter, which is printed in the collection by M. Teulet, and which gives us some insight into the state of Scotland at that moment. Verac tells the ambassador in England how the regent had compelled him to be a prisoner on parole; he says that he had given his promise not to attempt to escape to avoid the alternative of being committed to close prison, but he avows his intention of evad-

ing that promise by making his escape on the first opportunity. He describes an interview with the earl of Morton, in which he had done all in his power to sow jealousy between that nobleman and the earl of Lennox, and to gain Morton over to the interests of France. He states further that he had made a proposal on the part of the king of France which was to be laid before the parliament at Stirling, and confesses that the only object he had in view was to procure permission to go himself to Stirling under pretence of giving explanations, and that he had arranged for making his escape on the way, and flying to Edinburgh. He speaks of divisions among the nobles of the king's party. "There is every appearance," he says, "that if the king send the least force in the world into this country, he will reduce it all to his will; and even the said Morton, if he saw things a little shaky, would not hold firm, as I think. Hitherto I have done my utmost to know all they are about, and, if I had money with which to bribe, they would do very little that I should not be informed of. If you please, you will inform the king that, if his majesty like to spend something among the most intimate servants of the said lords, they may be gained; for it is the natural character of the people of this country to ask always, and never to do anything for nothing." Monsieur de Verac either made his escape in the manner he proposed, or he was set at liberty very soon after the date of this letter, for he was in Edinburgh at the time when the expedition was sent out to surprise Stirling, which ended in the slaughter of the regent Lennox.

At the close of the month of August, the lords of the queen's party met in great numbers to hold the parliament at Stirling; and to give more solemnity to the assembly, the young king, then five years old, was carried in state to the parliament house by the earl of Mar. He was placed on the throne, in his royal robes, and was made to read a speech which was prepared for him. A trivial incident occurred during these proceedings which was afterwards believed by many superstitious people to have portended the disaster which followed. The infant king, looking up from his throne, espied an aperture in the ceiling, on which he is said to have remarked with a childish smile, "There is a hole in the parliament." The principal business of this parliament was to proceed against the nobles and others of the queen's

party; and, among many others, the duke of Châtelherault, the earl of Huntley, the laird of Grange, the lord Claude Hamilton, the lord of Arbroath, sir James Balfour, and Robert Melvil, were pronounced guilty of treason. The other party attempted to hold a parliament in Edinburgh, but they could only get together three of the higher lords and two ecclesiastics. They, however, met, and pronounced sentence of treason against the earls of Lennox, Morton, and Mar, the lords Lindsay, Hay, Cathcart, Glamis, and Ochiltree, Makgill, the bishop of Orkney, and others of that party, to the amount of nearly two hundred.

On the 3rd of September, while the lords of the queen's party were still assembled at Stirling, negligently guarded, a spy brought information to Grange of the great insecurity of the place, and suggested that, if he marched secretly with the garrison of Edinburgh so as to enter Stirling unexpectedly by break of day, he might easily surprise them in their beds, and carry them all away prisoners. Grange determined at once to profit by this information, and to put the design in execution the same night. Scouts having been sent along the road to stop passengers, and hinder any intelligence of what was going on from being carried to Stirling, at six o'clock in the evening the earl of Huntley, with a strong body of horse, consisting partly of mounted hagbutteers, marched out of the capital. Their guide was a soldier, who, being a native of Stirling, knew all the bye-streets of the town, and could lead them directly to all the noblemen's lodgings. After making a circuit to deceive their opponents as to their real design, if their march should be known, they halted at about a quarter of a league from Stirling, a little before daybreak, and there left their horses. They entered by a private way into the town, unobserved by anybody, until they gained the principal street; for they found the whole town in deep repose, not so much as a dog barking at their approach. They were thus masters of the place without a show of opposition. They now separated in parties, and proceeding to the lodgings of the different nobles, broke open the doors, and took prisoners the regent, the earls of Morton, Glencairn, Argyle (who had joined the king's party), Cassillis, Eglinton, Montrose, and Buchan, and the lords Semple, Cathcart, and Ochiltree. Morton alone made any resistance; for, having barricaded his house, he refused

to surrender until fire was set to it, and he was driven out by the smoke and flames.

So far the triumph of the assailants was complete. But the borderers, who formed the bulk of Huntley's force, could not be restrained from plunder. They broke up the merchants' booths, stole the horses from the stables, and were soon encumbered with booty. Meanwhile the length of Morton's resistance had given time to the townsmen to recover from their surprise, and to fly to arms; and the earl of Mar, with forty soldiers of the garrison, made his way to an unfinished house which commanded the market-place, where Huntley and as many men as he could keep together were stationed. They opened a sharp fire from this position, and soon drove Huntley's men into another quarter, where they were set upon by the townsmen, and the captured nobles, who were loosely guarded, having also obtained possession of weapons, the first triumph of their assailants was suddenly changed into a complete defeat; and as most of them were chiefly anxious to secure their plunder, the town was soon cleared of them. But in the midst of the tumult and confusion, the earl of Lennox received a mortal wound. It is said that the Hamiltons had vowed to revenge the death of the archbishop of St. Andrews on the regent, and that they made captain Calder, a soldier of great courage,

who was one of the leaders on this occasion, promise to slay him. In the midst of the tumult and confusion, Calder, seeing Lennox on the point of escaping, rode up behind him and shot him through the back. Spens of Wormiston, by whom the regent had been captured, interposed to save his prisoner from the brutal rage of Calder, when he received the same shot in his body, and was instantly killed by the soldiers. Calder himself and captain Bell, the latter a chief leader in the expedition, were taken prisoners and executed, after confessing that the lord Claude Hamilton and Huntley had instigated them to kill the regent. The laird of Buccleuch and sixteen others of Huntley's followers were also made prisoners, and nine were slain. Their loss would have been much greater, if the borderers had not stolen all the horses in the town, and thus hindered the pursuit.

The earl of Lennox retained sufficient strength to ride into the castle, but he felt that death was inevitable, and he sent for the nobles to attend him on his couch. He recommended the young king to their care, and told them that as he had sealed his own fidelity to them with his blood, he trusted that they would choose a nobleman to succeed him who would be guided by the same zeal for God and his country. He expired the same evening.

CHAPTER VII.

REGENCY OF THE EARL OF MAR; DESIGNS AGAINST THE QUEEN; THE EARL OF MORTON RAISED TO THE REGENCY; DEATH OF JOHN KNOX.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of the earl of Lennox, the nobles of the king's party met to elect a successor to the office of regent, for which there were three competitors: the earl of Argyle, who had been induced by the earl of Morton to desert the queen's party, the earl of Morton himself, and the earl of Mar. The choice fell upon the latter, who was much respected by the nobles for his honesty and moderation, and people in general nourished the hope that by his means the country might at last be pacified. But he was raised to power at a moment when the whole country was engaged in open hostilities, and all his attempts at con-

ciliation were counteracted by the warlike propensities of Morton, who soon showed a determination to be the chief director of affairs, if he was not nominally regent.

One of the last acts of Lennox's regency had been to summon the force of the kingdom to meet on the 1st of October, to undertake the siege of Edinburgh castle. The death of Lennox and the accession of Mar, caused a delay of a fortnight in the assembling of the army. Grange was, however, too well supplied with the sinews of war to be soon driven out of his stronghold, and all Mar's efforts proved unsuccessful. Two attempts were made to bombard the city,

but in both the regent was driven away, and he was obliged to withdraw his men to Leith; and after some skirmishing, in which the loss was small on either side, it was found advisable to raise the siege. Discouraged at the failure of his design upon Edinburgh, the regent addressed an earnest appeal to Elizabeth for assistance.

As might be expected, these political dissensions had not failed to produce their effect on the clans in the north. Among those most actively engaged on the two sides, were the Gordons and the Forbeses, families who had formerly been engaged in frequent feuds, but for a long time they had been at least on no hostile terms, and they had become allied in several instances by intermarriage. The Gordons, with their chief the earl of Huntley, sided with the queen; the Forbeses supported the opposite party. The latter clan was at this time much weakened by divisions among themselves; but Arthur Forbes, a man of considerable ambition, and a warm adherent of the regent's government, attempted to reunite his kinsmen in this cause, and appointed a day for the meeting of the whole clan for that purpose. But Adam Gordon, of Auchendown castle in Banffshire, the brother of the earl of Huntley, and a skilful but ferocious warrior, received information of their design, and determined to prevent it. He accordingly collected his vassals and kinsmen, and marched on the appointed day to the spot where the meeting of reconciliation was to take place. The Forbeses came in two parties, and Gordon, aware of this, attacked the party of Arthur Forbes before it could be joined by the other division. The result was, that Forbes himself was slain, and his followers dispersed, without much loss, except in prisoners. A party of Gordon's men then proceeded to attack the castle of Towie, the seat of Alexander Forbes, the head of the clan. Alexander was absent, but his wife, the lady Forbes, although far advanced in pregnancy, shut her gates, and defied the enemy from her battlements. The assailants, provoked at her obstinacy, deliberately set fire to the house, and burnt the lady Forbes, with her children and household, amounting in all to nearly forty persons. On another occasion, Gordon showed a generosity which it is difficult to reconcile with savage acts like this: having defeated the earl of Buchan at Breechin, and taken two hundred prisoners, he set them at liberty without ransom.

Alexander Forbes hastened to court to demand assistance in his adversity, and a couple of hundred foot soldiers were given to him. With these he hastened home and raised his clan, but the Forbeses still wanted union, and they had no leader of sufficient capability to contend with sir Adam Gordon. The latter was at Aberdeen, with no very large force, and Alexander Forbes determined to attack him there before he could strengthen himself. Gordon, informed of his approach, marched out to meet him; and to give his little army a more formidable appearance, he compelled the citizens of Aberdeen to follow him into the fields adjoining the town. Here they were attacked by the Forbeses, but without much tact, and the two hundred hagbutteers having advanced before their companions, and not being sufficiently supported, were obliged to fall back, which so much discouraged the rest that they soon took to flight. Alexander Forbes, after an obstinate resistance, was taken prisoner.

In the south, the border clans were not backward in imitating the example of the northerners. The Kerrs of Fernyhirst and the Scotts of Buccleuch joined with the men of Liddesdale, Emsdale, and Eskdale, to attack the town of Jedburgh. The townsmen, informed of their design, took active measures of defence, and applied to the regent for assistance. Among the first to come to their aid was Walter Kerr of Cessford, who brought them all the men he could collect, and assisted them in the preparation of their defences. The borderers marched during the night, reckoning, according to their practice in border forays, to surprise the town at daybreak. But as they were on their way, they learnt that lord William Ruthven, with a body of hagbutteers, was on his way to the assistance of the Jedburghers. This made them hasten their march in the hope of being able to surprise the town and secure the plunder before his arrival. When, however, they approached Jedburgh, they found that the townsmen and their friends had come out to meet them in greater force than they expected, and as their rear was already harassed by Ruthven's hagbutteers, many of the border chiefs took the alarm and fled to their homes. The others retreated from Jedburgh to Hawick, which they plundered, imagining that the enemy would be deterred by a heavy fall of snow which happened that day, from pursuing them. In this,

however, they were mistaken, for Ruthven made his appearance unexpected, and in their attempt to escape, the borderers were surrounded and obliged to surrender. Ruthven deprived them of their arms, and then allowed them to depart, on their leaving hostages, to fulfil a promise to render themselves before him on a day appointed.

These few anecdotes will serve to convey an idea of the condition of Scotland at this time, and as it continued through the winter. Both in the north and in the south, the different chiefs and their dependents were continually occupied in slaying, burning, and plundering in each other's lands. No superior power was strong enough to enforce law or justice. In general, success seemed to favour the queen's party, but several things occurred about this time to discourage them. The principal of these was the discovery of the duke of Norfolk's plot, and the consequent restrictions placed on Mary's communications with her friends, as well as the alarm which this conspiracy gave to the whole protestant party, among whom it tended to cement a union which had begun to show signs of approaching dissolution. Moreover, though Grange and his friends had proved themselves well provided to resist the attacks of their opponents, their strength was wearing out, while the substantial assistance they expected from France seemed as distant as ever; and Elizabeth, after the discovery of the great designs of the catholics against her crown, was more inclined to give open assistance to the regent. In fact, from this moment Elizabeth declared openly that she looked upon the liberation of the Scottish queen as inconsistent with her own safety, and that she would use all her influence in reducing the whole Scottish nation to obedience to their young king.

For a knowledge of some of the more secret events of this period we are indebted to Tytler, whose researches in the state paper office in London have thrown considerable light on one or two dark portions of Scottish history. Elizabeth's first attempts at a pacification in Scotland were by negotiation; and during the latter months of the year 1571, lord Hunsdon and sir William Drury, who held the two offices of governor and marshal of Berwick, were employed in corresponding with Lethington and Grange, in the hope of gaining them over to support the king's government.

But the two Scottish leaders evaded the proposals of the English negotiators, and assumed a high tone, which seems to have disgusted Elizabeth and her ministers. It has been supposed that their principal object in these negotiations was to ascertain the strength and resolution of Mary's supporters; but it is evident that Elizabeth was extremely reluctant to resort to an armed interference, probably on account of the difficult position in which she stood with regard to the continental Catholic powers. The Scots were thus for a while left to themselves; and during the winter and spring, the country, from one end to the other, was exposed to the worst miseries of civil war. It was distinguished by such ravages and such acts of cruelty, that this period was long afterwards remembered with horror as that of the Douglas wars, from the name of the earl of Morton, who was the most prominent actor in them. In the north, Adam Gordon was still successful, and rendered himself terrible by his barbarity. Among other exploits, having attacked the house of Douglas of Glenbervie, in Angus, finding that Douglas himself was from home, he revenged his disappointment by committing the house and all that were in it to the flames. In the south, the laird of Fernyhirst and the borderers ranged over the country uncontrolled, committing every description of outrage. The castle of Blackness, which commanded the navigation of the Forth between Leith and Stirling, was betrayed by its governor to the Hamiltons; and this fortress, with those of Niddry and Livingston, secured the supplies of the garrison of Edinburgh on that side. The regent had destroyed the mills near Edinburgh, and placed garrisons at Craigmillar, Mercheston, Redhall, Corstorphen, and other places round the capital, to cut off all its supplies by land, so that it was soon in considerable distress. Many instances might be adduced of the cruelty with which these restraints were enforced. Countrymen, who were caught in the attempt to carry provisions into the city, were hanged, or at least branded with hot iron. Women going to market were stripped and flogged; and this not being found sufficient to prevent a repetition of the offence, a poor woman of West Edmon-ton was hanged in her own village.

After months of disorder like this, in the summer of 1572 the queen's party was evidently gaining ground, and Elizabeth became

again alarmed for her influence. But at this time a friendly treaty had been concluded between England and France, and the latter power was jealous of Spain, whence Mary and her friends now chiefly looked to receive assistance. For these two reasons, the king of France was much less zealous in the cause of Mary than he had been, and in the spring of this year a French ambassador, Monsieur du Croc, was sent to Scotland to negotiate with both parties. Du Croc was instructed to proceed first to the court of Elizabeth, and consult with that princess on the objects of his mission; and she directed her ambassador in Scotland to act in concert with him. By their efforts, Grange and Lethington were induced to consent to a truce for two months, which was signed on the 30th of July, and commenced on the 1st of August. During these two months, a parliament was to assemble freely at Edinburgh to labour for the establishment of peace; and to facilitate their labours, a certain number of persons of each party were to meet and consult in a friendly manner on the same subject. The two months passed, however, without any satisfactory progress in the negotiations. One article of the truce was, that nothing in the meanwhile should be done to the diminution of the young king's authority; and the party of the regent complained that their opponents had broken this condition by coining money in the castle of Edinburgh. But it was during this truce that an event occurred which had an immediate and powerful influence on Scottish affairs—the dreadful massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, in France.

The first intelligence of this event carried consternation among the protestants through the whole extent of the island. Elizabeth, whose life and crown had been threatened by so many popish plots, became greatly alarmed, and she was driven by her fears, and her consciousness that Mary was the centre of all the conspiracies of the catholics, into an extraordinary intrigue against that princess. Towards the end of August, Elizabeth sent to Scotland sir Henry Killigrew, an experienced diplomatist, who was instructed to address himself to all parties, to communicate to them the details of the late massacre in France, and to urge them to provide for their own safety by uniting cordially together. But he received private instructions, written in the hand of lord Burghley, and delivered to him by Elizabeth

herself, in the presence of that nobleman and the earl of Leicester, who were the only other persons admitted to the secret. He was informed that late events had convinced them that, unless the queen of Scots were put to death, Elizabeth's life was no longer safe. To effect the purpose in view, it was thought best that Mary should be sent to Scotland, and delivered to the regent, that he might "proceed with her by way of justice." As it would require skilful management to bring this about, he was to manage matters so, that the proposal for the delivering up of the Scottish queen should seem to originate with the regent's party, who had in fact made similar demands before. He was immediately to give Elizabeth's consent to such a demand, but only upon a solemn assurance that Mary should be put to death, so that neither England nor Scotland should be endangered by her any longer. He was to require that hostages should be given to Elizabeth for the entire fulfilment of the whole of these conditions, and these hostages were to be children or near kinsmen of the regent and the earl of Morton. Especial care was to be taken that Elizabeth's name should not be mentioned in connexion with this transaction, and the part she had taken in bringing it about was to be studiously concealed.

On entering Scotland, Killigrew proceeded first to the castle of Tantallon, where the earl of Morton (its lord) was at this moment confined by sickness. Morton was at this time receiving a pension from England, and he assured the ambassador of his devotion to the interests of Elizabeth, and of his firm resolution to support the young king. He went next to Edinburgh—he had an interview with sir James Melvil, and learnt from him the condition of Mary's party. Proceeding thence to Stirling, he had a first interview with the regent Mar, who also assured him of his attachment to the English alliance, and of his distrust of France. It was Killigrew's opinion that the regent would never be able to reduce the castle of Edinburgh without direct assistance from Elizabeth.

So far Killigrew had not entered upon the grand object of his mission. For some reason or other, it was thought expedient not at first to open the matter direct to Mar and Morton, but Killigrew chose for his "instruments" in this matter Nicholas Elphinstoun, and the abbot or commendator of Dunfermline, men who had been frequently

employed in the most delicate and secret negotiations between the regent Murray and the English court. Morton's earnest co-operation in the scheme was soon obtained. On the 9th of October Killigrew had a secret interview with Mar and Morton, in the bedroom of the latter at Dalkeith, for the earl was still confined to his bed with sickness. A long despatch, written on the same day by Killigrew, and addressed to lords Burghley and Leicester, gives a detailed account of this interview. "At my being at Dalkeith with my lord regent's grace," writes Killigrew, "the earl of Morton and he had conference, and both willing to do the thing you most desire; howbeit, I could have no answer there, but that both thought it the only way and the best way to end all troubles, as it were, in both realms. They told me, notwithstanding, the matter was dangerous, and might come so to pass as they should draw war upon their heads; and in that case, or rather to stop that peril, they would desire her majesty should enter in league defensive, comprehending therein the cause of religion also. We came to nearer terms, to wit, that her majesty should for a certain time pay the sum that her highness bestoweth for the keeping of her in England, to the preservation of this crown, and take the protection of the young king. All this I heard, and said if they thought it not profitable for them, and that if they meant not to will me to write earnestly as their desire, I would not move my pen for the matter. Whereat the earl of Morton raised himself in his bed, and said that both my lord regent and he did desire it, as a sovereign salve for all their sores; howbeit it could not be done without some manner of ceremony, and a kind of process, whereunto the noblemen must be called after a secret manner, and the clergy likewise, which would ask some time. Also, that it would be requisite her majesty should send such a convoy with the party, that in case there were people would not like of it, they might be able to keep the field; adding farther, that if they can bring the nobility to consent, as they hope they shall, they will not keep the prisoner three hours alive after she come into the bounds of Scotland. But I, leaving of these devices, desired to know indeed what they would have me write; and it was answered, that I should know farther of my lord regent's grace here. So as this morning, a little before dinner, going to take my leave of him as he was

going towards Stirling, he told me, touching that matter which was communed upon at Dalkeith, he found it very good, and the best remedy for all diseases, and willed me so to write unto your honours; nevertheless, that it was of great weight, and therefore he would advise him of the form and manner how it might best be brought to pass, and, that known, he would confer more at length with me in the same. Thus took I my leave of him, and find him, indeed, more cold than Morton, and yet seemed glad and desirous to have it come to pass." After mentioning an opinion which had been expressed, that the trial would require certain constitutional forms which would naturally cause delay, and which, therefore, was contrary to the tenor of his instructions, Killigrew concludes—"Although there be that do assure me that the regent hath, after a sort, moved this matter to nine of the best of their party, to wit, that it were fit to make a humble request to the queen's majesty, to have hither the cause of all their troubles, and to do, &c., who have consented to him; and that I am also borne in hand, that both he and the earl of Morton do, by all dexterity, proceed in the furtherance thereof, yet can I not assure myself of anything, because I see them so inconstant, so divided. . . . I am also told that the hostages have been talked of, and that they shall be delivered to our men upon the field, and the matter despatched within four hours, so as they shall not need to tarry long in our hands; but I like not their manner of dealing, and therefore leave it to your wisdom to consider if you will have me continue to give ear, and advertise [if] I shall; if not, I pray your lordships let me be called hence."

Within a day or two of the date of this letter, Killigrew again visited Morton at Dalkeith, and found him very earnest in his wishes to carry out Elizabeth's plan. He declared that, if Mar were cold on the matter, he would carry it into execution himself, which his office of lord-lieutenant of that part of the kingdom south of the Tay would enable him to do; but he intimated that Elizabeth must be more liberal in her assistance to the young king, and that her hesitating conduct had done much injury to his party. Killigrew assured him that if the great matter on which they were then negotiating were once brought to pass, he might calculate on the utmost assistance it was in her power to give, but that it was

the only condition on which a close defensive league between Elizabeth and the young king's party could be concluded. On another visit to Stirling, Killigrew found the regent almost as earnest in the matter as Morton, and he declared in his letter to lords Burghley and Leicester, that it was his opinion that the coldness shown at first by Mar "grew rather for want of skill how to compass so great a matter, than for lack of good will to execute the same."

The regent and the earl of Morton now drew up certain conditions which were to be the price of their consent to execute Elizabeth's plan; and these were carried to Killigrew by the abbot of Dunfermline. It was stipulated that Elizabeth should take the young king of Scots under her own protection, and that the parliament of England should make a declaration to the effect that his rights should not be prejudiced by the condemnation of his mother. It was required, further, that there should be a defensive league between Scotland and England; that one of the earls of Bedford, Huntingdon, or Essex, should attend with two or three thousand English troops at the execution; that afterwards these troops were to unite with the regent's forces in the siege of Edinburgh castle; and that, when that fortress was taken, it was to be delivered to the regent, and all the arrears then due to the Scottish forces were to be paid by Elizabeth. These demands were quite contrary to the expectations of the English queen, and Killigrew, on receiving them, spoke of the negotiations as being at an end. But before his letter, communicating them to Burghley, reached its destination, another event occurred that put a stop to the whole affair. On the 28th of October, 1572, after a short and unexpected illness, the earl of Mar expired, and left the office of regent open to a new competitor. The suddenness of the event led to a rumour that the regent had been poisoned.

Meanwhile the truce had expired, and had been renewed for other two months, during which the regent had shown an earnest desire to bring about a reconciliation with the other party, who, from the castle of Edinburgh being their head-quarters, were now popularly called the Castilians. The latter, however, demanded conditions which could not be yielded; some accused the earl of Morton of deliberately hindering all accommodation; and others accused the Castilians of breaking the articles of the truce. But be this as it may, the second truce

expired with no better result than the first; and it was only upon the earnest appeal of the English ambassador that the two parties agreed to prolong it till the 1st of January.

The loss of the regent was at this moment an embarrassing event; for the earl of Mar, by his honesty and honourable mind, had gained the respect of all parties; and while the young king remained in his custody, there was little reason to fear any sinister dealings. No sooner, however, was he dead, than reports began to fly about of a design to carry him off by stealth into France; and there were many who believed that he was in danger. Elizabeth herself dreaded the influence of French intrigues, and she no sooner heard of the death of the regent than she wrote letters of consolation and encouragement to the countess of Mar, and to the earl of Morton. She urged the former to be watchful over the safety of the young prince; the latter she complimented on his faithfulness, and spoke of the necessity of appointing a new regent without delay. Morton was no doubt the ablest and most powerful man of his party; he had been virtually the ruler of the country during Mar's regency, and since the regent's death the whole administration had fallen into his hands. He was supported by the nobility of his party, by the more zealous portion of the church, and by the influence of England. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, if, when the Scottish parliament assembled in Edinburgh proceeded on the 24th of November to fill up the vacant office, the earl of Morton was elected to the regency with hardly any opposition.

The day on which Morton was elected regent, witnessed the death of one of the greatest and most celebrated men in Scottish history. One of the first persons whom Killigrew visited on his arrival in Scotland was John Knox, who, naturally of a weak constitution, and worn down with his great and earnest exertions, had been overtaken by old age before he reached the ordinary limit of human life. "John Knox," Killigrew wrote to Burghley on the 6th of October, "is now so feeble as scarce can he stand alone, or speak to be heard of any audience; yet doth he every Sunday cause himself to be carried to a place where a certain number doth hear him, and preacheth with the same vehemency and zeal that ever he did. He doth reverence your lordship much, and willeth me once again to send you word that he thanketh God he had ob-



Engraved by S. Freeman.

JAMES DOUGLAS, EARL OF MORTON.

OB. 1581.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF MORTON.



tained at his hands that the gospel of Jesus Christ is truly and simply preached through Scotland, which doth so comfort him as now he desireth to be out of his miserable life. He further said, that it was not of your lordship's that he was not a great bishop in England; but the effect grown in Scotland, he being an instrument, doth much more satisfy him. He desired me to make his last commendations most humbly unto your lordship, and withal, that he prayed God to increase his strong spirit in you, saying, that there was never more need." These last words of course alluded to the recent massacre of the protestants in France. As a busy actor in the long and fierce revolutions which we have been relating, we cannot let this extraordinary man pass from the scene of his labours without repeating that death-bed address to the elders of his church in which he gave the defence of his life. "The time," he said, "is approaching, for which I have long thirsted, wherein I shall be relieved of all cares, and be with my Saviour Christ for ever. And now God is my witness, whom I have served with my spirit in the gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of the gospel; and that the end I proposed in all my preaching was to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the weak, to comfort the consciences of those who were humbled under the sense of their sins, and bear down with the threatenings of God's judgments such as were proud and rebellious. I am not ignorant that many have blamed, and yet do blame, my too great rigour and severity; but God

knows that in my heart I never hated the persons of those against whom I thundered God's judgments. I did only hate their sins, and laboured at all my power to gain them to Christ. That I forbore none of whatsoever condition, I did it out of the fear of my God, who had placed me in the function of the ministry, and I knew would bring me to an account. Now, brethren, for yourselves, and whom He hath redeemed by the blood of his only begotten Son, and you, Mr. Lawson [his successor in the ministry], fight a good fight. Do the work of the Lord with courage, and with a willing mind; and God from above bless you and the church whereof you have the charge; against it, so long as it continueth in the doctrine of truth, the gates of hell shall not prevail." Only a few days before his death, he sent Lindsay, the minister of Leith, to his old friend the laird of Grange, with the following warning to return to the cause he had deserted, which was afterward looked upon as prophetic:—"Go to yonder man in the castle," he said, "whom you know I have loved so dearly, and tell him that I have sent you yet once more to warn him, in the name of God, to leave that evil cause. For," he added, "neither the craggy rock in which he miserably confides, nor the carnal prudence of that man [Lethington] whom he esteems a demi-god, nor the assistance of strangers, shall preserve him; but he shall be disgracefully dragged from his nest to punishment, and hung on a gallows against the face of the sun, unless he speedily amend his life and flee to the mercy of God."

CHAPTER VIII.

RECONCILIATION WITH HUNTLEY AND THE HAMILTONS; SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF EDINBURGH CASTLE; DEATHS OF LETHINGTON AND GRANGE.

MORTON, although suffering under sickness to such a degree that it was supposed for a moment he would not survive, entered upon his regency with the fierce martial spirit which had characterized his whole life. Killigrew soon found that no attempt at reconciliation between the contending parties was likely to succeed, for Grange was

confident in his position, and expected immediate assistance from France; while Morton declared his conviction that the only way to obtain peace was by pursuing the war to the last extremity. Killigrew appears to have shared in the sentiments of Morton, if it were not a part of his instructions to take the same views; and he wrote to the

English court, urging that such substantial countenance should be shown to the regent as would enable him to reduce the castle. The application was at last successful; and before the end of December, the English ambassador, on his return to Edinburgh from a visit to sir William Drury at Berwick, had the satisfaction of informing the regent that Elizabeth was prepared to send to his aid both money and men. Part of the money was paid down; and two skilful engineers, named Johnson and Fleming, were sent to examine the fortifications of Edinburgh castle; they reported that it might be taken in twenty days with a proper force and battering train.

Morton was now recovered from his illness; and, after a vain attempt to prolong the truce, the war was renewed. Nevertheless, in the middle of January, the regent held a parliament in Edinburgh, taking only the precaution to raise a bulwark to protect the parliament-house from the fire of the castle. The principal measures of this parliament were the confirmation of the election of Morton to the regency, the ratification of all measures of the regency since the coronation of the young king, and the condemnation of all acts of the queen's party as treasonable. But the most important result of this assembly of the estates was the separation of the most influential portion of the nobles who had hitherto supported the queen's party from those who held the castle, and their reconciliation with the existing government. To facilitate an accommodation of this kind, it was resolved that for the present all prosecutions for the murder of the late king should be dropped, and that the regent should be empowered to pardon all who were accessory to the slaughter of Lennox. These same considerations necessarily put a stop to the secret proposal for the execution of Mary, which had been under consideration at the time of Mar's death. Another subject of importance occupied the attention of this parliament, which was referred to a committee of the states, which was to consult with the representatives of the kirk. The book of discipline devised at Leith at an earlier period of the reformation, contained an order for the election of bishops, which, not being approved by the strict presbyterians, seems to have remained in abeyance. It was now proposed to confirm this order; and it was decided that there should be in the Scottish kirk archbishops

and bishops, with spiritual jurisdiction, as before the reformation.

The effects of this parliament were soon apparent. Killigrew proceeded to Perth in February, and there, in his lodgings, a conference was held between the earl of Huntley and the lord Arbroath, on the part of the duke of Châtelherault and his friends, and the earls of Argyle and Montrose, the lords Ruthven and Boyd, the commendator of Dunfermline, and Bellenden, as commissioners on the part of the regent. After some consultation, the lords thus assembled drew up a treaty of agreement, which began by stating that the commissioners above mentioned "had met unanimously, with one will and consent, in the town of Perth, for the purpose of endeavouring to appease and extinguish the troubles which so long time had tormented the country and people of Scotland, caused the decline of God's word and of the Christian religion, prejudiced the king's state, and brought with them all confusion and overthrow of the laws and policy of the kingdom. And to this end, by the advice of the queen of England, as the one nearest to the king in blood and neighbourhood, and by the assiduous solicitude of her ambassador, Henry Killigrew, the said lords have made, passed, and accorded the points and articles which follow.

(1.) That those who shall desire hereafter to enjoy the benefit of this peace and the grace and favour of the king, shall make confession of their faith and of the Christian religion at present preached and received in this said kingdom by acts of parliament published in the first year of the king's reign, without exception of any person.
(2.) That with all their efforts they shall maintain, support, and aid the ministers of God's word and of his holy law and doctrine, against the enemies of the same, especially those, of whatsoever nation, degree, or condition they may be, who are leagued together to advance the execution of the council of Trent against the said ministers and preachers of God's word.
(3.) That it shall be ordained by an act of the three estates, that no one of this said kingdom may, directly or indirectly, give aid, counsel, or favour, by himself or by others, to any one, of the said kingdom or foreigner, to practise clandestinely anything prejudicial to the progress of the religion above mentioned, or to the king's state, under the penalties indicated in the ordinances made and published on this subject.

(4.) That if any one, after returning to the king's obedience, do any act of disloyalty, or fail to resist the sinister impressions and enterprises of the said adversaries, in that case the grace promised by this treaty shall serve him nothing, but he shall be punished for past offences as if this agreement, with regard to him and the like of him, had never been passed, concluded, and accorded."* The lords of the queen's party were to acknowledge the authority of the king, and submit to the regent's government, and a general amnesty was to be granted, restoring all parties to their estates and livings.

This treaty was a great blow to Mary's party; and Killigrew wrote, not without reason, before it was actually signed, that "now there remaineth but the castle to make the king universally obeyed, and this realm united, which, peradventure, may be done without force after the accord; notwithstanding, in my simple opinion, which I submit unto your honor's wisdom, it standeth with more reason and policy for her majesty to hasten the aid rather now than before this conference. I mean, so that it may be ready, if need require, to execute, otherwise not." The truth of the first part of Killigrew's letter was shown by events which followed immediately on the signing of the treaty. The examples of Huntley and the Hamiltons, drew after them the submission of most of the leading men of their party; and sir Adam Gordon was the only man of any account in the north who continued in hostility to the regent. The wisdom of the precautions recommended by the ambassador was also justified by the event. It is said that Grange and his friends in the castle had been first tampered with, to induce them to accept a separate peace, and that they had refused to treat without their friends in the country; they now refused to acknowledge or be parties to the treaty of Perth. Yet the prospects of the Castilians were at this time far from bright. Two attempts to relieve them had failed. Monsieur de Verac, who was repairing again to Scotland with supplies from France, was driven by tempestuous weather into Scarborough, and arrested; while sir James Kirkaldy, the brother of the laird of Grange, who had landed at Blackness with large supplies of money and ammunition, was be-

trayed, with the castle, by his wife into the hands of the regent. But Grange still hoped for assistance from France; and, knowing the want of skill which the Scots had always displayed in attacking fortresses, he believed that Elizabeth would continue her old temporizing policy, and that if besieged by the Scots alone, he would have time enough to make his terms.

It appears, indeed, that at this moment Elizabeth did hesitate, and she showed a great unwillingness to send an English force into Scotland. Killigrew, on being informed of her scruples, wrote a long and eloquent letter to lord Burghley, in which he pointed out the critical state of affairs in Scotland, and the necessity of an immediate interference. He expressed his conviction that if Elizabeth neglected to seize the advantages now offered to her, Scotland would be gained by France. He stated that an attempt had already been made by lord Seton to gain over the regent to the French interests, and he reminded Burghley that Verac's commission was to corrupt the garrison of Dumbarton, and to obtain possession of the young king and carry him over to France. He represented that all the designs of the papists on the continent were now centred in Scotland, and that it was there that Elizabeth must look to resist them. From a letter of Killigrew's, written two or three days before the one just alluded to, it appears that, in reply to the offers of the regent and the English ambassador, the Castilians had made some proposals of an evasive character. Killigrew tells lord Burghley that, "the morning after captain Arington came from the castle, I did participate his answer here inclosed with the regent's grace, to see whether he would like of the conditions, and whereunto his grace made me answer, that without the king had the castle in trusty and sure hands, there would be no secure peace, and that Lethington's answer was but to delay time and to breed jealousy, seeing he would not deal as the other noblemen had done, but yield himself to another prince, wherewithal, for his own part, he could be content, but the nobility would never condescend to such manner of dealing. To be short, I cannot perceive by his grace, nor any of his council, that they will suffer Grange to remain with the keeping of the castle, and, as long as that holdeth out, there will be alway trouble and treason here among them. I cannot but marvel what they mean in the castle, to

* This is translated from the French copy of the treaty of Perth, printed in the collection by M. Teulet.

continue so obstinate, unless God have blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts so far, as they have no power to receive reasonable conditions, which they may have, and was offered them heretofore since my coming here, at our first conference at St. Johnstown (*Perth*), which I sent to Mr. secretary long since. They in the castle had knowledge (I know not by what means) that Verac was stayed in England, and peradventure may be in hope that he will be here to help them to make a better bargain for them, or else they look for aid out of France, whereof I can learn nothing here. I moved his grace for some recompense in consideration of her majesty's charges, according to your honour's mind sent me by Mr. marshal of Berwick, whereunto his grace answered that the king was so poor, that he had nothing to give her majesty but the same conditions that was granted at her majesty's sending to Leith, and to join with her majesty in a good league, should be all that he thought could be done. And further to encourage the soldiers, they should have the spoil of all that was within the castle, of gold, silver, or goods, that appertained to any man except the king, or the value thereof in money. I stay my messenger for that his grace will write himself to the queen's majesty, and to your honour, and to my lord of Leicester, touching that which hath passed, and also somewhat more. I have not yet the duke's letters and the earl of Huntley's, but look for them daily. His grace willed me to write unto your honour, that the pledges and hostages might have the favour to lie with some nobleman or gentleman for ease of their charges, as with the bishop of Durham, the dean, and some other, wherein the more favour is shown them, the more shall they be bound unto her majesty and your honour. And if there be none in the bishopric to take them, rather than they would lie at their own charges, I think they would go farther into Yorkshire. The ships that were stayed with Verac be arrived this day, and new search and examinations to be taken of them by the regent's grace. The regent would have no more sending to the castle until the army and munitions be ready to enter, and then to have it openly summoned by an officer of arms, according to the custom in such cases. His grace hath an instrument that goeth into the castle, and conveyeth Lethington's letters. Upon Sunday he shall be taken; and it is thought such letters upon him as

they of the castle have written into France since captain Arington was with them, who, at his leave-taking of them, seeing they would not deliver the house unto the king, willed them to look for nothing but extremity. This much more unto your honour, abiding my despatch, which shall be more ample, beseeching Almighty God to preserve your honour in health, and all yours. There never was so fair weather seen in this country. My lord Seton's eldest son is newly come home out of Flanders, and one Peter Douglas with him. They took shipping at Ostend the 25th of the last, and for news say the duke of Alva lay himself at the siege of Haerlem; that he prepared ten thousand men at Antwerp, to be shipped in twenty great ships, and one hundred victuallers to go with them. I asked whither; and he said, to Flushing. I demanded how they did for victuals in Flanders; he answered, our Englishmen brought much thither. This he told me this morning, before the regent's grace. Further he told the regent that one Mr. John Hamilton had willed him to make his commendation of service unto his grace, and he was at his commandment to do him what service he could, either with the duke of Alva, or with the queen of Scots. His grace asked whether he had intelligence from the queen; he said, yea. He further inquired whether he could speak with her, which he was not able to resolve. And this he did to prove the man. His grace is in purpose to lay hands upon my lord Seton, and to put him in safe keeping, because he continually dealt with the castle. Stephen Wilson, that carried letters from the earl of Argyle into France, is returned, and taken by the regent's commandment. To-morrow he shall be examined. Mr. James Kirkaldy hath hitherto confessed no more than I have already written in my former letters. I have gotten his wife to speak with him, and given her instructions somewhat to inquire of him, assuring her that if he deal plainly and truly, I will be an earnest suitor to the regent for him. In talk with his grace of this peace, and the state of the country, after the castle shall be rendered into the king's hands, he yet confessed that as long as the Scottish queen lived, there would be treason, trouble, and mischief. I answered, he might help that; and he said that when all was done, he thought, at this next parliament to be holden here, to prove the noblemen, after this concord, to

see what might be done. Whereunto I replied nothing for that time, but thought good to signify thus much unto your honour by the way. From Edinburgh, this 4th of March. The regent is minded to proclaim a road upon the thieves (*the borderers*) at the time that our men shall be ready to come in, supposing it will make them afraid, and to keep good rule in the mean time."

When Elizabeth had decided on sending her forces and her cannon to assist in reducing Edinburgh castle to obedience, she felt more than ever the necessity of dissimulating; for the French king, who saw his influence in Scotland crumbling away, was extremely disconcerted by her proceedings. His ambassador made repeated expostulations, and La Mothe Fénelon's reports show us the secrecy and skill with which the preparations of the English government were carried on. He represented, that to form any new league with the Scots, or to send any armed force into that kingdom, or to interfere, except in concert with the king of France, were manifestly contrary to the treaties between France and England, and that the former could not regard them as otherwise than hostile demonstrations. All these objections Elizabeth contrived to evade; at first keeping the ambassador in ignorance of her real intentions, and then telling him that her old treaties with the Scots justified her in sending aid to the reigning king when called upon by him; and all this time she kept the French king in alarm, lest she should give assistance to his Huguenot subjects, which would be far more than a counterbalance to anything he could gain by entering into hostilities for the sake of securing his influence in Scotland. Monsieur de Verac had been carried from Scarborough to London, where he was detained, under various pretences, until his presence in Scotland could be of no service to the cause which he was sent to support.

Until the last moment, attempts were made to induce the Castilians to yield on conditions; but the demands of Grange and Lethington, who seem still to have placed unlimited confidence in the strength of their fortress, are said to have been too high to be acceded to. At length the English troops destined for this expedition received orders to march; but before they started, the lord Ruthven was sent by the regent to arrange with Drury the conditions on which this assistance was given, and the manner in which it was to be carried out.

They met in the church of Lamberton, near Berwick, and a treaty was drawn up, and duly signed, by which it was agreed, that neither of the two parties should enter into any arrangement with the besieged without the consent of the other party; that on the capture of the castle, all property of the state contained in it should be delivered up to the regent; the rest to be left as plunder to the soldiers; that the prisoners taken in the castle should, as far as consistent with the rules of war, be tried by law, the regent to act in this with the advice of the queen of England; that the regent should furnish the English troops with provisions, and other necessities; and that he should join them with a body of horse and foot; that the wives or nearest relatives of the English soldiers who might be slain, should receive a gratuity, to be regulated by the English general; that all the English guns destroyed in the siege should be replaced by others of the same size taken out of the castle; that the English should not throw up any fortifications on Scottish ground without the regent's consent, and that they should withdraw immediately after the reduction of the castle. For the fulfilment of these conditions on the part of the regent, hostages were sent into England.

The English army now commenced its march, and entered the Scottish capital on the 25th of April. It consisted of five hundred hagbutteers and a hundred and forty pikemen; and it was immediately joined by seven hundred of the regent's soldiers. The train of artillery arrived by sea. A parliament was now held in the capital, by which the league with England was confirmed. The estates next proceeded to ratify the late pacification with Huntley and his friends, and Huntley himself, with sir James Balfour, were restored to their estates and honours. Sentence of treason and forfeiture was next pronounced against those who held the castle; after which a formal summons of surrender was sent to the laird of Grange in the name of the regent and the English commander. Grange is said to have been at this time completely under the influence of Lethington, and both expected with the utmost confidence the arrival of succours from France; they therefore determined to resist to the utmost, and the summons of the besiegers was met by a defiance. All the garrison did not, however, share in these sentiments; for Robert Melvil, the laird of Pittarrow, and others, urged the necessity

of yielding upon terms, and they represented that their powder and ammunition would soon be exhausted, and that they were ill supplied with provisions, and would soon want water. That this was the case was soon made evident to the besiegers by the little interruption given to them in the erection of their batteries. Drury was convinced from the first that the garrison could not hold out long, and after the siege operations had commenced, the regent declared his resolution of listening to nothing short of an unconditional surrender. This siege excited so much interest in England, that several of the young courtiers, among whom was lord Burghley's eldest son, Thomas Cecil, proceeded to Edinburgh to serve as volunteers.

The batteries were completed on the 17th of May, and from that day to the 23rd an incessant fire was kept up upon the castle. On the day last mentioned, the southern wall of David's tower fell. On the 24th, the east quarter, the portcullis, and the outer bastion called Wallace tower, experienced the same fate. On the 26th, the English troops took the spur or blockhouse by storm. Matters were now sufficiently advanced to attempt a general assault, and preparations were made for it, Morton offering to lead the Scottish troops in person; but at this moment Grange entered into a parley and obtained from Drury a truce of two days to negotiate for a surrender. A meeting was immediately held, at which Grange and Robert Melvil appeared for the Castilians (as they were called), Drury himself represented the queen of England, and the lord Boyd came for the regent. Grange demanded on the part of the besieged, that they should have surety for their lives and livings, that their goods within the castle should not be plundered, that he himself should be allowed to remain unmolested in Scotland, and that Lethington and the lord Home should be permitted to retire into England. Such terms as these were not reasonably to be expected by men in their present position, and they were rejected scornfully by the regent, who said that he was ready to grant their lives to the great body of the garrison, and give them licence to go where they pleased, if they would lay down their arms and submit to his mercy, but he demanded that certain persons should be excepted from pardon. These were, the lairds of Grange and Lethington, the lord Home, Robert Melvil, the bishop of Dun-

keld, and the lairds of Réstalrig, Drylaw, and Pitarrow. Grange and his friends regarded these terms as equivalent to a death-warrant, and refused them. But when they returned into the castle to carry into effect their menace of allowing themselves to be buried in its ruins, the soldiers of the garrison, aware of their desperate condition, began to mutiny, and threatened that within six hours they would hang Lethington over the walls if he did not advise a surrender, and that they would deliver up their officers to the regent. In this extremity, Grange sent a messenger secretly, and under cover of the night, to Drury; in consequence of which, two English companies were admitted within the walls, and to these, next morning, the 30th of May, the governor and his friends submitted, declaring that they surrendered to the queen of England, and not to the regent of Scotland. They were carried to Drury's quarters, where they were received with courtesy, and protected, until Elizabeth's determination could be known. The regent wrote immediately to that princess to require that, according to the treaty, the prisoners should be delivered to him, to be proceeded against by process of law. Grange and Lethington at the same time addressed, conjointly, the following letter to lord Burghley, which has been printed from the original by Tytler. The lord treasurer of England had been on terms of intimate friendship with both before they deserted the protestant party, and they hoped to enlist his sympathies in their favour. "My lord," they said to him, "the malice of our enemies is the more increased against us, that they have seen us rendered in the queen's majesty's will, and now to seek refuge in her highness' hands. And, therefore, we doubt not, but they will go about by all means possible to procure our mischief; yea, that their cruel minds shall lead them to that impudency to crave our bloods at her majesty's hands. But whatsoever their malice be, we cannot fear that it shall take success, knowing with how gracious a princess we have to do, which hath given so many proofs to the world of her clemency and mild nature, that we cannot mistrust that the first example of the contrary shall be shown upon us. We take this to be her very natural, *parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos*. We have rendered ourselves to her majesty, which to our own countrymen we would never have

done, for no extremity might have come. We trust her majesty will not put us out of her hands to make any others, especially our mortal enemy, our masters. If it will please her majesty to extend her most gracious clemency towards us, she may be as assured to have us as perpetually at her devotion as any of this nation, yea, as any subject of her own; for now with honour we may oblige ourselves to her majesty further than before we might, and her majesty's benefit will bind us perpetually. In the case we are in, we must confess we are of small value; yet may her majesty put us in case that perhaps hereafter we will be able to serve her majesty's turn, which occasion being offered, assuredly there shall be no inlack of good will. Your lordship knoweth already what our request is; we pray your lordship to further it. There was never time wherein your lordship's friendship might stand us in such stead. As we have oftentimes, heretofore, tasted thereof, so we humbly pray you let it not inlack us now, in time of this our great misery, when we have more need than ever we had. Whatsoever our deservings have been, forget not your own good natural. If, by your lordship's mediation, her majesty conserve us, your lordship shall have us perpetually bound to do you service. * * * Let not the misreports of our enemies prevail against us; when we are in her majesty's hands, she may make us what pleaseth her." This earnest appeal to the mediation of Elizabeth's minister was dated from Edinburgh, on the first of June, 1573.

Elizabeth hesitated for a moment, and required her ambassador to send her information upon which she might form a judgment of the course that would be best for her to pursue. But Killigrew strongly seconded the demand of the regent that the prisoners should be delivered up to him, and the queen of England at length sent orders to Drury to surrender them. Before these orders arrived, Lethington had died in prison, and it was whispered that he had taken poison, preferring, by a voluntary death, to avoid the disgrace of a public execution. The other prisoners, Grange, lord Home, John Maitland, a younger brother of the laird of Lethington, and Robert Melvil, were surrendered to the regent in compliance with Elizabeth's orders. Great efforts were made to save the laird of Grange, with tempting offers of ransom, and his life might possibly have been spared,

but for the violent denunciations of the preachers, who seemed determined that the warning uttered so impressively by John Knox on his death-bed should be fulfilled. They cried so loudly for the blood of the enemies of God's word, that to disregard them would have been to run the risk of incurring great and dangerous unpopularity. After a hasty process of law, the laird of Grange and his brother, James Kirkaldy (who had been taken at Blackness), were carried from Holyrood-house to the cross of Edinburgh, on the 3rd of August, and there hanged, along with two men who had coined money in the castle. Two days after, Morton wrote to Killigrew—"Upon Monday, the 3rd of August, Grange, his brother Mr. James, with Mossman and Cockky, the goldsmiths that made the counterfeit money in the castle, were executed, according to the judgment of the law pronounced against them: and further execution is not yet made. What offers were made on Grange's behalf for safety of his life, I send you herewith the copy, which, as you may consider, are large, as mickle as possibly might have been offered. Yet, considering what has been and daily is spoken by the preachers, that God's plague will not cease till the land be purged of blood, and having regard that such as are interested by the death of their friends, the destruction of their houses, and away-taking of their goods, could not be satisfied by any offer made to me in particular, which I accepting, should have been eastern in double inconvenience, I deliberated to let justice proceed as it has done." The proposal alluded to was, that a hundred gentlemen, Grange's kinsmen and friends, offered to bind themselves for ever to the house of Angus and Morton in bond of manrent, and to pay to the regent two thousand pounds and an annuity of three thousand marks.

Thus was the last hope of Mary Stuart in Scotland entirely destroyed. As Elizabeth probably expected, when Edinburgh castle had fallen, the French king contented himself with some feeble expostulations, and then accepted it, as what modern diplomatists term a *fait accompli*. La Mothe Fénélon pleaded repeatedly against the fate with which Grange and his companions were threatened, but his dispatches now manifest a less lively interest in Scottish affairs than before; though he exerted himself successfully in preventing the bishop of Ross from being delivered up to Morton,

who demanded him as a Scottish rebel. The bishop was, however, soon afterwards dismissed from the English court, and Mary herself ceased from this time to be regarded by Elizabeth as a sovereign princess. Sir Adam Gordon, the last supporter of her cause, retired to France, and henceforth her name ceased to have any influence in Scotland. Drury had delivered the castle to the regent, and soon after its capture marched back to Berwick with the English troops; and Killigrew returned to the court of his mistress, bringing with him the grateful thanks of Morton and his party. The regent sent letters to Elizabeth and to her minister lord Burghley, in which he urged

the formation of a mutual league in defence of the protestant religion against the council of Trent, proposed a bond of mutual defence against foreign invasion, and asked for pecuniary assistance to enable him to support a sufficient body of troops to keep the dissatisfied part of the Scottish people in obedience. His letter to Burghley contained a rather remarkable passage,* in which he seems to intimate his willingness to listen to a renewal of the proposal relating to the surrender and execution of the Scottish queen. But the dangers which gave rise to that proposal seemed now less imminent, and the design appears to have been relinquished.

CHAPTER IX.

MORTON'S GOVERNMENT; AFFRAY ON THE BORDER; DISCONTENTS IN THE KIRK; CONSPIRACY OF THE NOBLES; MORTON COMPELLED TO RESIGN THE REGENCY.

MORTON was now left to pursue his plans of government with little interruption. The only part of the kingdom which remained in a state to give uneasiness was the border districts, and at the close of August, the regent marched to Jedburgh with an army of four thousand men, and quickly reduced the turbulent chiefs to submission. He then appointed sir James Hume of Coldingknowes, warden of the east marches, giving the wardenship of the west to the lord Maxwell, and that of the middle marches to sir John Carmichael. The regent next proceeded to reform the internal administration of the country, and he enforced the administration of the laws with a vigour which had long been unknown in Scotland. His next care was to increase the revenues of the state, or, as his opponents said, to fill his own coffers, for the prevailing vice of the regent Morton was excessive avarice. The first class that suffered was the church. A former parliament had assigned to the ministers one-third of the revenue of the benefices of the church, but owing to the unwillingness of

those who had seized on the church patrimony to deliver up any portion of the spoils, and the inability of the collectors to enforce the provisions of the act, the money was paid in very slowly and irregularly, and in some parts of the country it was not paid at all. The regent now interfered, and proposed to the clergy that the third part of the benefices which had been allotted for their support should be vested in the crown, upon which he would make the stipend of each minister local and payable in the parish to which he served. He promised that, if on trial this plan did not answer their expectations, it should be relinquished, on their petition to that effect. The clergy were allured by the prospect of an improvement in their condition, which had been a distressing one, and consented to the regent's proposal, but they soon found reason to repent. No sooner had Morton got the revenues into his own hands, than he began to put in practice a system of direct spoliation. He appointed one minister to the care of several churches, sometimes as many

* "The ground of the trouble remains in her majesty's hands and power; whereunto I doubt not her highness will put order when she thinks time, so as presently I will not be further curious thereanent,

abiding the knowledge of her majesty's mind, how she shall think convenient to proceed in that behalf."—Letter of Morton to lord Burghley, June 25 1573.

as four, who was to preach at them alternately, a reader with a very small salary being employed to read prayers in his absence. At the same time, the allowance to the superintendents was stopped entirely, and when they complained, they were told that their office would now be superseded by the appointment of bishops. All the rest of the money proceeding from the third part of the benefices was retained by the regent. The clergy protested against this mode of proceeding, and requested that, according to the regent's promise, they might be placed on the same footing as before. But the request was at first evaded by delays; and at last, when he could evade it no longer, Morton told them flatly that the surplus of the thirds belonged to the king, and that to the regent and council, and not to the church, belonged the regulation of the ministers' stipends and the management of the money. In this dilemma the assembly of the church proceeded to make such regulations as it could to counteract some of the evil effects of the regent's plan. At a meeting in the March of 1574, it was resolved that ministers who were appointed to more churches than one should each take the superintendence of that one only where he resided, giving such assistance only to the others as would not interfere with his own particular charge. The three superintendents who had rendered such signal service to the reformation in Scotland, Erskine, Winram, and Spottiswood, on the plea that the office had been stated to be no longer necessary, tendered their resignations. But the assembly refused to accept them, and to show their jealousy of the episcopal office, they passed a resolution that the bishops should exercise no ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the limits of that of the superintendents, without their express consent. These proceedings naturally rendered the regent very unpopular among the clergy.

The same kind of extortion was practised on the other classes of the community. The courts of justice, especially the itinerant courts known as justice ayres, became very productive means of raising money. Morton had brought into existence an extensive system of paid spies and informers, and, at the close of so many years of civil strife, there were few persons worth victimising, against whom some accusation might not be brought, to be atoned for by a fine more or less heavy. Some of the more frequent

of these charges were the transporting of coin out of the realm, transgression of the statute which forbade the eating of flesh in Lent, and having remained in a town or city while it was in possession of the queen's partisans. The fate of a large portion of the artisans, merchants, and burgesses of Edinburgh was peculiarly hard; for, because during the time of the troubles they had not deserted their homes, they were now proceeded against as rebels who had resisted the king's authority, and they were compelled to purchase their release by the payment of heavy fines. The money thus raised, it was pretended, was to be divided between the state and those citizens whose houses and property had been destroyed; but nothing further was heard of it after it had been paid into the regent's treasury.

In spite of the large sums of money raised by these methods, the regent made frequent and pressing applications to Elizabeth for pecuniary aid; and, in her anxiety to hold Scotland from the French influence, she not only advanced from time to time sums of money for the purposes of government, but it was proposed to allow pensions to Morton himself and to several of his principal nobles. Soon after the capture of the castle of Edinburgh, Killigrew, in a despatch to lord Burghley, suggested that his royal mistress should "confirm the devotion of these men with some pensions, before the French shall have time to practise with them;" and in another letter on the same subject he makes the following rather curious calculations, which are a remarkable proof of the poverty of the Scottish nobility at this time. "Touching the pensions," he says, "there be these men to be considered of—the regent, the earls of Huntley and Argyle, the lord Boyd, who is able to keep Argyle in tune and beareth a great stroke in the west, sir James Balfour, and Alexander Hay. The sum to content them, and to keep them and this country at her majesty's devotion, is, after my calculation, twelve hundred pounds sterling by the year; whereof, five hundred pounds for the regent, two hundred for Huntley, two hundred for Argyle, one hundred for the lord Boyd, and one hundred for Adam Gordon, whom I forgot before: the other hundred pounds between sir James Balfour and Sandy Hay, to wit, a hundred marks sterling to sir James (who would in my poor judgment deserve the same), and the fifty marks to the other (who also will deserve no less)." "If her majesty," he

adds, "will bestow but a thousand pounds sterling, then Adam of Gordon, sir James Balfour, and Hay, must be left out. I have felt my lord of Argyle, who will accept two hundred pounds of her majesty, if it shall please her to bestow it, and yet I am sure he may have two thousand crowns from France at this present, and Huntley, Athol, and others, as much; yea, I know the regent himself hath been dealt with, even by my lord Seton. But if her majesty will take the time and the occasion, I am sure France shall fail of their purpose." We are perhaps to suppose that Elizabeth accepted Killigrew's lowest estimate; at least no pension could have been given to Adam Gordon, who, finding it in vain to persist in hostilities against the regent's government, withdrew to France, and was received in favour at the French court. He had even offered his services in an attempt at a new revolution in Scotland, and had confidently promised to overthrow the existing government, if properly supported.

That the French king had not quite given up the hope of recovering his lost influence in Scotland is evident, and the rumours of French intrigues in that country seem to have given alarm to Elizabeth. This, joined with Morton's pressing desire for a league between the two countries in defence of religion, and his applications for money, determined the English queen to send Killigrew on another embassy to Scotland in the summer of 1574. Not only had that diplomatist's fitness for this employment been fully proved in his former legations, but subjects were again to be brought into discussion which had been before entrusted to his management. Killigrew was instructed to ascertain whether the regent remained constant in his affection towards England; he was to ascertain how his government was liked by the people, and whether the Scottish queen had any longer a party there; and, above all, he was to discover whether France was intriguing, as had been reported, to obtain possession of the young king. With regard to the league, he was to tell Morton, that Elizabeth did not think it at present necessary, but that he might always look to her for support in an emergency, and he was to evade the question of money.

When Killigrew arrived in Scotland, he was astonished at the improvement which had taken place in the condition of the country. Prosperity was visible on the faces of all classes. Commerce and manu-

factures were flourishing; and had brought with them wealth and luxury. After an interval of but a few months, the people had forgotten their past miseries, and even the nobles seemed to be reconciled with each other. The king's authority was universally acknowledged, and the regent was firm in his government, and obeyed universally, though, as Killigrew observed, it was more from fear than love. Nevertheless his administration was, in comparison of those governments which had preceded, wise and vigorous, and calculated to command respect at home and abroad. France still intrigued, and Mary was secretly labouring to keep up a party in her favour, but they were both defeated by Morton's vigilance. All classes, moreover, had assumed a tone of greater independence than formerly; the nobles were less anxious to stand well with Elizabeth; they talked of foreign monarchs seeking their friendship and alliance, and resented the backwardness of the English queen in entering into a religious league, and in sending them money and giving them pensions. The regent himself was reserved and distant; and the merchants complained bitterly of the depredations of English pirates. On the whole, the ambassador felt alarmed at the ground which English influence seemed to have lost in Scotland.

Soon after his arrival, Killigrew was introduced to the young king at Sterling. James had just entered his ninth year, and, under the teaching of George Buchanan and Peter Young, his two masters, he had made great progress in learning. He translated a chapter of the Bible, selected by the ambassador, from Latin into French, extempore, and then again from French into English. He was also well instructed in all accomplishments of the person, and Killigrew's satisfaction was complete, when "they made his highness dance before me, which he likewise did with a very good grace." He seemed to be already initiated in that habit of dissimulation, which at a later period formed so large a portion of his character, and which he now exhibited in the "pretty speeches" which he "could use" with regard to the English queen, declaring "how much he was bound unto her majesty, yea, more than to his own mother."

The life of this mother was at this moment again threatened by the fears of Elizabeth. When Killigrew left the English court, he was intrusted with private instruc-

tions to renew the negotiation for the delivery of Mary into the regent's hands with a view to her execution, which in his communications is now spoken of under the title of "the great matter." He was to take a favourable opportunity of sounding Morton on this subject, and if possible to obtain his consent. But when he arrived in Edinburgh, he saw that a change had taken place which would render such a negotiation much more difficult than formerly, and he did not conceal from Walsingham, in his dispatches to that minister, his conviction that it was no longer possible. He expressed the same opinion in his letters to Burghley and Leicester, and showed a reluctance to enter upon the matter at all, in the belief that Morton's consent could only be purchased at a price that was much higher than Elizabeth would be willing to give. Yet without a sacrifice of this kind, nothing was to be done, "especially," he added, "if you resolve not upon the league, nor upon pensions, which is the surest ground I do see to build the great matter upon, without which small assurance can be made." "I pray God," he continued, "we prove not herein like those who refused the three volumes of Sibylla's prophecies, with the price which afterwards they were glad to give for one that was left; for sure I left the market here better cheap than now I find." Elizabeth, however, was not willing that the project should be thus dropped, and she sent directions to her ambassador that he should accompany the regent in a progress which he was to make in the north towards the end of July, in the hope that in the course of his journey, he might have an opportunity of conferring with him. The desired opportunity was given him at Aberdeen, where we know, from one of Killigrew's letters, that the ambassador had a secret consultation with Morton on "the great matter," but that part of the ambassador's correspondence which would have made us acquainted with the result, is unfortunately lost. All that we know is, that after having suggested a modification of the first project for delivering up her captive, Elizabeth seems to have dismissed the subject from further consideration.

On Killigrew's return from his embassy, he seems to have left the regent and the people in general, in a better temper towards England than he found them. Morton again urged upon Elizabeth's attention the dangers which threatened the protestant

religion, and the necessity of entering into a defensive league. But Elizabeth treated the proposal with neglect, until the regent, irritated at her coldness, began to lean towards the French party.

During this period, Scotland lost one of the leaders whose name had been deeply mixed up in all the intrigues and troubles of the country since the death of James V. The duke of Châtelherault died at his palace of Hamilton on the 22nd of January, 1575. His eldest son, the earl of Arran, had been for some years insane; and his brother, the lord of Arbroath, a man familiar with scenes of intrigue and turbulence, was now looked upon as the head of the house of Hamilton. The regent himself showed an inclination to court the alliance of that powerful family, and as they still preserved their old leaning towards France, rumours of French intrigues became every day more common. It was even said that a conspiracy existed, the object of which was to take the young king out of the custody of his governor, Alexander Erskine, and deliver him to the French king. These reports at length alarmed the queen of England, and at the end of May, 1575, she gave Killigrew a new mission to Scotland, and he took with him a young statesman, Mr. Davison, whom he was to leave as Elizabeth's resident at the Scottish court.

At the time of Killigrew's arrival in Berwick, on his way to Edinburgh, an accident occurred on the border which, in other times, might have involved the two countries in hostilities. A warden court was held between the English warden of the middle marches, sir John Forster, and the Scottish warden sir John Carmichael, at which the latter demanded that a notorious English marauder, who had been convicted of theft, should be delivered up to him, according to the law of the marches. Forster was, for some reason or other, unwilling to comply with this demand, and as Carmichael insisted more and more urgently, the affair led to a passionate altercation, and the ill feeling soon communicated itself to their attendants. At length the followers of the English warden, mistaking an angry movement of their master for a hostile signal, attacked the Scots, and after a short struggle, drove them away. But in their flight the Scots met with a body of men from Jedburgh, and being now superior in force to their opponents, they turned upon them, and routed them with consider-

able slaughter. Sir John Heron, the keeper of Tynedale and Redesdale, was slain, besides upwards of twenty English yeomen; while sir John Forster, sir Francis Russell (a son of the earl of Bedford), sir Cuthbert Collingwood, Mr. Ogle, Mr. Fenwick, and about three hundred of their followers, were captured and carried as prisoners to the regent at Dalkeith. Morton received them with the greatest courtesy, and set them all at liberty, except the lord warden and the gentlemen taken with him, whom he detained on the pretext that it would only increase the local irritation if they were sent home to prosecute personal feuds before the affair was arranged. Morton wrote to Elizabeth to assure her of his readiness to afford her redress; but he refused to yield to her demand that he should hold a personal conference with lord Huntingdon, the president of the north, on English ground, alleging that such a proceeding was inconsistent with the dignity of the office he held. He offered, however, to send the justice clerk to arrange a meeting in Scotland. When Elizabeth was informed of the regent's answer to her demand, she burst into a violent fit of passion, and dictated an angry message to the regent, which Killigrew, who had remained at Berwick, was ordered to deliver without delay. She expressed her surprise at his strange and insolent manner of dealing; said that he had been guilty of a "foul fact," in detaining her warden, and that he had committed a breach of the treaty between the two countries, which would have justified her in pursuing her revenge in a manner that would have taught him what it was for one of his base calling to offend one of her quality. His excuses for the detention of the warden, she said, were a scornful aggravation of his fault; for she would have him to know that neither Forster nor any other public officer or private subject of hers dared to indulge his private revenge at the expense of public interests. With regard to his demand of a meeting in Scotland to confer on the matter, she said it was a request she would have scorned had it come from the king his master, or from the greatest monarch in Europe. And she concluded by again summoning him to meet the earl of Huntingdon at the Bond Rode, a spot near Berwick, on the limit between the two kingdoms, reminding him that the regent Murray had not thought it beneath his dignity to come to York and

even to London to meet her commissioners. Such was the spirit of the message which Killigrew was directed to communicate to Morton; but, with the advice of the earl of Huntingdon, he thought it wise to soften it down considerably in the delivery. It was sufficient, however, to alarm the regent, who had no intention of offending Elizabeth beyond the chance of forgiveness, and he met Huntingdon at the appointed place on the 16th of August. The dispute was soon arranged, and the regent dismissed his prisoners loaded with presents. Sir John Carmichael was despatched to London to make the regent's excuses to Elizabeth, and, among other gifts, he carried with him some choice falcons. The pacific settlement of this affair gave general satisfaction in Scotland, where any hostilities between the two countries were looked forward to with great feelings of apprehension. It probably added to the tranquillity of the border; for in general disturbances were more easily quelled by the English authorities than by those of Scotland, where the borderers had been so often accustomed to set their government at defiance. But the affray in which sir John Heron fell was long remembered in border tradition; and in allusion to the presents which Carmichael carried to the English court, it became a proverbial phrase to compare a bad bargain of any kind to that made by the regent Morton, when he "gave live hawks for a dead heron."

While this matter was in agitation, Killigrew had remained on the border, but he now proceeded on his journey, and his despatches proclaim the same progressive improvement in the condition and resources of the country. So general was the feeling of security, that even the regent himself went about in public almost without attendants. This, however, was not because everybody was contented, for discontents were growing in various quarters, and it was perhaps chiefly the consciousness of the benefits which had followed upon peace that preserved public tranquillity. This was threatened chiefly by new feuds which were beginning to show themselves among the nobles. It was understood that the lord of Arbroath was bringing home his kinsman, Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, the murderer of Murray, who had fled to France after effecting the crime. The blood of Murray's kinsmen and friends was instantly fired, and Douglas of Lochleven raised a force of twelve

hundred men, and vowed vengeance not only against the assassin, but against the lord of Arbroath himself. He was supported by the earls of Argyle, Athol, Buchan, and Mar, and the lords Lindsay and Ruthven; while all the friends of Mary and the partisans of the French alliance were ready to rally round the Hamiltons. In this state of things, the greater number of Morton's old friends and supporters were shocked at the leaning which he showed to the Hamiltons; and they took little pains to conceal their disapprobation, when it was reported that the regent countenanced a marriage between his niece, the lady Buccleuch, and the lord of Arbroath.

With all these symptoms of coming troubles, Morton had disgusted the laity by his exactions, and he had quarrelled with the kirk. By the part he had taken in restoring the order of bishops, the regent had broken through the grand principle of the Scottish church, as established at the reformation, equality among its ministers. Much irregularity had occurred in the administration of the revenues of the church, and indeed in all the ecclesiastical arrangements which depended on the government, in consequence of the vacillating influence of the two great parties into which the country was divided. At length, at an assembly of the kirk, held at Leith, in the January of the year 1572, it was agreed, under the influence of the court, that the titles of archbishops and bishops should be retained, with the limits of the ancient dioceses, during the king's minority. It was, however, resolved that these archbishops and bishops should enjoy no greater share of power, and should exercise no further jurisdiction in their spiritual function, than the superintendents had done. They were, moreover, to be equally subject to the assemblies of the kirk. It was, therefore, at best but a mongrel sort of episcopacy, and as, on one side, the presbyterian clergy disliked the very name of the office, and, on the other, the bishops were always hankering after more power than they had, there was naturally no great cordiality between them. This feeling was at its height, when, a little before the time of which we are now speaking, a minister of great learning and talent, and strongly imbibed with the extreme presbyterian doctrines of church government, Andrew Melville, returned to Scotland to take a leading part in church affairs.

In the August of 1575, there was a meeting of the general assembly, in which one of the ministers, John Durie, stated his objections to the office of bishop. He was seconded by Andrew Melville, who expressed the presbyterian sentiments on this important subject with so much warmth and eloquence, that it was resolved that the question should be immediately decided whether the institution of bishops had any foundation in the Word of God, and whether the election by chapters was a thing to be tolerated in the reformed church. This was referred to a committee, and a calmer deliberation showed the many difficulties with which the abrupt decision of the question would be attended. Accordingly, when after two days' deliberation the report of the committee was presented, they had waived entirely the first part of the question, but they gave their opinion that, in case unfit persons should be chosen as bishops, they should be examined and deposed by the assembly. The opinion was further expressed by the committee, that the name of bishop was common to all ministers appointed to take charge of a particular flock, and that his function consisted in preaching and administering the sacraments, and in exercising ecclesiastical discipline with the consent of his elders; that some one might be chosen from amongst these to oversee and visit in such reasonable bounds besides his own flock as might be appointed by the general assembly, having power to appoint preachers, with the consent of the ministers within their respective bounds, and of the flocks to which they were to be admitted, as well as to suspend ministers from the exercise of their office for just causes, with the consent of the ministers of their district. This report was received with some division of opinion, and the consideration of it was adjourned to the next meeting of the assembly. Meanwhile the regent showed an inclination to yield to the presbyterian party, and a scheme of church government was proposed for consideration, when the agitation of this subject was delayed by political agitation of another kind.

An estrangement had been gradually rising between the regent and the two great northern lords, the earls of Argyle and Athol. The latter was a catholic and an intimate friend and ally of Lethington, whose death had excited in him an especial hostility to Morton. He was now, moreover, considered as the leader of a party who

sought to raise themselves to power under pretence of supporting the king in taking the government into his own hands. Argyle seems to have been offended because, in several instances, he was not allowed to consult his own personal interest before that of the public, and more especially because he had been compelled to restore some of the queen's jewels which had come into his possession. A feud had arisen between the two earls which for a while hindered them from joining in any effective hostility towards Morton. This feud is said to have originated in the depredations of a notorious freebooter named Maccallum, one of Argyle's vassals, who, after having once been caught and pardoned for robberies in Athol, repeated them and escaped. The earl of Athol demanded that the offender should be delivered up to him to be punished, but this was refused by Argyle, and both nobles had recourse to arms. But the regent interfered, and not only compelled them to disband their forces, but he summoned them to answer in a court of law for their proceedings in contempt of the government. The northern barons had been long unaccustomed to submit to the laws of the land, and, convinced that it was the regent's intention to proceed against them as rebels with a view to the confiscation of their estates, they treated his summons with contempt. A new provocation followed; for the earl of Argyle, having received an affront from the clan Donald, took up arms to revenge it, and having received again an order from the regent to disband his forces, he tore the regent's letter, maltreated the bearer, and compelled him and his followers to swear that they would never come on such an errand again. The regent thereupon proclaimed him a rebel. Previous to this last act of contempt, Argyle and Athol had been reconciled, and they were now united in hostility to Morton. They received encouragement and assistance from those who were closest to the young king's person; for Alexander Erskine, the brother of the late earl of Mar, who had now the command of Stirling castle, and the custody of the king, was deeply offended at the known design of Morton to get both out of his hands and commit them to the keeping of a creature of his own, and Morton is said to have treated the young prince himself with neglect, and even to have made enemies of his tutors, who were George Buchanan and Peter Young, already mentioned,

who were both much respected; and two Erskines, David and Adam, ammenators respectively of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh. It is not therefore a matter of surprise that the prince was brought up in no friendly feeling towards Morton, and that he might be easily brought to lend himself to the designs of his enemies.

The storm which was now to break over the head of Morton was gathering during some months, and we cannot suppose that it was entirely unforeseen, although it appears at last to have come when least expected. The danger had certainly not escaped the watchful eyes of Elizabeth and her ministers, and it was determined to send Robert Bowes, of Aske, an experienced negotiator, to the Scottish court. During the summer and autumn of the year 1577, Bowes was stationed at Berwick, from whence he watched the course of events in Scotland with an attentive eye. In a letter to lord Burghley, written from that town on the 19th of July, after stating that "the state of Scotland continueth in good quiet, with general obedience to the king and regent, in which case it is likely to remain during the government and welfare of the regent," Bowes proceeds to give information that "sundry nobles, as Athol, Ruthven, Lindsay, and others, have confederate themselves by oath for maintenance (as they say) of the king. They increase daily in number and power; and hope in the king's government, or by his disposition, after their affection to profit themselves and please their friends. They do not make show of any purpose of alteration of religion or government, and for their chief they esteem the earl of Athol, as most apt either to succeed the regent, or to bear sway in the government of the king." Bowes at the same time announced further a meeting of reconciliation between Athol and Argyle, for the purpose of bringing the whole influence of the latter into the conspiracy for "maintaining the king;" that is, placing the government in his hands, and abolishing the regency. James was at this time in his twelfth year. On the 2nd of August, Bowes wrote that, in spite of much disaffection, there were as yet no signs of any immediate attempt to disturb the regent's authority. "But matters lying over in misliking, and that nation not destitute of malcontents, there be some that wish change of government, which in the scarcity of fit heads to enterprise the same, is still like to be yet

deferred." He adds, "the favourers of their queen do say, that opportunity well serveth in these days to work her good; but they groan to find they proceed and prosper no better." At this time the lord Maxwell had been thrown into prison on suspicion of an intent to raise troubles on the borders.

On the 9th of October, Bowes wrote from Berwick to the earl of Leicester a letter, in which he told him, "Albeit those matters are for a season wrapped up, yet it is not belike that without wise handling, and with some charge to her majesty, the fire will be readily kindled again. For although the regent and the best affected in religion, and to the welfare of the king and realm, do presently embrace the amity with her majesty as a thing most profitable to them, yet many malcontents lie in wait to alter this course, casting in such practices as offer great peril in the same. And their enemies do so much delight in variety of government, and run with such cunning to cover their purposes, till good opportunity and ripeness occasion them to shew them abroad to their own advantage, as I dare promise small assurance amongst them. The readiest way (in mine opinion) to preserve the realm in quietness, with continuance of this amity, is to appease and quench all the griefs betwixt the regent and others of the realm, and by friendly reconcilement and union to make him gracious amongst them. For the which he must receive some apt lessons with gentleness from her majesty. But with the same he must also receive some comfort, agreeable to his nature and disposition, as by your lordship's own knowledge and my said letters will sufficiently appear to your lordship. This negotiation necessarily requireth the labour of a very sufficient person; and although therein, and in all things, myself and my service is and shall be ever ready with most willing heart to obey and do her majesty's pleasure, yet to avoid the prejudice of the weighty cause threatened by mine insufficiency, I am compelled to open my weakness to your good lordship, and humbly to require the same, for the benefit of the said cause, to work my deliverance." Bowes' suggestion of the necessity of trying to reconcile the hostile parties was soon afterwards acted upon, and he was himself sent into Scotland at the end of the year. Among other letters, he carried one addressed by the queen of England to the earl of Athol. "We let you

wot," said Elizabeth to the Scottish earl, "that we are very sorry to understand of some unkindness and disagreeing happened, for what cause we know not, between you and the lord regent of that realm: and albeit the report thereof hath not gotten full credit with us, yet considering in this dangerous time especially (full of so many sinister practices) what peril might come to that state upon never so small an occasion of disagreeing and jar between such personages as you both are, we cannot (for the great and special care we have always had and have that good and perfect quiet might be continued and kept in that your realm), but greatly doubt the contrary. Wherefore we do with all our heart wish and desire that all occasions of misliking between you and the said regent, if any such be, might be removed, and instead thereof a perfect and sincere good will and agreement established between you, for the furtherance whereof we have thought good to send this bearer, our servant Robert Bowes, purposely for a time to reside in that realm, to negotiate and travel (*labour*) there in our name, both with you and others, with all the good offices he may be able to do, that such an amity and concord may be maintained amongst you all, the nobility and principal members of that realm, as in these froward times is most to be wished for both these crowns."

Bowes was directed by his instructions to labour to promote union among the Scottish nobles, and he was to threaten the regent with the loss of Elizabeth's friendship and support if he delayed making up his differences with his opponents. We have no account of his first proceedings there, but the object of his mission was considered to be one of so much importance, that at the end of January, the old diplomatist Randolph was sent to join him, with instructions of a still more urgent character. Some delay had occurred in his journey, and he had not long arrived in Scotland when the movement which had been so long in preparation took place.

As we have already stated, Alexander Erskine, the uncle of the young earl of Mar, had the custody of the castle of Stirling, and with it of the king's person, and he was secretly allied with Athol's party. On the 4th of March, 1578, the earl of Argyle rode to Stirling, and was immediately introduced by Erskine to the young prince. He complained loudly against the

oppressive government of the earl of Morton, told James that it was injurious not only to the country at large, but to his own personal interests, and urged him to authorize the calling of a convention of his nobles for the consideration of their grievances, and to take the government into his own hands. This advice was flattering and not unacceptable to the mind of a young prince who, at this time, displayed a precocity of knowledge, and who doubtless possessed a proportionate share of ambition. It was supported by the recommendations not only of Erskine, the governor, but of George Buchanan, lord Glamis (the chancellor), the abbot of Dunfermline (the secretary), the laird of Tullibardine (the comptroller), and the lords Lindsay, Ruthven, and Ogilvy. The matter had not yet been decided, when the earl of Athol, no doubt by agreement, came in as though by accident, and being required to give his advice, made bitter complaints of the tyranny of the regent Morton, and urged the necessity of a change. The regent had meanwhile gained some intelligence of what was going on, and he dispatched a letter to the king, describing the rebellious conduct of the

northern chiefs, and representing the necessity of bringing the offenders to speedy and exemplary punishment, declaring his willingness, if such proceedings were suffered to be overlooked, to resign the office of regent. This was an unguarded step. A convention of the nobles was immediately called, and the conspirators took special care that none but their own friends should receive the summonses. When they met, it was resolved immediately that the king should take the government on himself, and that the regency should be declared at an end; and the lords Glamis and Herries were sent to Morton to demand his immediate resignation. They found him in his house at Dalkeith, where he received them without any appearance of displeasure or discontent. He rode with them to Edinburgh, where, after having listened to the proclamation of the change in the government, made at the High Cross, he publicly resigned the ensigns of his authority, in presence of the assembled multitude. He then returned to his own house, as if nothing had happened, and taking no apparent interest in public events, he occupied himself quietly with his farm and his garden.

CHAPTER X.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CHURCH; RESTORATION OF MORTON TO POWER; NEW INTRIGUES OF THE QUEEN'S PARTY; PERSECUTION OF THE HAMILTONS, AND DEATH OF THE EARL OF ATHOL.

Thus was completed a sudden revolution which destroyed the effect of Morton's efforts to uphold the authority of the laws against the turbulence of the nobles. Lord Glamis, on his return from his mission to Morton, attended by a numerous retinue of armed retainers, as he passed along a narrow lane, accidentally encountered the earl of Crawford similarly attended. A feud, it appears, existed between these two noblemen, but they passed each other in silence. A dispute, however, arose between their retainers, which ended in a scuffle, in which the lord Glamis was slain with a pistol-shot. By his death, the important office of chancellor became vacant, and it was immediately conferred upon the earl of Athol, as the chief of the party now in power, and

the bitter enemy of Morton. As the king had not yet completed his twelfth year, a council of government had been appointed, for which a careful selection was made of the men then known to be hostile to the late regent. These were, the earls of Argyle, Athol, Montrose, and Glencairn, the lords Ruthven, Lindsay, and Herries, the abbots or commendators of Newbottle and Dunfermline, the prior of St. Andrews, George Buchanan, and James Makgill, the two latter being added as supernumerary or extraordinary councillors. When Athol was appointed to the chancellorship, three other noblemen, the earls of Caithness and Eglington, and the lord Ogilvy, were added to the council, and as these were generally believed to be, like Athol, papists, or at least strongly

inclined to popery, the jealousy of the protestant party was soon aroused.

The first proceedings of the new rulers were hostile to Morton. They required the immediate delivery of the castle of Edinburgh, of the palace of Holyrood, of the mint, and of the queen's jewels and treasure. Morton yielded to these demands without any apparent reluctance, and the facility with which they were obtained threw his enemies entirely off their guard. He merely required that in the next parliament an act should be passed approving his administration as regent; and a promise in writing having been given to this effect, he retired to the castle of Lochleven, belonging to his kinsman. Meanwhile the lords of the new council met in Edinburgh, where the popular hostility towards Morton was greatest, and they proclaimed a parliament to be held there on the 10th of June. On the 24th of April, the general assembly of the church met in the capital, and gave a proof of their sentiments in electing Andrew Melville to be their moderator. After his first attempts upon the church, Morton had become more yielding, and he had allowed the assembly to go on humbling the bishops with little opposition. In a meeting of the assembly in 1576, the doctrines previously set forth with regard to these prelates were confirmed, and it was resolved that they should be acted upon. An occasion for exercising the jurisdiction claimed by the assembly was soon furnished in the case of James Paton, bishop of Dunkeld, who having been convicted of alienating the revenues of his see, was deposed by the assembly. Paton appealed from their judgment to parliament; upon which a deputation of the assembly waited upon the regent, and gave an account of their proceedings. Morton approved of what they had done, but recommended that they should decide upon some uniform rule for future proceeding in such cases, which should admit of no dispute, and he went so far as to suggest that they should draw up a complete scheme of church polity, to be submitted to him and his council for approval. The clergy had been employed on this work during the interval between that time and that of Morton's resignation of the regency, and they were naturally alarmed at the change and at the influence which the old catholic party seemed to have gained in the new government. They now, however, proceeded with great boldness in their deliberations; it was deter-

mined that the new book of church polity should be laid before the king and his council; and they showed their hostility to the office of bishop, by declaring that, on account of the great corruption of the episcopal order, it was desirable that no vacant see should be filled up until their next general assembly. But a new political revolution, no less sudden and complete than the previous one, came in the midst of their deliberations.

It has been already stated that Alexander Erskine, the brother of the late earl of Mar, had succeeded him as governor of Stirling castle and keeper of the king. The young earl of Mar was a minor, and his uncle Alexander was looked upon as the head of the family, and was commonly known as the master of Erskine. The earl was now twenty years of age, yet Alexander Erskine retained all the offices and honours which he was taught to consider as belonging by right to himself. His two other uncles, the abbots of Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth, secretly encouraged Mar's discontent; and as the young earl's sister was the wife of the earl of Angus, Morton's heir, Mar was easily gained over by the ex-regent, who is supposed to have been the secret contriver of the plot which was now carried into effect. Between five and six o'clock in the morning of Saturday, the 23th of April, the earl of Mar, who usually lodged with his retinue, which in consideration of his rank was numerous, in Stirling castle, having assembled them, and accompanied with the abbots of Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth, rode to the gates of the castle, and called for the keys, under pretence that he was going to hunt. It happened that at this moment Alexander Erskine, the governor, came up, but, as it seems to have been no unusual thing for the young earl to go out thus early, he at first suspected no evil, until the two abbots, or commendators, accosted him rudely, and told him that he had much abused his nephew, and had far overseen himself in withholding from him the custody of the king and the hereditary command of the castle, and at the same time Mar became more clamorous in his demand of the keys. Alexander Erskine immediately shouted treason, and, seizing a halbert from one of the guards, called his servants to his assistance, but he was held back by the abbot of Dryburgh, who pushed him through the gates into an outer hall, while the other abbot, assisted by his and Mar's followers, soon overcame the gov-

ernor's retinue, and Mar himself seized upon the keys, and became master of the castle. In the scuffle, the governor Erskine's son was so much crushed that he died immediately afterwards, and one of his attendants was severely wounded. The young king had been roused by the tumult, and rushing from his bed, he ran about tearing his hair, and screaming out that the master of Erskine was slain, until he was pacified by the assurance that no harm was done. The earl of Argyle, who was sleeping in the castle, was also roused by the noise, and hurried down to see what was the matter, but finding Erskine in the hall arguing with the two abbots, and supposing, or pretending to suppose, that it was a mere quarrel between the uncle and his nephew, he advised them to be friends, and returned to his chamber. Some said that he would have collected his own retainers to attempt a rescue, but that he was prevented by the king, who, in his fear, insisted upon all parties keeping the peace, and was willing that the castle should remain in the custody of the earl of Mar.

Thinking it prudent now to temporise, Argyle and Alexander Erskine joined in apparent cordiality with the young earl, the two abbots, and Buchanan, in writing an account of what had happened to the council in Edinburgh, declaring that all parties were well reconciled to the change, and recommending them to go on in the performance of their duties as if no such thing had occurred. Argyle, however, took an early opportunity of leaving the castle, and retired to his estates, in order, it was said, to arm his vassals. The messenger from the castle arrived in Edinburgh in the evening of the day in which this sudden revolution was effected, and the earl of Montrose was dispatched by the council the same night to Stirling, to ascertain the real state of affairs. He presented himself at the castle next morning, and was admitted and received courteously, and it is said that he sent word to the lords of the council that all was well. Thereupon the lords rode over in a body, and demanded admittance, but they met with a peremptory refusal from the earl of Mar, who refused to admit more than one at a time, and he was to bring with him but one attendant. Instead of acceding to this proposal, the lords assembled in the town of Stirling, and issued a proclamation forbidding any resort of armed men to that place, while they themselves sent orders to raise their forces.

But other messengers had been sent from Stirling, one of whom proceeded direct to Lochleven castle, the place of Morton's apparently tranquil retirement. Douglas of Lochleven, with one attendant, had reached Stirling before the arrival of the lords of the council, and, after some affected difficulties had been raised and waived, he was admitted into the castle. There he remained, but he sent back his servant immediately, to give an account of the state of those within the castle to the earl of Morton. The ex-regent at once sent his messengers to the earl of Angus, and to his other dependents and friends, that they should have their forces ready to take the field at an hour's warning. But the lords felt that they were taken at a disadvantage, and were not desirous of hurrying on hostilities, any more than their opponents. The young king was brought forward as a peace-maker, and at his express wish, a reconciliation took place between the earl of Mar and his uncle, the master of Erskine, on the understanding that the latter was to be appointed governor of Edinburgh castle, while the earl retained that of Stirling, with the custody of the king's person. Morton met the two earls of Athol and Argyle at Craigmillar, on the 8th of May, and, after agreeing to proceed next day to Stirling, to arrange all their differences before the king, they went to Dalkeith, and having supped there, they rode together the same evening to Edinburgh. In the middle of the night Morton received a letter from the king, inviting him to the court, and, instead of waiting for the two northern earls, he started at daybreak with a small retinue, galloped to Stirling, and was admitted into the castle by Murray of Tullibardine. When, next day, it was discovered that Morton had left Edinburgh, Athol and Argyle remonstrated loudly against his breach of the agreement into which they had entered the day before, and it was only by the exertions of Robert Bowes, the English ambassador, that they were in any degree pacified. A convention of the nobles was now called in the king's name, to be held at Stirling; but Athol, Argyle, and some of their associates, refused to attend, others of both factions appeared at the head of their armed retainers, and both parties were in such force, that an actual civil war would probably have been the result, but for the persuasions and remonstrances of Bowes.

Morton had now regained his ascendancy at court, and, though he was not restored to the regency (judging, probably, that it would be now more prudent to rule in the king's name than in his own), it was evident that everything was done under his direction. One of the first steps was the appointment of a new council, in which he held the chief place; and it was then resolved to send the commendator of Dunfermline as the young king's ambassador, to thank Elizabeth for her past favours, confirm the peace between the two countries, and propose a closer league for mutual defence and maintenance of religion. As Morton was unpopular in Edinburgh, and he feared to carry the young king there, a proclamation was issued, announcing that the parliament, which was to meet there in July, should be held at Stirling, "because," as the proclamation stated, "his majesty was anxious to be present in person, and could not with propriety remove from his usual residence." This announcement gave great offence to the citizens of Edinburgh; for one of the causes of Morton's unpopularity in the capital, was the continued absence of the court, which they considered as a slight upon their loyalty. They therefore joined loudly in the dissatisfaction of the lords, and rumours were actively circulated of sinister intentions ascribed to their opponents, such as that of carrying away the young king secretly into England, and of breaking the league with France, and selling the kingdom to Elizabeth, who had become unpopular with the Edinburgh merchants, on account of the numerous English pirates who had recently infested the seas, and to whom they pretended that she gave encouragement. To counteract such rumours, a few days before the meeting of parliament, the council at Stirling published a new proclamation, asserting that it was the king's own wish to remain where he was, that no design existed of interfering with the foreign relations as they then stood, and that the only object of calling the parliament was to pass such measures as should tend to the advancement of God's word, the safety of the king's person, and the prosperity of the kingdom.

On the 16th of July, 1578, the parliament was opened by the king in person, in the great hall of Stirling castle. The members had hardly taken their seats, when the earl of Montrose and lord Lindsay came forwards, and stated that they were sent by the two northern earls to protest

against the legality of a parliament which was held in an armed fortress, occupied by a faction whose hostile feelings rendered it unsafe for them to attend. They were interrupted by Morton, who ordered the two nobles to take their seats, upon which Lindsay declared he should continue standing until the king bade him be seated. The command was then repeated by James, and Lindsay obeyed. A sermon was then preached by the royal chaplain, and it was followed by a speech from Morton. The estates next proceeded to choose the lords of the articles. At this stage of the proceedings, Lindsay again stood up, and protested against the legality of the parliament, which led to an altercation between the aged lord and the ex-regent, to which a stop was put by the declaration of the young king—delivered, as some said, with evident reluctance, that whatever any might say to the contrary, it was a free parliament, and would be held as such by all who loved his royal person.

In spite of this public declaration, it was reported that the king, who had become early acquainted with dissimulation and deceit, had written a secret letter to the lords at Edinburgh, urging them to arm and rescue him from Morton's influence, and that this letter was carried to them by the earl of Montrose. It is certain that Montrose made his retreat hastily from Stirling, and hurrying to Edinburgh, gave such an account of the regent's tyranny and insolence, that the citizens flew to arms, and declared their readiness to risk their lives on the rescue of their young monarch. Lindsay was arrested in Stirling castle, when an order of privy council appeared the day after the meeting of parliament, commanding the two noblemen to confine themselves in their lodgings. The parliament itself proceeded without further interruption, and among its first acts were a confirmation of Morton's resignation of the regency and the king's acceptance of the government, and a full approval and discharge of all Morton's acts during the period of his rule. A new council was named, in which not only were Morton's friends predominant, but he himself was appointed its president. Thus Morton soon regained the full power which he had formerly held, wanting only the name of regent, but relieved from many of the difficulties which formerly beset him, by the responsibility which the king had been made to resume.

Meanwhile the earls of Athol and Argyle

had assembled their vassals in arms, and, encouraged by the spirit already manifested by the citizens of Edinburgh, they marched into the capital, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of Robert Bowes, who was there as the resident ambassador of England. The privy council in Stirling issued an order commanding the earls, under pain of being proclaimed rebels, to quit Edinburgh within four-and-twenty hours; but this only led to a war of proclamations and declarations, until, on the 11th of August, the earls of Athol and Argyle marched out of Edinburgh at the head of a thousand men; and when they met their friends on the 13th at Falkirk, their place of muster, they presented an army of no less than seven thousand men. They carried before them a banner of blue saracenet, with a picture on it representing a boy confined within a grated window. It was accompanied with the inscription, "Liberty I crave, and cannot it have!" with another declaring that the lords would die to set the young king free. Most of the men who composed this army were actuated by a deadly hatred to Morton.

He, however, had not been idle; and the earl of Angus, who had been appointed the king's lieutenant-general, marched to encounter his opponents with a nearly equal number of well-appointed soldiers, and some skirmishing had already taken place between their advanced parties, when Bowes interfered, and exerted himself in the name of his mistress to effect a reconciliation between them. In this he was, not without some difficulty, successful. Morton, in the name of the king, declared that, to avoid the evils of civil war, he was content to act by Elizabeth's mediation, and he commanded the nobility on both sides to disband their forces. A sort of act of oblivion was passed with regard to the lords who had been opposed to Morton; and, as a testimony of reconciliation, Argyle, Lindsay, and Montrose were added to the council. Eight lords were appointed to form a committee for the purpose of seeking the means of reconciling the nobility, and free access to the king's presence was promised to all. An agreement was thus brought about, which satisfied Morton's opponents for the present, and left him in the full enjoyment of power.

To effect this reconciliation, Elizabeth's agents had employed menaces as well as persuasions, and lord Hunsdon had taken an effectual method to keep the borderers in order, by threatening to invade

their lands if they joined the lords at Edinburgh. "As I was coming hitherward," lord Hunsdon wrote to the earl of Leicester on the 19th of August, "I received a letter from Mr. Bowes, of the great likelihood of their going together by the ears, having both their forces assembled to great numbers; whereupon I wrote presently to him to let the lords of the king's side understand of the queen's majesty's good favour towards them, and of her majesty's intention for the preservation of the king in maintaining all those that took his part, as also that he should declare to the lord of Seaford, and sir James Hume, wardens of Teviotdale and the Merse, and to all the gentlemen in their company, which were a very great party on that side and most furiously bent against Morton, that if they did not presently retire with their forces, and be content to put their causes to the queen's majesty, that I would presently set fire in their houses at their backs; which letter I perceive by Mr. Bowes came in good time, for as it did greatly encourage the king's side, coming in the very instant of doing good, so did it make the other side yield sooner than they would have done. So as now the lords that were against the king, do seek to depend wholly upon her majesty, especially the wardens and gentlemen of Teviotdale and the Merse, insomuch as the king's side do call them Englishmen, because they refer themselves and their causes to her majesty. Truly, my lord, if they had met together, it would have been so bloody a day as would not have been quenched in Scotland these many years, and only stayed by the great diligence and extreme travel of Mr. Bowes, who deserves great commendation for the same."

Morton was now all powerful, much to the satisfaction of Elizabeth, who looked upon him as the grand support of the English interest in Scotland. In accordance with the recommendation of the recent parliament, the commendator of Dunfermline was sent on an embassy to England, to inform Elizabeth that James had taken the government into his own hands, to thank her for the favours she had shown him during his minority, and to propose a still closer alliance between the two kingdoms. This was done partly with a view to the succession of the English crown, and Dunfermline had private instructions to negotiate on another matter intimately connected with the question of the succession. The old

countess of Lennox, James's grandmother, had died lately, leaving a granddaughter by her second son, well known in history by the name of Arabella Stuart. According to the English law at that time, an alien could not inherit, and Arabella, as English born, would have had a superior right; but it is evident that a decision of the right of inheritance to the property of the countess of Lennox would have been prejudicing, if not deciding, the right of succession to the English crown. To set aside the English heiress in the one case, would have been to set it aside in the other, while it was not the intention of Elizabeth either to acknowledge or to reject the claim of the Scottish prince. Dunfermline, it appears, was to make a direct application on this subject, but Elizabeth avoided it by ordering the estates in question to be sequestered, and she returned a favourable answer to the public embassy, with the warmest expressions of regard for the young king of Scots. The policy of this proceeding is evident from the letters of Elizabeth's ambassador, which show us that Scotland was in a very precarious state, and that France and Spain were closely watching for an opportunity to recover their influence there.

The reconciliation between the lords was far from sincere, yet it lasted through the winter and the spring of the following year. Athol and Argyre, still jealous of Morton's power, were known to be plotting against him at court; but in the April of 1579, the two northern earls were persuaded to lay aside their rancour, though with difficulty, and they were, in appearance at least, reconciled in the king's presence at Stirling. To celebrate this event Morton gave a great feast, at which the two parties met in friendly festivity. But immediately after the feast, the earl of Athol, the most powerful of the faction opposed to Morton, was suddenly taken ill, and on the 25th of April he died in the earl of Montrose's castle of Kincardine. The circumstances of Athol's death were so remarkable, that a general suspicion arose that it had been caused by poison, and the friends of the deceased publicly charged the earl of Morton with the crime. It was ordered that the body should be opened, and some of the first physicians and surgeons of the kingdom were employed to examine it. Their disagreement, however, left the question more uncertain than ever; some declaring that there were evident marks of poison, while others asserted with equal per-

tinacity that there were none. A strange accident occurred at this examination, which helped to increase the general suspicion. Dr. Preston, one of the first medical men of the day, was so positive of the absence of poisonous matter in the stomach, that, provoked by the contradiction of those who held a different opinion, he ventured to taste some of the contents, and he nearly lost his life by his temerity. This confirmed the belief of Athol's friends that there had been foul play, and they met at Dunkeld on the 3rd of May, to consult on the means of revenge. It was there determined that the friends of the house of Athol should meet in Edinburgh on the 15th of May, and join in an energetic petition to the crown for justice against the murderer, if he might be discovered.

At this time Morton was engaged in a great act of political vengeance, the destruction of the powerful house of Hamilton. The Hamiltons had participated largely in all the great political crimes which had recently stained the Scottish annals; they were deeply implicated in the assassination of Darnley, and with them solely rested the criminality of the murders of the two regents, Murray and Lennox. For these and other reasons they were hated by the houses of Douglas and Mar, and it was not difficult to communicate to the young prince a similar feeling towards those who were said to have assisted in effecting the death of his father. The earl of Arran was, as has been already stated, the rightful head of the house of Hamilton, but he was hopelessly insane, and the leaders of the Hamiltons were his brother John Hamilton, commendator of Arbroath, commonly known as the lord of Arbroath, and the lord Claude Hamilton, commendator of Paisley. As they were excepted from the treaty of Perth, it was not considered necessary to obtain a judgment against them, and a commission was issued to the earls of Morton, Mar, and Eglinton, and to the lords Ruthven, Cathcart, and Boyd, to effect their arrest. At the end of April Morton went to Dalkeith, Angus to Douglas, Lennox to Glasgow, while Ruthven was at Stirling, and these four lords had given secret orders for the assembling of their forces on the 3rd of May. On the 1st of May, royal letters were addressed to the lord of Arbroath and the lord Claude, ordering them to produce their elder brother Arran before the king in court on the 20th. The two lords perceived the

snare which was laid for them, and fled. Arbroath escaped, in the disguise of a seaman, to England, and threw himself on the protection of Elizabeth; the lord Claude, after lurking some time in Scotland, was conveyed secretly to Flanders. On the 2nd of May a proclamation was issued for the arrest of the two fugitive lords, and next day Morton and his colleagues, having assembled their forces, marched against the castles of Hamilton (which was commanded by Arthur Hamilton of Merton) and Draffen (where the duchess of Châtelherault had taken refuge with the earl of Arran.) The latter fortress was soon captured, the garrison having abandoned it in the night, and the duchess and her son were committed to the custody of captain Lamuire, a bitter enemy of their house. Hamilton castle was besieged by Morton and Angus in person, but Arthur Hamilton refused to surrender, unless he were assured of his life, and of pardon, for himself and the garrison, of all offences except the murder of the king and the two regents, which probably could not have been brought home to any of them. But these terms were scornfully rejected, and when at last they were compelled to surrender unconditionally, they were all carried prisoners to Stirling. Great efforts were made to save Arthur Hamilton's life, but in vain; for

the earls of Mar and Buchan, Douglas of Lochleven, and others, were resolved on his destruction, and he was, with his companions, hanged. Among them perished the brother of Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, the same who had held the stirrup for him when he mounted his horse to escape after having assassinated Murray.

Thus was the first step taken towards the ruin of the Hamiltons, but the persecution did not stop here. At a convention of the nobility held at Stirling, it was determined to proceed against them in the next parliament, on the charge of treason, with bills of attainder and consequent confiscation. The estates of the two fugitive lords were sequestered, the wife of the lord of Arbroath alone being permitted to retain her jointure as widow of the earl of Cassillis. Elizabeth, moved with sympathy for the misfortunes of this great house, sent captain Arrington to Scotland to plead in their favour; but the animosity of the Scottish court was too great to be thus appeased, and, to ensure the entire confiscation of the Hamiltons, it was determined to proceed against the earl of Arran on the plea that, although incapable of acting himself, he was answerable for those who acted in his name. A messenger was at the same time sent to England to ask Elizabeth to deliver up the lord of Arbroath.

CHAPTER XI.

MONSIEUR D'AUBIGNY; NEW INTRIGUES TO RESTORE FRENCH INFLUENCE; MISSION OF ROBERT BOWES TO SCOTLAND.

DURING the regency of Morton, his devoted attachment to England had been a check upon all hopes on the part of the king of France to regain his influence in Scotland; but the arrival of the young king at an age when he might become accessible to individual influences, combined with his actual assumption of the government, was the signal for new intrigues to re-establish the French interest, and even Mary and her partisans began to conceive new hopes. The plan adopted for this purpose was worthy of the craft of the Guises. Esmé Stuart, the king's first cousin (his father having been the brother of the late earl of

Lennox), a young man equally attractive by his graceful appearance and manners, and by his accomplishments, held the estate of Aubigny in France, and was there known as Monsieur d'Aubigny. It was determined to send him to Scotland, under pretence of claiming the estates and title of Lennox, but really in the hope that he might gain favour with the young king, undermine the power of Morton, and regain the Scottish nobles to the French interests. Mary also, from her prison at Chatsworth, attempted to enter into direct communication with her son, by sending her secretary Nau into Scotland, with a letter and presents for

him. But she was unsuccessful through the obstinacy with which she persisted in refusing to acknowledge James under the title of king. Nau has left us an account of his embassy, in a letter written on his return to the French ambassador in England, Castelnau de Mauvissière. Nau, on his arrival at Berwick, was informed that the form of the superscription to his letters would be an obstacle to his reception, but he proceeded on his journey, and went direct to Stirling. There he found the "poor prince," as he calls him, in such a state of subjection to his keepers, that he could not obtain from them permission to see his mother's messenger. Next day, two of the courtiers visited Nau, and, to use his own expression, argued the matter very sophistically with him, and he in return, urged that he might be admitted as coming from a mother to her son, without any question of titles. By his own account, Nau appears to have held a language and tone the very contrary of respectful towards those who, as he pretended, held an usurped power over the king, which he intimates that he did by the express command of his mistress, and we need not be surprised if in consequence he was himself treated rudely, and ordered to quit the court.

This letter was written on the 6th of July, 1579; it was not till the 8th of September, that Monsieur d'Aubigny arrived in Scotland, but his mission was planned more skilfully, and was therefore more successful. He was accompanied by a Monsieur Mombertain, and Mr. Henry Ker, the first a lively gallant, who was skilful in all the sports in which the young king most delighted; the other a subtle intriguer, who had been long known as a follower of d'Aubigny. D'Aubigny was a catholic, and it being generally suspected that he was a confidential emissary of the Guises, this visit excited great apprehensions in the kirk; but he had not been a week at the Scottish court, before he became a favourite with the king. The strong suspicion entertained by Elizabeth of this man's real designs, and the report sent her from Scotland, excited her alarm, and, under the outward pretext of pleading for mercy to be shown to the Hamiltons, captain Arrington had secret instructions to watch his conduct. After his return to Berwick, Arrington wrote a letter to lord Burghley on the 10th of October, in which he informed him that d'Aubigny had gained so much on the

king, that he was "like to win special favour;" that it was believed that he would obtain, not only eventually the earldom of Lennox, but a good share of the forfeited estates of the Hamiltons; that he had sent for his wife from France, as he intended to remain in Scotland during the winter; that he lived at a great rate at court, and had many followers, who, no less than himself, were objects of jealousy and suspicion.

A parliament had been called, and, as Morton was well aware of the mortification of the citizens of Edinburgh that the parliament had of late been called at Stirling, he determined that this time it should be held in the capital. The joy of the citizens was great, and made them even overlook the ostentation with which the king's favours were showered upon d'Aubigny. James would go nowhere without him, and splendid apartments were fitted up for him in the palace of Holyrood, adjoining those to be occupied by the king. The parliament assembled on the 20th of October, and when the king went to Edinburgh to be present to open it, the citizens received him with unusually splendid pageants. The city magistrates proceeded on foot and bareheaded to meet the king at a short distance outside the West Port, where he dismounted and stood under a stately canopy of purple velvet to receive them. The pageants began at the gate, within which was represented the two women contending for the child before Solomon, who had a numerous train of grotesquely-habited attendants. In the West Bow a large globe of polished brass was suspended from the arch of the old gate, which, as the king passed under it, opened artificially, and a child in the character of Cupid descended from it to his majesty's feet, and presented him with the keys of the city. At the Tolbooth, Peace, Plenty, and Justice came forth, and addressed him severally in Latin, Greek, and the vulgar tongue; while Religion, in the character of a grave matron, after addressing him in Hebrew, conducted him into the High church. There he heard a sermon by Mr. Lawson, in which he was urged to support and protect the reformed church. The king proceeded next to the Market Cross, where Bacchus, in painted garments, with a garland of flowers on his head, sat on a gilded hogshead, distributing goblets of wine, which ran from the fountains. At the East gate was figured the king's nativity, and above it the genealogy of the Scottish kings

from Fergus. All the windows were adorned with pictures or hung with tapestry, the streets were strewed with flowers, and the cannon of the castle continued to fire during the whole of the king's progress, till he reached the palace. D'Aubigny was always at the king's right hand.

This parliament was occupied almost entirely with the attainder of the Hamiltons, and with the exaltation of d'Aubigny. The former were proclaimed traitors, and stripped of their estates, and the revenues of the rich abbacy of Arbroath were given to the king's favourite, and at the same time he was promised the earldom of Lennox, which had been already given to the bishop of Caithness, who was to be compensated by the grant of the earldom of March. Even this was not enough, and it was commonly rumoured that the earldom of Lennox was to be changed to a dukedom, and the office of grand chamberlain of Scotland was revived, in order to be conferred upon him. The rise of the young favourite soon brought him plenty of friends, and Argyle, with many of the principal nobility, began to ally themselves with him, and to enter into those bonds, or covenants, which had been the cause of so much mischief in Scotland. It was commonly believed that some of them had been bought over to his interests with money which had been supplied by the king of France. Morton, however, held aloof, and refused to bow to the new idol. He sought again to ally himself with the kirk, and he succeeded in spreading a feeling of suspicion and alarm, which was soon proclaimed abroad by the ministers. It was remarked how, when d'Aubigny left France, he had been accompanied to Dieppe by the duke of Guise, who had been closeted with him for hours; and it was known that he had held consultations with the bishops of Glasgow and Ross, whose intrigues to promote the interests of Romanism were notorious. The pulpit began again to resound with warnings of the dangers with which the kingdom was threatened through the undue favour with which papists were received at court.

We see enough in the dispatches of the French ambassador in England, and in other French correspondence of the time, to feel satisfied that these fears and suspicions were not unfounded, that Esmé Stuart was really an instrument of France and the popish party, and that his proceedings were looked upon by the French court with the utmost interest. In a dispatch to his royal

master, written from London on the 29th of October, M. de Mauvissière informed him of the great progress which d'Aubigny had already made, and of the annoyance which his success had caused to the earl of Morton. He added, that it was certain he would be raised to the earldom of Lennox, and that it was believed he would be declared successor to the crown of Scotland in case James should die childless. "They say," the ambassador continues, "that this would be with a clause that he should embrace their religion: those who wish to reign must know how to dissimulate."

This doctrine of the French statesman seemed in a fair way to be put in practice in Scotland. D'Aubigny saw that his religion was in the way of his designs, and it was suddenly rumoured abroad that he was inclined to abjure the errors of popery and conform to the Scottish kirk. The king himself, though but a boy, undertook the work of conversion, and not only furnished him with controversial writings in favour of the reformation, but took him to hear the sermons of the ministers, and procured one of them, Mr. David Lindsay, of Leith, to be his instructor. This proceeding had at once a wonderful effect in conciliating the clergy. On the 20th of February, 1580, Bowes wrote a letter to the earl of Leicester, in which he informed him how d'Aubigny "pretendeth to reform himself to that religion, and to the intent that both we, and also they may have good opinion of him therein, he will send for a French minister from London to instruct him, notwithstanding the great plenty of learned men and ministers there that have the French tongue and offer their labours to him. The ministers are much overtaken with conceit of his reformation; nevertheless they still persuade that he may broke (*enjoy*) no office there before he be reformed indeed." Still d'Aubigny affected to yield conviction gradually and slowly, and the ministers began to complain that his advancement in the offices and dignities of the state, was much more rapid than the progress of his religious reformation, or than was in conformity with the laws against the employment of papists.

At this moment other intrigues were going on, of a much more formidable kind, and they seemed to have been pushed forward with such precipitancy as to lead in the first attempts to failure, which rendered the actors more cautious for the future. One part of these intrigues was directed person-

ally against the earl of Morton. The king one day returned with unexpected haste from hunting, and it was whispered abroad that he had received information of a plot of the earl of Morton to surprise him and carry him off to Dalkeith. Others, to give a colour to this proceeding, added that his object was to deliver the young king to the queen of England. Morton declared at the council table that this imputation was utterly unfounded, and required to be informed from whom it originated, but in this he was not gratified. It was perhaps intended as a cover for a plot of the other party, in which people at this time very generally believed. Dumbarton castle was under the command of the laird of Drumquhassell, a favourite of the French interest. In the middle of February, the young king left Edinburgh on a progress into Fife and other parts of the kingdom, and it was said that he intended, much against the inclination of Morton and his friends, to visit Dumbarton. At the same time it was rumoured that d'Aubigny was to accompany the earl of Argyle to Glasgow. Neither of these designs, however, took effect, and the court established itself at Stirling. It was, however, generally understood that the visit to Dumbarton was connected with a plot to take the king out of the custody of the earl of Mar, and some believed that if he had once reached that fortress, he would have been carried thence to France. Still it appears that the design was not given up, but that it was only delayed in consequence of the opposition of a part of the council. Things went on thus till the beginning of April, when secret intelligence was carried to the earl of Mar, that d'Aubigny and his faction had fixed on the night of the 10th to carry into effect their design, by surprising the king and carrying him off to Dumbarton, whence he was to be shipped immediately for France. Precautions were taken to prevent such an attempt from succeeding, and if the design did exist, it was laid aside.

Such, however, was not the case with the intrigues against Morton, which were pursued with persevering animosity. Such of the nobility as were personally hostile to the ex-regent, joined warmly in the conspiracy, and it was whispered abroad that he was to be charged with complicity in the murder of the king's father; and that sir James Balfour, who was now in France, was to furnish documents in proof of the charge.

From the dispatches of Bowes, who was at his post in Berwick, it seems evident that there was a conspiracy, by d'Aubigny and his friends, to take the king out of the custody of the earl of Mar, although they now loudly proclaimed their innocence. "Since the late trouble at Stirling," Bowes writes to sir Francis Walsingham, on the 16th of April, "arising upon the suspicion that the earl of Mar and his friends there conceived that the earls of Lennox and Argyle, with their confederates, had in purpose to have drawn the king from his hands and custody to the castle of Dumbarton, as by Mr. Arrington is before and at large advertised to you, I find little other matter hitherto pursued or attempted thereon, other than that the lords and their friends thus charged do with great earnestness travel to acquit themselves of that practice, denying utterly to have purposed any such enterprise, or therein to have moved the king in any manner. Nevertheless, some of them stick not to confess, that it was advised and thought convenient to take some order, by resolution of the convention, to remove and discharge the earl of Mar from the possession and custody of the king's person, being now come well near to the age of fourteen years, at which age the king, by their statutes and laws, ought to govern by himself; and at that convention to have changed both some of the council, especially such as were placed by the earl of Morton, and also divers of the officers and servants of the king's house, and chiefly the treasurer, comptroller, and collector of the thirds of the church, who, they think, convert the king's treasure in their several receipts more to their private gain than to the king's honour or profit. And albeit that some lightly moved that, for the speedy execution hereof, the king might be persuaded to pass to Glasgow, and from thence to return to Edinburgh, to assemble his convention there for these purposes, yet that advice, touching this passage to Glasgow, they say was by the most condemned. And by the more part it was thereon thought meet that the king, with all expedition, and with the strength of these together, should return from Stirling to Edinburgh, as a place most apt and favourable then to hold the convention there. The other party are nothing satisfied herewith, affirming the king to have been moved to have ridden from Doune Monteth to Dumbarton. And it is very generally conceived and thought

that it was purposed, indeed, by some of them both, to have drawn the king to Dumbarton, and also within short time after to have conveyed him thence into France. Wherein, albeit right many and well affected be still persuaded that the same is true, yet few or none do pursue the matter, that now lieth smothering amongst them, and hath shaken them so loose, as some of the most experience and wisdom have written and think that the king still remaineth in danger, the amity betwixt these two realms shall be in peril, and religion like to be overthrown. Which matters they think are not so far proceeded as yet, but that they may be helped by her majesty, in case her highness please to employ timely remedy therein." After giving some further details of the intrigues of the two parties, Bowes proceeds: "In the diversity of these parties, standing thus in discord, and seeking each other's fall and disgrace, I do hitherto hold them in good conceit and opinion of her majesty's good will towards them, so long as they remain good instruments to do good offices for the maintenance of religion, and the common quietness in both realms in course accustomed. And, according to your late and former directions, I have put the earl of Morton in comfort of her majesty's favour and support, which now he attendeth (*waits*) and looketh for with expedition; otherwise it is written to me, that before some men be ready to enter to play, the game will be lost. What is meant hereby, and what is needful to be done in this troubled estate, I commend to grave consideration. What shall be now done," adds Bowes, "for the remedy of these sores, I wholly commend to the judgment of the wise, wishing that, if it shall be found convenient to deal therein, that then some noble personage may be timely employed for the best execution of the service, and that the old impediment sufficiently known to you may be removed."

That there was a desire on the part of the French king that the Scottish king should be carried over to France, there seems to be little room for doubting, and Elizabeth had received from her ambassador in that country sufficiently strong warnings of a design to that effect to excite her alarm. On the day after the date of the foregoing letter, a dispatch, which must have passed it on the road, was addressed to Bowes by the English ministers, directing him to prepare for an

immediate mission to the Scottish court. Burghley and Walsingham, who signed this dispatch, give the following reasons for this mission. "The queen's majesty, foreseeing that the broils lately set abroad within the realm of Scotland may prove to some dangerous issue, if they be not speedily prevented, hath thought it very meet, as you may perceive by her highness' own letters directed unto you, that you should forthwith make your repair into the said realm, and to do all good offices for the appeasing of the apparent troubles growing there. Where her majesty seemeth to be disposed that you shall continue for some good time, until you may by some apt means bring to pass the credit that d'Aubigny is lately grown into may be abased (*brought down*); for which purpose you shall receive further direction within a day or two. In the mean time her majesty, finding it very perilous that the two captains of Edinburgh and Dumbarton, being the two principal forts of strength within that realm, should be at d'Aubigny's devotion (as she understandeth they are), would have you seek by all the means you may to recover and stay them to be at her direction; considering that she doth not otherwise seek it than for the good of the king. And to that purpose her highness can be content to be at some reasonable charge. And, therefore, her pleasure is, that of the surplusing of such money as remaineth in your hand of the assignment for that garrison in Berwick, you shall carry with you the sum of five hundred pounds, referring it to your discretion so to employ the same as may be most for the advancement of her service. Wherein her highness thinketh that no part thereof can be better bestowed than that which shall be employed for the stay of the said captains, so that you may have some probability that they mean not to abuse her highness. And for that her majesty is secretly given to understand, as well by her ambassador out of France, as also otherwise, that they are there in daily expectation of the transporting of the young king of Scotland into that realm, her pleasure is, if you think it may do good, that you should signify so much unto him, and withal to advise him to beware, as well to be carried away by the advice of those who, to serve others' turn, will perhaps forget the performance of that duty, that both nature and benefits received ought to bind them unto, as to leave the sound counsel and advice of those that, in

the time of his minority, did with great providence and dutiful care preserve both his person and realm in quiet safety. And so, not doubting of your good discretion for the well performing of the present charge committed to you, we bid you heartily well to fare." The two ministers add, in a post-script, "We think that the ministers there of the church in Scotland, which have credit and are wise, may do much to abase the credit of d'Aubigny, who surely in the end, if he prosper, shall be the instrument to overthrow the religion there, and for that purpose was directed thither by the house of Guise." In another letter to Bowes, sent with these dispatches, Walsingham desired him to expostulate privately with d'Aubigny himself, and endeavour to gain him over to moderate courses, while the English ambassador was to assure Morton and his friends of Elizabeth's sympathy. A letter from Elizabeth herself to d'Aubigny followed the dispatches.

The instructions given to Bowes on this occasion are of considerable importance to the full understanding of the part he acted in the events which followed. After stating that his grand object must be the abatement of the overgrown influence of the young king's favourite, in which he was to consult and advise with Morton, Elizabeth told him he was first "to endeavour himself by all means possible to mediate and procure the earls of Argyle and Montrose, and others that seem now to join in with d'Aubigny, may be drawn from him. Especially we could wish that Montrose might be drawn thereto, being a man both wise and of a good execution. And for that," continues Elizabeth, "we understand that the Ilumes and the Kers are drawn, in respect of the mislike they have of the earl of Morton, to incline to d'Aubigny, who, being men of the greatest power upon the borders, may be made instruments to breed some breach of the present quietness between our two realms, we would have you travel earnestly in the compounding of the griefs between the said earl and them. And for the bringing to pass of these matters greatly importing our service, we can be content to bind unto us in devotion some of the chiefest in authority there, by bestowing of some yearly pensions upon them; wherein we mean to give further order, upon knowledge to be received from you who they are you think meet to be entertained with the said pensions. For our purpose is not to bestow the

same but upon men of value, and such as are likely to do us service, and to remain altogether at our devotion. Among the rest, we think it convenient that Drumquhassel, if he continue still captain of the castle of Dumbarton, and the master of Mar, be of this number; whom we would have you to put in mind to continue constant in their vowed devotion towards us, as they shall not any time have just cause to repent them of the same; having already given order to the lord treasurer and to one of our principal secretaries to send you a certain sum to be bestowed upon them, according to such direction as you have received in that behalf. And in the pursuing of this matter, we think it very expedient that it be carried in such sort that d'Aubigny may conceive no suspicion or jealousy that our purpose is to abate his credit, for that it might provoke him to hasten the execution of these dangerous plots that are laid by him and his fautors, which we would be glad to stay and to prevent, and therefore think meet the said d'Aubigny be rather entertained with fair speeches, according to such direction as by our order from one of our principal secretaries in that behalf you have received." Bowes was next to address himself to the king. "And in consulting how to provide against any mischief that may be intended against us and our realms by Spain, for the common cause of religion, in which behalf you may say to the king from us, after rehearsal in general terms of the care we have always had of his well-doing and safety, that continuing still in the same good affection towards him, and having received credible advertisements that the king of Spain is not like to find any such difficulty in the enterprise of Portugal as may occasion him to stay his great preparation there, being jealous, as we have just cause, of his well-meaning, either towards us, or any other that embraceth true religion, especially now he hath such forces in a readiness, for that he professeth himself to be an open enemy unto all those that profess it, and an executioner of whatsoever shall be by the pope decreed against them, like as we have for our part put ourselves already in some strength to defend ourselves if the worst happen, and mean yet to provide better for our safety,—so, considering that the danger is common to both realms, in respect of the cause of religion, we cannot but motion it unto the king, that it will be very well we do for our common benefit,

work together in taking some good advice how and by what means we may best resist the malice of Spain, in case it break out against us. The like speeches you may also use unto the nobility, taking occasion thereupon to reconcile and unite them together, as we have already given you in charge, by letting them understand how necessary it is for the service of the king, and public benefit of that realm, that in these dangerous times, wherein the cause of religion is of all sides shot at by the enemies of the same, they should remove all occasions of unkindness between themselves, and remain knit together for their better strength and safety." "But unto the earl of Morton," Elizabeth goes on to say, "our pleasure is you shall plainly discover the cause of our sending you thither; signifying unto him in our name, that perceiving things to take so evil a course in that realm, and that the overthrow of him is daily practised more and more, and so consequently of the king his master, for that there cannot be any good meant unto a prince by those that procure to remove from him his good and faithful servants and counsellors, we have directed you to require his advice how these mischiefs may be met withal, by diminishing d'Aubigny's authority, and procuring that the two holds of that realm may be put in the hands of persons well affected and known to be favourers of the mutual amity between these two crowns. Referring it to your discretion to deal with him in the opening of this matter, and requiring his advice therein, as to you shall seem best. And you may further assure him that, as we are careful to remove these imminent mischiefs for the benefit and safety of both crowns, so for his own particular he may make assured reckoning of our lawful favour and countenance in his reasonable causes, when necessity shall require."

When Bowes arrived in Edinburgh, he found things in a very precarious state. The lords of the different parties could no longer conceal their animosity towards each other, while they were looking forward, not without alarm, to a convention which had been summoned to meet at Edinburgh. The presence of an English ambassador at this moment caused no little sensation, and the leaders of both parties hastened to put themselves in communication with him, with an eye, no doubt, to their several profits and advantages. Not

only the master of Mar and the laird of Drumquassel (captains of the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton,) but d'Aubigny himself, professed the utmost respect for, and devotion to the English queen, and they seem to have made no secret to Bowes of their design (which had been defeated) to effect a change in the government, though they denied all intention of carrying the king away. The favourite had at this time been raised to the earldom of Lennox, and it was even rumoured that he was soon to be made a duke. Although the master of Mar and Drumquassel seemed both to lean strongly to the earl of Lennox, yet they showed no unwillingness to enter into the negotiation which Bowes was directed to open with them. "Thus," says he, "having in this sort renewed the bonds and intelligence betwixt them and me, and prepared them to be further devoted and bound to do all good offices in their power for her majesty, I have left them in these fair terms; minding upon our next meeting to deal more inwardly with them, and nevertheless to beware to give forth her majesty's benevolence, without probability of good effects. In which behalf I humbly desire to be intrusted what sums I shall bestow particularly on either of them, and upon what articles, surety, and bonds. All which I shall endeavour, and am in good hope to effect, according to such especial direction as shall be therein given me."

On the 28th of April, Bowes went to Stirling, and had his audience of the king, who listened with apparent pleasure to his compliments, and promised to be ruled by Elizabeth's counsels. Bowes urged James to promote unanimity and good feeling among his nobles; spoke of the commission ordered for the redress of border grievances; and finally touched upon the subject of the Hamiltons, the pardon and recall of whom was one of the objects of his mission. In the latter, however, he seems from this first interview to have been convinced that he should not succeed, for not only was James bitterly prejudiced against them, but their lands had been given to his friends and favourites, who were not likely to promote a measure by which they would be so much the losers. On this same day the earl of Morton, and after him the earl of Mar, had made a demand that they should be informed who were the authors of the injurious reports which had been recently raised against them, and this matter gave rise to a

long debate in the council, by no means of a conciliatory character. At length, however, a declaration of Morton's innocence was agreed to, and thus the examination of the matter was hindered. "After this was past," Bowes goes on to tell us, "the lord Ochiltree stood up, showing that he had received letters from d'Aubigny earl of Lennox, to require him to make his purgation in his absence against such false rumours and tales as were devised against him; offering that if any would charge the earl that he had conspired or gone about to persuade the king to pass to Glasgow or Dumbarton, or that he sought to carry him into France, or to any other place against the king's good pleasure, or to his prejudice, that the earl would with his sword prove such person a liar, with other very hot words and challenges; whereunto no answer made. In the end, by especial order and entreaty of the king, and to avoid further contentions in the trial of these causes, it was ordered that all these brutes (*rumours*) and reports should be accounted to be false and untrue, and from henceforth to be put in oblivion; and that the noblemen touched by the same should therewith hold them contented, and one love and agree with another, as for the king's service and common quiet appertaineth. Thus this stir is now wrapped up in ashes, with such discontentment as many think that it shall soon burst forth again with greater peril. Nevertheless, the king liketh not to hear of any further mediation to be made in the reconciliation of the noblemen; for he thinketh that this shall suffice, and that the further dealing therein shall renew the offences in such sort, as the griefs will not be so well quenched again."

Bowes subsequently had a long and private interview with Morton. "In long conference with the earl of Morton (in the night, by appointment, to avoid suspicion), I have at large signified her majesty's pleasure expressed in the second article of her highness' instructions to me; persuading his continuance in that course wherein her majesty would support and comfort him against his adversaries, that seek no less his disgrace, than the overthrow of religion and that government. For this he yielded right hearty thanks to her majesty, offering very freely his devotion and service to maintain the amity and good quiet of both realms. And after long declaration of his own cause, and of the late suspicions conceived of the king's being at the Doune, he wished that good

regard may be given to prevent the practices appearing, and which he thinketh have so far prevailed, as he doubteth much the sequel; and he cannot, he said, readily devise sufficient remedy. For he holdeth that d'Aubigny and that side have gotten such interest in the king, and drawn him to such liking and admiration of the glory of France and friendship to be had there, as the king doth begin not only to commend and be contented to hear the praises of France beyond his accustomed manner, but also to keep secret all things told or offered to him by that side, and oftentimes to discover to the side aforesaid the advices that he or the house of Mar do give unto him; a matter not only noted by the earl of Morton, but also seen and confirmed to me by Dunfermline, clerk register, James Murray, and others of the king's council and chamber, that think they have more cause to lament it, than power to amend it; holding the matter very difficult and dangerous, without her majesty's seasonable aid. And when I pressed to know the remedy to be ministered by her majesty, he did for that present take time to advise, referring me to confer thereon with Dunfermline and others, which I have done; finding all things that the earl of Morton hath told me to be confirmed by them, and that the excuse and sayings of the contrary part are both condemned, and also by many apparent circumstances proved so suspicious, as the matter is holden to remain still in peril, and that this smoke had a warm fire; but the arguments being so many and tedious, I do therefore omit to express them."

The extensive prevalence of venality at the Scottish court is seen by the sequel of this letter. After stating that it was understood that the king was to make a progress in Fife and the north-eastern part of the kingdom during the summer, Bowes continues in the following words:—"The surest remedy," he says, "that Morton, Dunfermline, and the rest can hitherto find, is to have always trusty councillors about the king, and a good guard for his person, to withstand all sudden surprise; for it is well seen that all these late matters were wrought with the king whilst there was no councillor of sufficient credit resident about him. But they allege that the king is not able to sustain the charges of such councillors and guard; nor yet any councillor can be pleased to tarry in court at his own expenses without relief. Whereby it seemeth that

covertly they crave some aid and support of her majesty, and yet they have not hitherto directly dealt with me therein. Howbeit, by their private advice to myself, and by some speech let fall by the king, and signifying that he would send especial persons to confer with me for his own behoof, it seemeth to me that they mind to make some motion for her majesty's relief and bounty towards the king; upon receipt whereof, I shall (according to mine instructions) both give them answer, and also recommend the same to her majesty's knowledge and pleasure. In the meantime I am very dull to understand their meaning without more plain language. In conference of these they persuade that it shall be no less dangerous than fruitless, to entertain any in this realm with pension, other than one especial person to be always resident in court with the king, for the ease of his expenses. But they think that if her majesty shall be pleased to be at any charge, it should be best bestowed on the king only; whereby all the nobility and others might therein be bound to her highness in the king's behalf, whom they dare not offend; and that her majesty should have such interest thereby in the person and estate of the king, and disposition of his possessions for his most profit, as little matter of importance might be done without her highness' privity. And that then her majesty might place and commend to him such as shall be seen to her highness most apt and serviceable for him. Moreover, being myself careful to find the king's own inclination and mind towards her majesty, and in these causes, I have therefore the longer deferred these presents, and attended opportunity, whereupon I have found that surely the king hitherto loveth and dependeth on her majesty, above any other in the world."

The mutual suspicions which had arisen from the late plots were still far from abated, and Bowes found his mission a delicate and a difficult one. "Albeit," he writes on the 10th of May, "great labour is taken to cover the secrecies purposed to have been practised and put in execution at the king's being at the castle of Doune Monteth (the depth of which plot was not nor yet is fully known to the confederates joining therein, other than to a few and chosen sort of them), yet such effects and circumstances are opened, as well by the king's own discovery, partly made before the whole council, and more fully signified in council to

myself, as also by some reports slipped out unawares from sundry of that fellowship, as it appeareth well that the reformation spoken of by the master of Mar and Drumquhassel, and certified in my last before this, should rather have sounded to an innovation of this state and government under the king, than any orderly amendment of the abuses that in some part are generally condemned. For it seemeth that a form of policy and government under the king should have been framed by the executioners of this alteration intended, and that some of the king's council, his chamber, and household, should have been changed. In which exchange it is said that sir John Seaton, George Douglas, and other like favourites to the king's mother, and suspected persons in religion and to the king, should have been preferred and brought near to the king's person. Some say that the earl of Morton should have been called by process *super inquirendis*, and upon his appearing to have been committed to safe custody. And that the comptroller and collector of the thirds of the church, should have been charged with sudden reckonings; and that for expedition, the sacrifice of their bodies should have acquitted their accounts in their own persons. Further, that the house of Mar should have been removed from the king's person, and more trusty keepers appointed to that charge, which new officers, entering in this manner, are thought to have foreseen and provided, good means for the safe-keeping of the king in place of surety, both against the power of these adversaries, and also from the force of England, in case her majesty would deal that way against them. What then should have ensued after these had been in full possession, I recommend to wise consideration, and such as know what is doing abroad; thinking that these matters little differ from my former intelligence. For the more certain understanding of some particularities herein, it is to be remembered that the king, in conference with the council in these matters, openly and of late acknowledged that the rest of the council then at Stirling should have been sent for, to have come to him to the Doune. And when some of them said that they should have found hard fare and lodgings there, the king said, 'yea, hard enough for some of them.' He said that there was no doubt that he should have gone further; and that purpose was the same that was at Falkirk. All which he confirmed to myself in secret,

adding that by often persuasion he agreed to ride to the Doune, of purpose to reform sundry things that there should have been objected against divers persons. And being there, he was again moved to send for the council, to the intent the persons accused might be there charged with these offences, and such reformation to be taken, as for that time should have been meet. Being done, he should have passed to Glasgow, to have there continued until further order had been established in all things. Wherein he affirmeth that this surprise and change should have been agreeable to the plot intended to have been executed at Falkirk; he approveth that sir John Scaton had there above a dozen men in armour; notwithstanding that sundry of that fellowship do deny the same, against all truth indeed. He is very loth to tell me who dealt with him in particular, but yet he promiseth, upon opportunity and better leisure, to let me know perfectly all that he knoweth, and further that if any like matter shall be again offered to him, that he will timely and friendly reveal the same to her majesty. All which he willed me to signify to her majesty, to satisfy her highness in that part of her majesty's letter, desiring to understand his estate. Besides it is evident that the earl of Lennox had written to the earl of Glencairn in the king's name, and to many others of great credit, to come to the king at this time, and in their fensible array, and many of that company have directly confessed parts sufficient to prove these matters; which, notwithstanding, all these still stand to and denied. Although the brutes (*rumours*) rising hereon are suppressed in manner before certified, and that this enterprise intended is thus far discovered and defeated for the present; yet the way is left open for the second. And many good men in this court, and elsewhere, do greatly fear and much doubt that it shall be attempted with the next opportunity. And some others have said that the next wind will blow the chaff from the corn. The earl of Morton greatly distrusteth the sequel of these things, and hath little desire to come at court or deal in the state, being already departed from hence; he hath found great inconstancy in sundry of this council, and in whom he trusted, causing him to draw himself to more quietness. Nevertheless he is contented to take his part in any plot to be devised for the entertainment of the amity, and removing of all impediments,

wherein he will employ himself and his force. He will give timely advertisement to prevent all evils, and he will remain at court to stay inconveniences, so as his remain there be not to his charges, which his decayed estate and lately put to extreme expenses (as it is affirmed) will not endure. The king hath had great misliking of the earl of Morton, and by secret means I find that conceit is not altogether removed; yet I have much recovered his opinion towards the earl, and I trust to increase it daily."

Bowes intimated at this time that he had hopes of effecting a reconciliation between Argyle and Morton, which would be a damage to the influence of the earl of Lennox. The latter had now publicly conformed to the protestant faith, and he had risen proportionally in credit with the ministers. "Lennox and his servant Henry Kerr," writes Bowes, "that the other day were stiff papists, are now so earnest protestants, as they begin to creep into credit even with the ministers at Edinburgh, that have written in their commendations to the king's ministers; whom I have so thoroughly persuaded, as they have resolved to try the fruit of the religion of these two before they trust them, and to advise the other ministers to do the like. For the advancement whereof, I intend to return to Edinburgh to-morrow, to follow these and other causes to be done there. The court was at this time so needy, that the king was driven to press Elizabeth, through her ambassador, for pecuniary assistance. This appears to have been partly the cause of his communicativeness. "After the king had opened to me the sum of the former action and purposes at the Doune, in the manner before signified, and had declared his state to be then brought into better quietness and surety than lately it stood in, trusting that the same should be chiefly maintained and continued by her majesty's good advice and relief, he entered to report the doings of Dunfermline and the comptroller with me, for procuring her majesty's answer in the cause recited; declaring an especial trust in her majesty, and wishing that her highness' bounty might come in this season, that might both relieve his need, and also be a mean that the same and other his revenues might be employed with her advice for his profit. All which he delivered to my credit to be recommended to her majesty, according to that part of his letter sent to her majesty. He declareth himself ready

to hearken and follow chiefly the advice of her majesty in all things. And presently (*at present*) the most of the nobility (especially of the wisest,) are disposed to persuade and hold him to continue the same; nevertheless that there is another sort, that would draw him otherwise, and have great power to effect their desires by sleight, if they be not strongly withstood; which resistance I doubt not shall be found here, seeing most men seek their own advantage, and leave the king oftentimes with small counsel or company, to his peril, as at this present is done. For very few of the council are left with the king, and those that are here are of the meanest."

Although the ministers were at first satisfied by Lennox's conformity to the kirk, their alarm was again excited by reports that the favourite was in correspondence with the archbishop of Glasgow and the bishop of Ross, and by intelligence of designs against the reformed faith on the part of France and Spain. Their suspicions were again proclaimed from the pulpit, and produced new demonstrations and professions of his conversion on the part of the favourite. Meanwhile the reports of plots for changing the government continued to circulate and gain credit, and no doubt they were made easy of execution by the continued negligence of the council. "In this part," Bowes writes on the 16th of May, "I have travelled (*laboured*) with the earl of Morton, Dunfermline, and divers others, accusing them in their oversight to leave the king so slenderly accompanied; having at this present with him not one councillor, nor any of the nobility, otherwise than those of Mar alone. And albeit upon mine importunity they will send more company to the king, especially against the coming of Lennox to the court, yet I find them so doubtful of condition and disposition of the king, as the most part do choose and determine rather to behold things, and for their best safety to win and hold the king's favour by yielding to the course of his own affection, than to offer themselves to the peril that the plain dissuasion of the king from his pleasures, and open withstanding the councils and desires of his favourites and minions, may bring unto them. In which two last parts they think they can little prevail without her majesty's especial support. And although I have comforted them herein, as far as I could (holding myself within the warrant

and bounds of mine instructions), yet I see them still stagger and stick hereat, until they might be made so sure of her majesty's relief, as with boldness they might trust to that back and assistance, whereupon they would leave their former course, chosen for their most surety in manner aforesaid; and then freely enter to oppose themselves openly against all suspect advisers and attempts; and with her majesty's advice hold that way that shall be found best for the religion, the king, and the realms, and good amity betwixt the crowns. Moreover, searching also to feel their disposition in the desire of the best course to be taken for surety of these effects, I have gathered that it is holden most sure, that her majesty might be pleased with some bounty to entertain the king, to win an interest in him and in his estate, and therewithal to bind the nobility and council to hearken to and follow her majesty's advice in all things touching the king; and that her majesty's said bounty might rather be shown by loan of a competent sum than by gift. For repayment whereof some noblemen, but especially merchants, should be bound, who should for their sureties prove that with the advice of her majesty that sum and all the rest of the king's revenues might be employed to the most profit of the king; a matter (some think) that would work great reformation in things far amiss, and with great contentment with all good men, stop the mouths of many that, finding fault with those open abuses, do seek thereby to welter (*overthrow*) and alter this estate. For the execution of her majesty's good advice, and timely doing of all things about the king, that some chosen person be attending always in court, and work these good effects by his power, and with the assistance of his friends, that will by his own means join with him, without charge to her majesty, other than to the principal person alone thus to be chosen. And having gathered and found this form and plot to be best allowed by the most discreet that I have dealt withal, therefore I have thought it my duty to lay the same before you, to the intent you may behold their conceits, and upon good consideration, to dispose thereof, and direct me as shall be seen expedient."

There was a hope at this moment that the laird of Drumquhassel, who held the important fortress of Dumbarton, might be gained over to Morton's party. Lennox, it

appears, wished to get Dumbarton castle into his own hands, and had privately obtained from the king a grant for that purpose. Drumquhassel, provoked at this proceeding, laid his griefs before the English ambassador, and, whether this was his object in so doing or not, he seems to have obtained an instalment from Bowes of what was to be the purchase-money of his steady support of the English interest. Bowes also laboured diligently to effect a reconciliation between Morton and Angus, who had recently fallen into variance, as also between the earl last mentioned and the Kers. James was preparing for a progress towards the north, and his favourite, the earl of Lennox, announced, much to the discontent of some of the ministers and council, his intention of accompanying him. New rumours of meditated changes in the government were immediately heard and credited, and it was confidently stated that this *coup-d'état* was to take place soon after the commencement of the progress, when the king was suddenly to call together a packed meeting of his nobility, and with their advice to proceed against the obnoxious ministers. On this occasion, as before, a specious colouring was given to the design, by intimating that it was to be a measure of real reform in the government, and that its object was the security of church and state as then established. "It is pretended," says Bowes, on the 17th of May, "that none suspected in religion, or known to be devoted to the French course, or practisers of the king's mother, shall be placed near the king, or have grace as they push for; but that all things shall be done for the best service of the king, and for the inviolable preservation of the love and amity between her majesty and the king. And that her majesty's advice shall be afterwards followed in all things touching the king's safety, and government to be established. Albeit the other side do see, and are sufficiently warned hereof, yet I distrust their provident care and foresight to prevent the execution; wherein I shall do my whole endeavour to stay these troubled courses, and to bring the parties to more peaceable contentment." In a dispatch of the 23rd of May, Bowes writes still more earnestly on this design. He had then communicated his apprehensions to the king himself. "Because I have seen sundry evident signs of the progress of the attempt intended for the alteration of this state, to

have been enterprised according to my former and next before these; and that the same intelligence hath been confirmed unto me as well by some of credit, as also by the same person that before discovered it unto me, who hath required that I should give timely knowledge to her majesty thereof, for testimony of the performance of his duty, newly renewed and promised to her majesty; and for the seasonable prevention of the effect which he thinketh should bring no danger neither to the king nor state, nor yet to her majesty's course here, wherein nevertheless, upon sight of my condemnation of that sort of dealing, he hath assured me of his travel to stop the matter so far as he can;—therefore, for the last and surest remedy, I have returned to the king, finding them of opinion that this old practice, oftentimes pushed at and sought to be effected, is not yet clean given over with all men, howbeit (he said) good order is already taken to restrain, as well the motion to himself, as also the enterprise in deed, which things (he thought) no man durst take in hand without his assent should be given before thereunto. And albeit some had essayed to persuade him that force would be used for the retention of his ear and person, yet (he said) he knew sufficiently that none would presume so far on their own strength, saying he could easily daunt any such person or purpose. Whereupon, for his better comfort and encouragement, I offered to him right liberal aid and succour from her majesty in any such case of necessity; exhorting him that upon the appearance of any such matter, he would give her majesty timely and speedily intelligence, which he readily agreed to do. After, he entered into a frank discourse of all the particular doings at Doune Monteth (agreeing in effect so fully with my former, as there needeth no further repetition), and describing the qualities and dispositions of the earls of Argyle, Lennox, and others (wherein I saw that his observations and judgments of them were grounded of good knowledge of their nature and actions), he showed that he himself (as it was true indeed) defeated the device at the Doune, by finding fault with the want of beds and other requisites, and by his hasty return to Stirling, for he considered (he said) that the matter was like to come to blood. And into whose hand soever he should fall, they might note in him such inconstancy, perjury, and falsehood, as should breed in them great distrust

of like effect to be found again in him. At length he seemed to affirm that some abuses about him did necessarily call for reformation; but he allowed only the peaceable and orderly manner thereof by convention and due trial, concluding that he would not in any sort agree to any kind of sudden innovation of state, or surprise of the person of any. And he willed me to signify this promise to her majesty, which since the making thereof he hath sundry times renewed, appearing always to be desirous of her majesty's advice in all his great causes, and seeming very ready and willing to follow the same, for his most surety and benefit."

When Bowes addressed the earl of Lennox on the same subject, he talked much in the same manner as the king. "He began to recount to me great disorders used by sundry about the king, especially in the abuse of his possessions and revenues, and chiefly in the abbot of Cambuskenneth, who (he said) had openly given forth that he and others should lose their lives before they lost the possession of the king's person. He doubted that to retain still the benefit of the king's ear and person, and to avoid the reformation requisite, they meant to stop the king's coming to Edinburgh after his progress, contrary to the king's pleasure and the appointment resolved. And therefore he pressed much for the reformation of these abuses. Nevertheless, upon mine opening of the inconvenience following the attempt of sudden alteration of the state by surprise or indirect manner, and in hope that her majesty would persuade timely reformation to be made by indifferent convention of the estates and peaceable means for the profit of the king and contentment of the nobility (wherein I put him in good comfort), he promised to oppose himself against, and to do his whole endeavour to stay the execution of any such disorderly enterprise; resting therefore on the reformation to be advanced by her majesty's good advice."

Morton remained still devoted to the interests of Elizabeth. "The earl of Morton remaineth ready to be employed as shall please her majesty to direct him for the king's service and good amity betwixt the crowns. He attendeth (*waiteth*) and doth desire some certainty of her majesty's resolution in the course her highness pleaseth to take, as well in the loose condition of that state, as also in the direction of his own services, to the intent he may thereon

dispose himself and his powers for the best advancement of the common welfare and quietness, to her majesty's good contentment, or otherwise in season to provide for his own safety by such private means as be offered to him, and are touched in my former. Albeit he hath persuaded and sought her majesty's relief to the king by gift or loan of money, yet at this present it seemeth to him good that no hasty delivery thereof should be made; notwithstanding that the king should be entertained with the surety of the same in time of need, and for his good uses, to be made known to her highness." Lennox and his friends were opposed to this subsidizing of the king by the queen of England; but in general the Scottish nobles seemed to be very willing to place themselves for a consideration at her service. The greatest difficulty, however, was to reconcile them with one another. Their divisions and mutual animosities were literally the curse of the land; and Bowes declares that one great cause of the breaking up of the party which might have withstood successfully the designs of the favourite, was the variance between Morton and Angus.

The king was now setting out on his progress, which was looked forward to with general anxiety, and the belief was almost universal, that it would not pass over without some great political change. Writing to secretary Walsingham, on the 3rd of June, Bowes says, "By my joint letter to the lord treasurer and yourself, it will appear in what tickle condition the state in Scotland standeth; which, without her majesty's speedy resolution, will be altered from the government and order presently established, for this change is continually pressed by mighty personages that none impeachment (*hindrance*) or stop, other than the disagreement only of the king, who being a child, and both daily urged by them whom he chiefly loveth, and also left destitute of the aid, counsel, or company of them that should impugn it, is like to be at length overcome. And then these new officers, having won the possession of their policy, strained to their own wills, and for their private advantage, will then declare what they and their confederates are, whereby also the hidden practices ye sufficiently discovered are like to get such entrance by drift of time and provision, as no little charge or light means can draw back. The case is not yet desperate, but that it may be relieved by seasonable medi-

cine, which must agree of necessity with the humour of the [patient] and of the workmen to be employed. And in that realm few or none will be found that will labour only for the public, and for it sustain any great pains, charges, and chiefly peril, without sight of their surety, and some particuler profit. On which ground you see the earl of Morton standeth, and will not be called from it, especially in the dangerous condition and time wherein he is, so as he is to be satisfied and repayed in reason, or else for his own safety (that indeed is presently in danger) he is like to step in so far as with honour he cannot come back." "I need not therefore," Bowes adds, "further move you to haste the resolution, for it will appear more sufficiently that that state cannot be holden longer in such terms as by your last you advised me to keep them in, by the counsel of other that so counselled you to direct me. Upon her majesty's resolution for that realm, it shall be very good that her majesty know how greatly the king is delighted with great horses, and to be taught to ride by a skilful horseman; wherein the greatest of one or two ready and fair horses, with a rider, shall be more acceptable and of greater price to him than a great sum of money. And good words therewith may do good with the king, who is already won and devoted to her majesty. Some good deed must be employed to satisfy Morton, and chiefly the sight of her majesty's resolute purpose to stand fast and proceed in the course to be resolved; wherewith also I wish that some favourable letters may be granted to Angus, Argyle, Montrose, Ruthven, and others, according to my former. And what I shall do I desire speedily to be directed, that I may thereafter dispose myself, and the little that depends on me."

The anxiety of the ambassador, who had already complained of Morton's backwardness in acting a decided part, was now roused by that nobleman's resolution not to accompany the king in his progress. "Hearing lately that the earl of Morton had received a hurt in his left leg by the stroke of a horse, causing him thereby to stay his journey to the king in his progress, contrary to his former purpose, and doubting thereon some sudden storm to be seen arising and likely to fall at court, or other place in the realm, I did therefore send to learn his estate, and the doings at court and elsewhere. Whercupon I do understand that the earl hath stayed his journey

aforsaid, partly by this accident chanced to him, but chiefly because it is now made known to the wiser sort that the king both thinketh himself in no surety at Stirling, or in the keeping of them that remain about him; and he nourisheth in his breast some hidden change in his company, to be put in execution within short time. And this being come to the earl of Morton's knowledge, he is persuaded that his presence in court shall drive him of necessity either to prevent and impugn such alteration, or else (to avoid greater inconvenience for some short space) to favour and assist the enterprise. And because these two are so contrarious in themselves that he cannot entertain the one but that he must in honour refuse the other, with determination to hold on in the way wherein he once entereth, and for that he dependeth so fully on her majesty's resolution to be signified to him on such certainty as he and his friends may both boldly enter into the course that her majesty shall direct for the king's safety and common quietness, and benefit of the realm, and also with assurance of good backing, proceed with her majesty's privity and favour (wherein he showeth himself ready, according to my former)—therefore he purposeth to differ his choice and entrance into either of these two several courses, and to absent himself from court until he may receive advertisement of her majesty's pleasure and resolution in those and the affairs of that nation. Concluding that if it shall please her majesty to resolve favourably towards the king and welfare of the realm, and make him sure that he and his friends shall not be left, then he will pass to the court so soon as he may be able, and abide until he shall find such friends as shall be able to withstand all evil practices. And otherwise, if her majesty's resolution be not to his expectation, as to leave them to themselves, then he must insinuate himself by the best means he can into the king's favour, and other familiars, making himself known to be no hinderer, but a furtherer of their matters. To the which way he may be driven by the necessity aforsaid, and so win time and avoid inconvenience for some short season; yet he mindeth notwithstanding never to consent to run on in the same with his good will, seeing it shall bring shortly great perils and troublesome effects. All which I have thought good to show at this length, and as near the words and substance received as I can. And albeit I

have travelled (*laboured*) to satisfy him with all the reasons and all the surety that I can make him, yet he still attendeth and desireth the resolution (in these and for the course to be determined therein), to be given by her majesty upon regard and view of the state present; earnestly praying that he may have the same with expedition, whereon now he and the cause wholly depend. By other intelligence I am informed, that, after twenty days or thereabouts, an alteration will be sought by some means; and although the king will be loth to consent to the same, in respect of his promises lately made to myself, and to be signified to her majesty, yet he may happily (*perhaps*) be persuaded that the order and form of the change (varying little or nothing from his promise) may with honour be executed for his profit. And because the sequel thereof is like to be dangerous, therefore I now often certify the probability and intention of the progress thereof, commending the same to your good consideration."

Such was the state of things in Scotland, when Bowes, who had been appointed one of the commissioners for the settling of border differences, and having, to use his own words, "brought and settled all things in quietness in the realm, by the promise of the king and others, and seeing that his abode there could work no better effect than he might do from thence, before her majesty's resolution should be made known," returned to his old post at Berwick. Thence, however, he kept a close watch on Scottish affairs, of which he was fully informed by his friends and agents. The king, though evidently possessing an intelligence beyond his age, was yet a mere instrument in the hands of those who had possession of him, and we have just seen the English ambassador talking of the fate of the kingdom as a thing depending on pleasing a child with playthings. Morton's party was broken up, and he was well aware that the resolution he might take was to him, and perhaps to others of his friends, a question of life and death. They were, therefore, naturally unwilling to proceed too far without knowing the exact degree of support they could expect from the queen of England; and they had reason to know the cautious and hesitating character of Elizabeth's interference. On the other hand, the new favourites at court seem to have been not yet sufficiently convinced of their own strength to act openly and boldly; and Bowes had done

enough to make them desirous of not provoking too soon the resentment of the English queen. Moreover, Lennox was still afraid of the ministers of the kirk, for although he did everything in his power to persuade them of his sincere conversion to the protestant faith, they were jealous of his foreign connections, and above all, of his foreign correspondence. It was now generally known that he received frequent messages and letters from the bishop of Ross, who was in France, and it was rumoured that he had communications also with Spain, or at least that he was made acquainted with the designs of that state against the protestant government of this island. Under these circumstances it was probably considered prudent to advance gradually and cautiously, but it was soon seen that the designs of changes were not laid aside. On the 15th of June, Bowes wrote from Berwick—"The king in his progress hath called and sworn to his secret council, the earls of Lennox, Angus, Athol, and Mar, all present at court; Lennox was called, but not sworn, before, and now he beareth no little sway in the council and elsewhere. Sundry wise men think that the creation of these young councillors shall be the beginning of great effects; and that this progress, devised to avoid apparent inconvenience, shall hasten and draw on the execution of evils suspected. Wherein I am by some warned and borne in hand that this addition and alteration in the council will shortly spread further, and work greater change amongst them. And some call on me for remedy and prevention, by her majesty's means; which I commend wholly to her highness' good pleasure and grave advice, whereon that cause and many good men wholly depend, wishing the seasonable coming of the same. The most wise and ancient of the council have a desire to withdraw themselves from court to rest, giving place to the young councillors and their friends."

During this time, the diplomatic correspondence of Castelnau de Mauvissière (the French ambassador in London) shows the interest taken in Scottish affairs by the French king. From a letter of the king to his ambassador, written from Paris on the 29th of February, we learn that the earl of Lennox had made an attempt to convert the Scottish king to Romanism, before he declared his own willingness to be converted to the protestant church. On the 2nd of March, Mauvissière represented

to his king the impossibility of opening any direct communication with the Scottish court, so long as the title of king were imprudently withheld from James. In a letter written nearly two months later, the ambas-

sador states that d'Aubigny, who had just been created earl of Lennox, was constrained to adopt the protestant religion, or relinquish all hope of further advancement in his course of ambition.

CHAPTER XII.

LENNOX MADE GOVERNOR OF DUMBARTON CASTLE; HE IS ACCUSED BY QUEEN ELIZABETH; DISGRACE, CONDEMNATION, AND EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF MORTON.

RELYING upon the professions and promises of the Scottish nobles and courtiers, Elizabeth now acted with her usual parsimony, and neglected to secure their services by the liberal employment of her money, while Lennox, convinced now that the full accomplishment of his designs could not be effected at once, proceeded to assure himself by degrees of the different elements of success. One of the first points was to secure in his own hands the possession of Dumbarton castle.

In the mean while Morton hesitated between openly opposing the favourite and employing all his force to overthrow him, or consulting his own safety by yielding to circumstances. The first course was urged upon him by Elizabeth, who was well aware of the danger that lurked under the influence of Lennox, but she was backward in giving that absolute assurance of support which he required before venturing to declare himself. Hence, while the power of the favourite, who laboured craftily in his progress to power to gain popularity with the boroughs and among the clergy, astonished everybody by the rapidity of its increase, Bowes, at his post at Berwick, was suddenly alarmed by the cautious manner in which Morton replied to the queen's letters urging him to oppose himself to it. On the 19th of July, Bowes informed Walsingham that the earl was "exceedingly disquieted" with a letter he had then received from Elizabeth, and that he "had been tossed in such perplexity and doubtfulness as he could not hitherto resolve what to do therein." He even expressed a suspicion that Elizabeth's letter had originated in the advice of some one who was not his friend, and who wished to draw him into a course of action that might prove his

ruin. It appears that Elizabeth had wished to throw the responsibility of the plan of operations against Lennox upon Morton himself, by asking him to form and start it; in reply to which he pretended that he had always avoided taking the start or lead in such matters, but that he had been "rather the follower and executioner of good platts (*designs*) devised by other than himself, that should be an instrument to execute the device." He had, he said, already given his advice through her ambassador, and whatever course of proceeding she might decide upon would receive his support.

In another of Bowes' dispatches, addressed to Burghley and Walsingham on the 19th of July, Morton's reasons for his hesitation are given with more detail. "Since my former," Bowes writes, "I have sent two especial messengers, at several times, as well to understand the cause of the delay of the answer of the earl of Morton to her majesty's late letter, as was purposed and promised to have been done, as also to persuade him to the performance of the same, according to the effect of her majesty's letter aforesaid, wherein I do find him much troubled what to resolve in the same, appearing very desirous to satisfy her majesty with all good offices in his power; and yet he staggereth and is loth to set down or commend any platt to her majesty, thinking the same may turn many ways to his exceeding prejudice. In which behalf he marveleth, as he saith, to be thus pressed, seeing he hath ever fled to be the deviser of any platt; and, nevertheless, he hath always declared his readiness and consent to follow and advance such course as her majesty should set down for preservation of the amity and mutual profits of both princes and realms, like as by my

former of the 10th of May last will partly appear, on his part. And whereby it is there certified that albeit upon sight of the inconstancy of counsellors, and other dangers in the estate, he had determined to have drawn himself to quietness, yet he was contented to take his part in any platt to be devised for the entertainment of the amity, and removing of all impediments, wherein he would employ himself and his force; and, with timely intelligence to prevent evils, he would remain at court to stay inconveniences, provided that his charges might not oppress his decayed state. Moreover, he had commended this course in secret to myself, and which I have before made known, that it might please her majesty to entertain the king by some bounty, and chiefly by loan of such convenient sums as her majesty pleased to spare; whereby both the king, the nobility, and all the realm, should be bound to her majesty for that liberality; and also her highness should by that means win such interest in the king, the nobility, and state, as few matters of importance should be determined without her majesty's privity and advice; and thereby he, and other noblemen joining with him, might with more ease and safety effect all things to her majesty's best contentment. Besides, it was also advised that her majesty should call for and receive the bonds of especial noblemen and merchants, to be bound for repayment of the sum to be lent, taking such as were chiefly devoted to her majesty; to the intent that under colour of their bonds, and to seek their own indemnities, they might the more openly perform and do good offices to her highness. And albeit the promise of this loan was persuaded to be done with speed, for contentment of the king and state, yet the delivery needed no haste."

Morton, well acquainted with the character of the Scottish nobility, was probably correct in his views, and we may believe that, with a little more decision and an immediate and liberal expenditure of her money, Elizabeth would have counteracted the influence of the new earl of Lennox. But, to use the homely phrase applied by Morton, in one of his letters to Bowes, she waited till the horse was stolen before she bolted the door of the stable. Elizabeth was offended with Morton's objections, and her ambassador received from Walsingham a rather characteristic reply. "Her highness," wrote the secretary, "findeth the earl's letter written in such cold sort, and so full of

suspicion, as she cannot tell what to make of it; and therefore it doth greatly discourage her from entering into that frank kind of dealing that heretofore she hath used; especially seeing the whole course of her proceeding with all those of that realm, and chiefly with the said earl, hath tended to no other end but to the king's safety and the continuance of common quiet among them, and therefore no just cause hath been ministered to move the precisest subject, living under the greatest tyranny of the world, either in that or any other realm, to deal in so wary and jealous a sort as he hath done. And where, amongst other things, he seemeth to conceive that her majesty's late letter written unto him was a device of some of his unfriends to have entrapped him, if the words of the said letter be duly considered, they cannot well be drawn to be subject to so hard a censure, tending to no other end but to the conservation of the king his master, and continuing his realm in quiet, and to admonish him of such dangerous practices as were meant against his own person. And therefore her majesty doth not see that any platt, builded upon so sound grounds, could have bred any peril to him, whose safety she hath always tendered as carefully as any subjects of her own whom she held most dearest; and is therefore sorry to see him, considering the assurance she gave him, to follow any such direction, as she should receive from him for the preventing of such mischiefs as were likely to fall upon that realm, that he should be driven to resort to so dangerous a remedy as to establish his safety on an unsound reconciliation with his ancient and professed enemies, who principally seek his overthrow, to the end they may the better frame their other purposes to the effects they desire. Her majesty conceiveth that the earl might, with some reason, have resorted unto so doubtful a remedy, in case she hath either denied or given over to have had, any further dealings within that realm, either concerning the public or his particular; but making offer to put in execution whatsoever by him should have been devised to the prevention of the approaching mischiefs unto that state, with reservation always of his duty towards his sovereign, whose preservation no subject or nearest ally hath more carefully sought than her majesty, as by effects it hath appeared, she seeth no cause why he should deal either so doubtfully or mistrustfully, and should rather be carried to repose his surety in those who

thirst after his blood and desire his ruin, than to take profit of so honourable and friendly an offer. And though such a strange manner of dealing, greatly unlooked for at his hands, being a man of that judgment that he is of, and can easily discern what surety can rest in a reconciled enemy, might give her majesty just cause to stay any further dealing towards him (for that she doubteth not but England shall be able to stand, howsoever Scotland shall be affected towards her), yet her highness, being of herself carried with the princely disposition as she cannot easily shake off those of whom she hath made that account she hath done of him, she would have you advise him, after he hath well weighed the peril his intended reconciliation may throw him into, to think better of the matter. And in case that he shall find that nothing is sought in the platt, wherein his advice was required, but the preservation of his master, and his own particular surety, that then he will deal more frankly; foreseeing that there can grow no so great peril unto him by yielding his advice in so honest a cause, as by proceeding in his said intended reconciliation. And if, on due consideration of the matter, he shall find wherein her majesty may prevent the calamities that by inward division are likely to grow in that realm, to the hazarding of both the king and the religion, and the overthrow of himself and his particular estate, then to assure him that her majesty will not fail to employ herself to the uttermost of her power by yielding such timely remedy as the diseased state of that realm requireth, when she shall find in him a more inclinable disposition to acquaint her with his best advice what way of council were fit to be taken there. And where he allegeth that he hath heretofore acquainted you with his opinion what course he thought fit to be taken, her majesty would have you let him understand, that it falleth out in diseased states as it doth in diseased bodies, that new accidents require new remedies. And therefore her highness, doubting whether the former consels were fit salves for the present sores and diseases of that realm, prayeth further advice, with assurance given to yield present execution, which she will be ready to perform, notwithstanding the curiosity used. This, in substance, is that which her highness' pleasure is you should deliver unto him. And though, perhaps, it may seem to come too late, for that it cannot be delivered by the time prefixed in your

friend's letter, yet her majesty thinketh the earl too wise to build upon so unsound a remedy as the reconciliation offereth, and to refuse her honourable offer, which can never come so late as shall not contain more safety than the other which is pretended to be attempted."

But a few months after the date of this letter, Morton was fatally convinced of the little chance he had of appeasing the hatred of Lennox and his supporters. Nevertheless, in thus seeking a reconciliation with the favourite, the earl was only following the example of most of those upon whose support he would otherwise have depended, and without the immediate instrumentality of English money he would probably at this moment have found little maintenance against the power of the favourite. The king was still in his progress, and Morton had joined the court, and was partaking, in common with Lennox, in the feasting and pageantry which accompanied it, and advances appear to have been made on both sides towards the reconciliation so much talked of. Nevertheless, a variety of reports went abroad of new favours intended to gratify the vanity and ambition of the favourite. It was said that there were to be new changes among the officers of state, to get rid of what remained of those who were not devoted to Lennox, and that it was further proposed to appoint a lieutenant of the kingdom, who, with the constable, might govern in the king's absence, when he was pursuing his pleasures at home, or if it should please him to visit foreign nations. It was rumoured that the young king had a great inclination to the latter, and it was whispered that the office of lieutenant was designed for his favourite. It was announced with more certainty, that, on the king's arrival in Edinburgh, a convention of the nobles would be held there, said to be for the object of making the changes contemplated in the offices of state; that James would thence proceed to Glasgow to hold a general convention of the nobility and council for the affairs of the state; and that when this convention was concluded, he would pay a visit to Dumbarton castle, the custody of which was previously to be given to Lennox himself.

The last of these rumours was soon confirmed by facts, for Lennox obtained from the king a grant of the custody of the castle of Dumbarton, and he immediately summoned its governor, the laird of Drum-

quhassel, to surrender that important fortress into his hands. Drumquhassel appears to have been at least partially bought by Bowes, and he was now offended at the attempt to deprive him of his charge. He found means to evade the demand for the immediate delivery of the castle, while he entered into secret communication with Bowes, and offered to act in the matter according to the advice and pleasure of Elizabeth. He declared, at the same time, his disgust at the "French courses" which he saw that the Scottish court was determined to pursue, and promised to co-operate in counteracting them. But the resolutions of James's council were at this time changeable and uncertain, and those who guided them evidently hesitated in carrying all their designs into effect. The council met at Edinburgh, but the king was not present; and it was stated that the objection to the king's going to Glasgow was so great, that the design of holding an assembly of the nobles there was laid aside. The principal matter which occupied the attention of the lords in Edinburgh was some recent outrages on the border, but the rumours of intended changes among the officers of state continued to be repeated and believed. Some stop appeared to have been put to the attempt at reconciliation between Lennox and Morton, and the latter again communicated confidentially with Bowes, and declared his willingness to join in whatever course Elizabeth might decide upon. Drumquhassel still evaded the demand to deliver up the castle of Dumbarton to Lennox, and waited for the result of his communications with Bowes, when one day, towards the end of August, the gates of Edinburgh were suddenly closed by order of the favourite, who gave directions for his arrest. Drumquhassel, who was in the capital, and had not been able to make his escape, was soon taken, and he was not liberated until he had been compelled to enter into a bond for the immediate surrender of the castle. The cause of this violent proceeding was said to have been the interception by Lennox of a portion of Drumquhassel's correspondence with England.

The first news of the grant of the custody of Dumbarton castle to the earl of Lennox alarmed Elizabeth, and she immediately resolved to send Bowes, in company with the lord Scrope, to the Scottish court to expostulate against it, and to deliver some grave charges against the favourite. The

nature of Bowes's mission will be best understood by the instructions he received from Walsingham, which were dated on the 31st of August. He was told that Elizabeth's "pleasure is, that you should forthwith with all speed make your repair into Scotland to the king, and in the presence of his council, requiring that the earl of Lennox may be excluded, for that you are to deliver some matter that particularly doth touch him, you shall let him understand that her majesty coming to the knowledge of a practice lately put in execution for the delivery of the castle of Dumbarton into the hands of the earl of Lennox, could not for the goodwill she beareth him but advertise him of the design thereof. And to pray him, that in a matter so greatly importing both the state of religion and the safety of his realm (wherein, for many weighty respects, she cannot herself but have a great interest), he will not so much respect the bond of natural kindred as the performance and continuancy of so weighty causes; for, as nature may lead him to the one, so the duty he oweth to God, and the care he ought to have of his crown and state, ought to draw him to the other. And so much the rather, for that it is well known, as by secret and true advertisements her majesty is given to understand, howsoever the practices be kept masked for awhile, whereby she hath the more cause to give credit by the sequel of the proceeding, that the said earl is a professed enemy of the gospel, and vehemently suspected that he is dispensed withal by the pope to dissemble by an external show of religion to work his great purposes for the overthrow of religion, and a man especially chosen by the French, standing wholly at their devotion (as by the revenues and livings he enjoyeth and receiveth from them he is part bound), to bring in that nation, to the utter overthrow of that state and disquiet of this realm, a matter easily to be discovered by former practices to be their meaning, which by like dealings had taken place, if to her majesty's great charges they had not been impeached and stayed. And to believe it to be so she is the rather induced (as her pleasure is you should let him understand), by the report her majesty hath received, if it be true, that the conferring of the charge upon him proceed rather of a suit of his own than of any disposition in the king, which cannot but be thought so much

the more strange, for that he requested it but for a year, and for that he pressed so greatly the present delivery and immediate possession of it. For this kind of dealing argueth manifestly some seeret practice that standeth upon a pinch to be executed, for the compassing whereof so short a time may suffice, and so the grant of one year get him in the end a better title, and work the king that end that shall not be able afterwards either to be remedied at all, or very hardly, and not without great loss to his crown and state. And, therefore, her majesty, seeing apparently that the earl's repair into that realm, whatsoever pretence or show of love he maketh in respect of kindred, was to overthrow the religion (as may easily be gathered by the choice he made of H. Kerr, a professed enemy to the religion, and an especial executor and furtherer of such plots and practices as have been devised by the bishop of Ross, at his being at Rome and in Spain), she cannot but advise him to beware that he be not made unwittingly an instrument to advance the said plots himself by delivering the ports of his realm into their hands; wherein she doth marvel greatly that the lords and other of his council, who by former experience have seen (and that not many years past), what hath been intended by the French against that realm in respect of religion, should give their assent to the delivery of the said castle unto the earl, being by birth a Frenchman, and in religion corrupt (whatsoever he outwardly professeth), and therefore she cannot but advise them, as they tender the king's safety, to look more substantially to the matter, and not to be called away either by kindred or faction in respect of particular quarrels as to suffer the king, their sovereign, to be so abused, whose lack of experience and tender years cannot be able as yet to discern the bottom of such kind of fetches and devices. And in case you shall find that either before your arrival the castle be delivered, and that, notwithstanding that advices given to the king and council in her majesty's name, there shall be no order taken for the stay of the delivery thereof, then would her majesty you confer with the earl of Morton, and other the enemies to the earl of Lennox, how this matter may be helped, either by laying violent hands on the said earl and his principal associates, in case no other more temperate course may be found for the remedy thereof, or

by some other way that by him shall be thought meet, wherein her majesty willetth you to assure them that they shall not lack any assistance she can give them. For which purpose the lord governor of Berwick is appointed presently to repair to his charge, with ample instruction and express commandment to yield any assistance that shall be by them required. Besides these directions, her majesty leaveth you to your own good consideration to use the means you can devise for the prevention of the mischief that may ensue, either by the delivery of the castle, or the intended change of the officers, as is contained in your last letters."

A few hours' reflection was enough to modify Elizabeth's resolution, and the day after the date of the foregoing dispatch another messenger was sent to Bowes, with supplementary instructions, informing him that—"Her majesty entered into consideration of her last dispatch, her pleasure is, that you should be willed to hold the way of persuasion, and to forbear to enter into conference with any of them of any force to be used, or promise of assistance from her majesty, until such time as she shall be advertised by you from thence of the necessity thereof, and that no way of safety for the preventing of the intended practices by Lennox and that faction can otherwise be wrought; for it is thought that, if there should be offer made them of assistance at the first, it would be a great drawing of them on to enter into a civil war, which, the condition of the Scotch nature considered, they are over hasty to undertake, for that disposition they have to work their revenge; a matter that would be avoided, if by any other means it might be compassed. Again, it may be feared that, if any violence should be begun, the faction would seize themselves of the person of the king and carry him to Dumbarton; from whence they might either convey him into France, or (fortifying themselves) they call in foreign aid to his aid, upon pretence of necessary assistance against this violence offered; which is a point so full of inconvenience as it should be met withal or prevented by all means possible. This course, therefore, her highness' pleasure is, you should follow, and not deal otherwise touching the last part of that direction I sent you." In a postscript to this dispatch, which was written on the first of December, Walsingham adds the following private

remark of his own. "You may perceive by this last resolution, in revoking some part of the former direction, how uncertain we are in the course of our doings. If I do not mistake it, the diseases of that realm would have no delayed remedies; whilst you advertise hither what were fit to be done, the opportunity of doing it may be lost. Besides some other causes, the uncertainty of our proceedings is not the least cause to stay me from assenting to that which the earl Morton desireth. I am afraid that our unthankfulness towards God (which injustice is to receive some severe punishment), will not suffer us to put off by timely prevention, the approaching mischief that hastens towards us, while I fear to receive their beginning from thence; *nam ab aquilone nil nisi malum*. Be not too hasty to promise much from hence, for we take no care to perform. I fear Drumquhassel was taken by his own assent. The man hath more wit than honesty. I suppose the letters intercepted (if any such were), came from sir Francis Russell."

The uncertainty of Elizabeth's resolutions was indeed so well known to the Scottish leaders on both sides, that they neither alarmed those who were opposed to her, nor encouraged her friends, so much as formerly, and Lennox no doubt reckoned on encountering nothing more than her usual vacillating policy. The last mentioned mission from Walsingham to Bowes, was soon followed by another, announcing Elizabeth's determination not to send the lord Scrope into Scotland, and couched in a tone almost more angry than the preceding. Bowes was informed that, "Her majesty, for the satisfaction of the king and the rest of the lords of that realm, would have you let him understand that the strange course he is now entered into by the delivering of Dumbarton into the hands of a subject of another prince, and that affecteth not the amity with this crown, by whose advice it seemeth he is altogether directed in the whole course of his government, and those neglected that in the time of his minority did preserve the realm in peace and his person in surety, doth give her majesty just cause to doubt what account she may make of his friendship and affection towards her; and therefore hath thought good to stay the sending of the lord Scrope until such time as she may hear from him, assuring him that in case she shall find him inclinable to follow

her advice, whose princely and motherly care had always of him and his realm, showed by sundry effects, doth justly challenge the interest in him, he shall find her highness most ready to persevere in the continuance of her former care and love towards him; on the other side, and if by the persuasion of him that under colour of the kindred seeketh rather his own greatness than his surety, she shall find him so carried away with his counsels, as he shall neglect her advice, she will then take another course, and moved through his ingratitude, that will work him more prejudice than his young years can yet take into. And in case he shall reply, as it is likely he will, that Lennox is his nearest kinsman, and therefore he cannot but repose trust in him, her majesty would have you let him understand that if kindred be a thing he so greatly weigheth, then, if he look rightly into the matter, he shall see that there is no kindred that he ought to prefer before hers, who by effects hath always showed such fair and true fruit of love towards him, as that nature could not work greater in those that were tied in the nearest degree of kindred unto him. Besides her quality and means to do him either good or harm, if they be well weighed, may give him just cause to prefer the kindred of a queen of England before an earl of Lennox. And if it be true, as hath been reported, that he affecteth to be second person, she would have you then let him understand that there is more cause he should fear his ambition than to comfort or delight his affection, whatsoever outward show of love he beareth." The threat here implied relates apparently to the succession to the English crown.

Bowes arrived in Edinburgh on the 8th of September, and he found there many of the king's council assembled, but they were mostly creatures of the earl of Lennox, who "stood so high in the king's favour and strong in council, as few or none would openly withstand anything that he would have forward." The few who were secretly hostile to his power, were conscious of their own weakness and inability to effect anything by force, and were distrustful of Elizabeth's promises. The ambassador thought it prudent at first not to enter into open communication with Morton. On the second day after his arrival, he was admitted to the king's presence, and presented Elizabeth's letters of credence. James received him with every demonstration of friendship

for Elizabeth, declared his thankfulness towards her and his readiness to act by her councils, and promised not to make the changes in his court and ministry which had been meditated. Monday the 12th of September was appointed for receiving the ambassador to state the objects of his mission to the council. When Bowes presented himself at the palace on that day, he found the earls of Morton, Angus, Argyle, Lennox, Athol, Eglinton, Montrose, and Rothes, the lords Ruthven, Lindsay, Herries, and Cathcart, the abbots or commendators of Dunfermline, St. Combe, and Newbottle, and the clerk of the register, assembled in the council chamber. It having been announced to Bowes that the council would receive him, "I prayed," he says, (for the proceedings will be best told in his own words), "that the earl of Lennox might be excluded, for that I had to deliver some matter that particularly touched him; which being proposed in council, Lennox sitting there, they sent the laird of Cleish to me, to understand whether I was a messenger or an ambassador; wherein I referred them to the view of her majesty's own letters to the king, expressing the cause and manner of my several dispatches to him now and before. And finding the mark they shot at, I said that by those letters they should find me sent in embassy. Soon after, the abbot of St. Combe, wholly devoted to Lennox, and the lord of Cathcart, depending on the earl of Morton, were sent to me, declaring that the king and council find it not meet, nor standing with their accustomed order, to remove any nobleman from his seat in council before sufficient matter should be opened against him. Whereupon I answered that her majesty having directed me to make this request, I have therefore done the same, and further have shewn particular and sufficient cause for the king's welfare and advantage for Lennox's removal, besides many other respects more meet to be thankfully remembered by them than presently mentioned by me. Then they demanded whether I had direction in writing. After I had found fault with this kind of dealing, I said that, to remove all scruple, I had direction in writing on that part. Again they signified to me that the king and council would see my direction in writing before they removed Lennox; and asked whether it was under her majesty's hand or no. I denied to show that to the whole council, especially whilst Lennox was present; nevertheless, for the

king's pleasure, I would let him and such convenient number he should choose, see that part of mine instructions. And to the other part of their demand, there needed none answer. This offer was also rejected, with signification to me that except I would show my direction in writing to the king and whole council there sitting, I should not be heard. Still I denied to show it in that manner, and likewise I refused to deliver my message before Lennox and that assembly that would hear me with such a prejudice, and had so little regard to her majesty's reasonable request; without satisfaction whereof I would not proceed further with them; praying their determinate resolution to be given me, that I might send the same to her majesty, and dispose myself accordingly. At length they brought me answer that the king and council would consider and advise further on that matter, and within short time give me understanding of their conclusion. With this I departed, declaring myself nothing contented. And now I attend new day and warning, resting uncertain whether I shall be heard or no, unless I shall either show to Lennox and the rest my said direction written, or else deliver mine errand in the presence of Lennox, contrary to her majesty's pleasure. And being determined to agree to neither of these, before I shall be otherwise commanded by her majesty, I have therefore thought good to signify these with speed, and humbly to pray speedy direction as well in these as also in all other matters here of such weight and difficulty."

"The fire," Bowes continues in this dispatch, "beginneth to rage mightily, and according to that I suspected and certified before by my former to you. For the quenching whereof, I find little remedy at this present, other than at the king's own hands; which, in the condition of his young years and strong affection to Lennox, may be thought very doubtful. And the power of others willing to relieve the matter scarcely sufficeth at this time to do the same without manifest peril to them. Therefore I have thought it expedient, for the holding of all things in even balance and quietness, to travel and persuade that, first, in the deliberation and resolutions of these warm causes, the answer and order to be given thereon may be so agreeable as can be wrought to her majesty's expressed desire tending simply to the preservation and benefit of religion, the king, and common peace;

or else upon difficulty seen to compass so much, as I much distrust the same, that then, for the next the matter may be referred to the further consideration of the king and a more convenient convention and number of the nobility and council, to the intent, as I purpose and think meet, that better effects may be produced by a more indifferent assembly to be gathered within short time. And that in the mean season the eyes of the noblemen and councillors may be unsiled (*uncovered*), to behold the dangers and mischiefs approaching, and such other good works may be effected as shall be seen expedient. In which part likewise I humbly pray speedy direction." With regard to the proceedings at the council, Bowes adds, "Dunfermline did first persuade that Lennox should sit still, and was very forward to do all things to Lennox's contentment; to whom he now coucheth with all lowliness. Morton still was silent until the king pressed him to speak, whereon he advised first to know whether that I had direction to pray that Lennox might be removed; and upon return of mine answer, he thought it sufficient, persuading the king to further consideration on the next day, and concluding that it was an evil course to fall off with the queen of England for rising of a man from council, and before any matter opened. Since this time he hath dealt with the king apart; howbeit the matter still resteth doubtful. Because at my meeting with Lennox, following the king, I withdrew myself and wanted countenance from him; therefore himself, the lord Herries, and other his friends, gathering that her majesty had conceived an evil opinion of him, doubted that I was sent to charge him with some great matter, imagining others than I had in charge. Whereupon the lords Ruthven, Lindsay, Herries, Newbottle, St. Combe, sir James Hume, Cessford, and other friends of Lennox, assembled in council with him, and thereon concluded to stand fast together, and in case I should charge or bost him in her majesty's name, that it should be turned again over the board to me. And to shoulder this matter, they resolved to persuade the king to appoint the earl of Angus his lieutenant immediately; trusting thereby to win Angus and his friends to join directly with them. And for that purpose some of them assayed Angus with many fair words; but he, being both wise of himself, and also well advised before by some means to take the

counsel of his known friends, he is not hasty to undertake the charge. Upon the sight of this kind of treaty towards me, sundry light persons, and yet oftentimes heard by the king and some noblemen, showed their readiness to cast off with her majesty, thinking the time very apt to win more profitable friends. And doubting that these passions should continue for some time, and perhaps come to the hearing of loose horderers, that readily would thereon enter into sudden outrage and attempt, therefore I thought it meet to give some warning to all her majesty's wardens, to give the better regard and prevent the evil, trusting that timely provision shall be given in that behalf."

In this position of affairs, the king sent for Bowes on the following day, and urged him to lay aside his scruples, and allow Lennox to be present at the meeting of the council, when he brought his charges against him, stating that the earl "freely offered not only to answer and purge himself before the king and council, in any cause to be objected against him for religion, the person and state of the king, and the amity with her majesty, but also to abide trial of the same before her majesty, and upon manifest conviction, to endure due punishment with perpetual dishonour." Bowes, however, declared that it was not within the limits of his commission to depart from his queen's instructions on this point; and he justified the course which she had ordered him to pursue. "In which respects (and because the request proceeded from her majesty having in some degree interest in the cause in hand), the denial of it should first deceive her majesty's expectation, and next declare the will and purpose of the earl of Lennox prevailing above the just desire of her majesty, a matter offering great signs of unthankfulness and some dishonour to her highness; and recounting to him the greatness of her majesty's benefits bestowed, and hereafter to be conferred on him, I persuaded him to follow her highness' council, laying before him the fruits thereof, with other large arguments to draw him that way. Whereunto he affirmed very earnestly that he would never be unthankful, nor break with her majesty, and would lean chiefly to her majesty's advice, and above all others. And yet he sought again to lead me to proceed to tell my credit and message to him and his council, in manner expressed, or otherwise to advertise her majesty of the impediment of the

progress, and to pray her highness to alter her direction therein." Subsequently to this interview, Herries, Newbottle, and the clerk register were sent to expostulate further with Bowes on the same subject, but without effect; for both sides showed an equal determination—Bowes that he would not declare his commission in the presence of Lennox, and Lennox and his friends that he should not declare it in his absence.

On the 14th, Bowes had another audience of the king, when he complained of the late proceedings with regard to Dumbarton. Upon which the king "accused Drumquhassel of great disobedience towards himself, and of like abuse towards Lennox, concluding that Drumquhassel might not be suffered to continue in that charge. And therewith he did both excuse Lennox in all things, commending his loyalty to himself and good affection to her majesty and the amity, and also affirmed that if it might be manifestly proved that Lennox had practised against the course of religion, or to bring the French into that nation, that thereon he should readily remove him, to his grief and displeasure; which mind in this last part I find also in all the council, who think and say that they cannot give credit to matters of suspicion or jealousy, but look for evident actions to be proved and made known to them. Whereby it may be gathered, that seeing their determination is thus decreed to believe nothing against Lennox without particular matter be manifestly found and proved by his own letters or direct actions, therefore, the information and warning to be given to the king and council against him, in manner directed to me, will not be much esteemed, or so deeply weighed as the worthiness thereof deserveth, notwithstanding the allegation of the intelligence given to her majesty, and the confirmation of the same by other circumstances, and sight of the sequel of the proceedings. And in doubt of this prejudgment, I do rather stay my further progress; attending and humbly praying further direction in the same, and in all others."

Although the convention, now sitting in Edinburgh, was attended chiefly by the friends of Lennox, it seems to have been by no means remarkable for unanimity, and heats and feuds were already showing themselves among the nobles. The ministers of the kirk had also taken alarm, and they had been to expostulate with the king against the favour shown to papists. The proposed

changes in the household were still talked of, but they were likely to give so much offence in different quarters, that neither the king nor the favourite seemed willing to take the responsibility of them. "After the departure of the earl of Mar and sundry other noblemen, and of the council from this convention," Bowes writes on the 25th of September, "and that it was seen to the earl of Lennox and his friends, that the king would not agree to the alteration intended, then they devised to resort to another course, which being found good, was speedily imparted to the king, and his assent obtained, as to a matter tending to no change, but for an increase of his strength and surety without charge; it was with like speed proposed yesterday in the forenoon, by the abbot of Dunfermline, that it should be convenient to appoint and elect a lord-chamberlain and a vice-chamberlain in the king's house, and that there might be twenty-four gentlemen, sons of earls, lords, and barons, that might attend on the king for safety of his person, and at their own expenses. Whereupon it was resolved by the king and council, in the afternoon, that the earl of Lennox should be the lord chamberlain, and the master of Mar the vice-chamberlain, and restored to his old room. Which two officers are already received, and have taken their oaths, and order given for the choice of the twenty-four gentlemen aforesaid, that shall be chosen at the denomination of Lennox. There were no more present at this council than the earls of Argyle, Lennox, and Eglington, the lords Ruthven and Cathcart, the abbots of Newbottle and St. Combe, the comptroller, and the clerk register. For albeit Dunfermline proposed the matter, yet he tarried not the resolution. And all these nine agreed to the choice of Lennox, except the lord of Cathcart and the comptroller, who did earnestly withstand it. The earl of Morton was absent, as occupied that morning in the apprehension of a disobedient person within his rule; yet he was not ignorant of this purpose, as some others also were that departed, the rather because they would not be present at the erection and choice of this new office. The flexible nature of the king in these tender years, according to that I doubted in my note last sent, and the yielding disposition in most of the council, that in distrust of support cannot presently be hardened (*emboldened*), may now appear to be such as in this time

little or no resistance may be made against Lennox; who climeth so fast, as some look for his sudden fall. The extraordinaries in the king's house, and all the ordinary officers noted and suspected to be changed, do think this to be the preparation of their discharge and avoidance; whereat they, and many others, do grudge; likewise the ministers, having by all means in their power forewarned the king and council, and many well affected do greatly lament this state, condemning the nobility and council as men blinded or bewitched. And albeit some begin to think of some remedy to prevent the progress of the mischief appearing, yet the lack of company and good assistance doth discourage them to give any speedy attempt; to the which none can be drawn without signs of better backing. A matter worthy grave consideration, and also requiring timely provision of seasonable remedy, which without repair either of greater than myself, or surety and direct promise of larger support and maintenance than I can hitherto yield, will be hardly effected."

The council appear now to have been rather embarrassed by the quarrel with the English ambassador, and his continued resolution to persist in his demands; and several attempts were made to convince him that Elizabeth had been misinformed as to the sentiments and designs of Lennox and his friends, and that they really had no other desire than to labour for the good government of Scotland, and to preserve the league and friendship between the two countries. But Bowes was well acquainted with the characters and tempers of the public men in Scotland at this time, and he was not easily to be deceived. "The strife in the nobility and others about the king at this present," he writes from Edinburgh on the 27th of September, "is raised and nourished by the inordinate desire occupying each several party and faction, to attain and hold the ear and nearness of the king; which they would turn to their own advantage, and for their private respects, according to their several and secret intentions agreeable to their plots devised. And for the gaining whereof, all in manner that strive for it, do wholly neglect the public causes. This was one of the marks that the associates at the Falkirk shot at, which fellowship still remaineth conjoined; and who, for their leader, and to supply the decay of Athol, deceased, have chosen Lennox, that hath not only drawn Glencairn, Ruthven, Dunfer-

line, and other great strength to them, but also is now entered into the possession of the custody and affection of the king, in such fulness as they desired; and thereby hold under, for this time, all others bent against them. Now these in this force, and in their quality sufficiently known to you, do offer themselves to her majesty in sort expressed. The other side, weakened by the greatness of their adversaries, and both devoted and also to be enabled as you understand, be ready to be employed in manner before signified. And the king's state and disposition agreeable to his tender years, is known before, and appeareth sufficiently to you. Therefore, whether all these shall be united without separation of any particular person, or to be kept distinct and divided in their own fashion, or yet to make a mixture of especial persons to be called out and joined together, and the means to effect the same, and all other things requisite to be considered herein, I do oftsoons recommend to your good judgment."

In the midst of these intrigues, the ministers of the kirk remained far from quiet. The strong professions with which Lennox asserted his sincere attachment to the protestant faith had lost their weight through the suspicious intercourse which was carried on with France, and distrustful alike of the favourite, who they believed to be a secret leaguer with papists, and of Morton, who had quarrelled with them, they were at this moment holding an independent course. They accordingly sometimes preached against both parties, and on one occasion, in a sermon in Edinburgh, "John Durie exhorted the magistrates and inhabitants that in the choice of their officers to be elected on Michaelmas-day, they should foresee that none were chosen at the denomination and favour of any faction in this realm, neither to be d'Aubigny's or Morton's; and hereon he did inveigh so greatly against the papists, with great ruffs and side bellies, suffered in the presence of the king, as the matter being construed to have been meant of Lennox, Momberneau, and Ker, the king was informed, and the elders of the church were dealt withal to check the preacher, in their assembly on the next day. But in the sermon following, and made yesterday, Mr. James Lawson did not only approve the doings of John Durie, but also reproved more vehemently and in general manner the receipt and access of papists so near the king, namely, Momberneau, whom by name

he condemned; protesting openly in pulpit, that where it had been said that the ambassador of England had enticed the preachers to use these exhortations, that the report was directly untrue, purging me very largely, as indeed he might well do." The king, though much offended, concealed his anger for the present; and Lennox made new advances to the preachers, whom he entreated "to entertain and bring to him a French preacher from London, to whom he offereth large stipend, and promiseth to declare his profession by the fruits of his life and behaviour. Nevertheless, sundry of his friends are highly grieved with the preachers for these things, and the king is not well pleased therewith, notwithstanding he do not openly discover the same." A few days after this, at a meeting of the synodal assembly, it was determined to send a deputation to the king with a petition for reformation in certain articles; "who, for the first, accusing Momberneau of papistry and other manifest and odious crimes, prayed that he might be removed from the king's chamber and presence, or else to be reformed; wherein the king alleged that he was a stranger, and that they had no law to compel him. And after long arguments and show of discontentment, he said that order should be taken therein. It is likely that after the end of this convention and sight of the settling of Lennox's state in this realm and with her majesty, Momberneau shall depart into France to the effects remembered. And surely in case he shall abide here, and in his accustomed life and dealing, he will find some sharp measure offered at length. He would persuade the king that he is a protestant, and albeit he will not be drawn to that profession by the compulsion of the ministers, yet for the king he will subscribe to the religion, which perhaps will not be accepted. After, the said ministers let the king know that the earl of Lennox had not kept promise with them, nor hitherto showed any fruits of his conversion, for he still received and kept the papists and practisers in this realm, neither had entertained a preacher, nor reformed his house here or in France, but dallied and delayed in all things. The king said he could travel (*labour*) with him, and bring him to satisfy them in all these. They prayed also that notorious papists, murderers, and such like, whose names they presented to the king, might be worthily punished and speedily removed from the king; and adding sundry other petitions for

reformation, the king agreed to command speedy redress according to their desires. In the end, the earls of Morton and Lennox charged John Durie the minister for terming them factious, and in that he persuaded the magistrates to forbear to elect any Mortonists or d'Aubignists for officers in this town, wherein the earl of Morton passed some bitter speech against John Durie. But the earl of Lennox, drawing himself apart to them, offered all possible kindness, as well to themselves, as also to the advancement of their common causes."

Meanwhile Bowes's conduct had been fully approved by Elizabeth and her council, and, after waiting long in the vain expectation that the Scottish court would yield in the question in dispute, he received letters of recal, which are in every respect so characteristic that they will tell best their own tale. They were dated on the 7th of October, 1580, and were worded as follows:—"Her majesty, finding that the good and effectual persuasions you have used both towards the king and council there have nothing prevailed to draw them to yield your audience in such form and order as was directed, whereby your longer stay there cannot but greatly touch her majesty in honour, her pleasure therefore is, that immediately upon the receipt hereof, you return to your charge, thinking it, notwithstanding, very expedient, before your departure, that you let the king understand how just cause her majesty hath to charge both him and his council with unthankfulness, and not carrying that due regard to her desert and quality that appertaineth, who have not only denied a most just request, tending to no other end but to lay open before the king the peril that might light, both upon his own person and his realm, if by some timely and provident course the same were not prevented; but also hath, in a kind of contempt, after her highness' show of misliking of Lennox, laid upon him greater honour than he enjoyed before; a manner of proceeding that her majesty could not have looked for at any other prince's hand (only in respect of ordinary compliments), much less at the hands of one who hath been so greatly bound unto her, for the great and singular care she hath always, as it were from his cradle, had for the preservation of his person against many attempts, and the continuance of his realm in quiet; a matter well known and apparent to all the world; in the accomplishing

whereof neither treasure nor the lives of her subjects, which she holdeth most precious, were spared. And therefore, as the benefits received have been public, so the ignominy and blemish of honour that will fall upon him by such an unthankful requital towards one of her honour's desert, cannot but be the both greater and more public; whose error hereafter will appear more foul, when riper years and the inconvenience and prejudice he shall receive by the lack of her majesty's favour, how light soever now it is weighed, shall lead him to know what it is to prefer an earl of Lennox before a queen of England. And if this strange and dishonourable kind of proceeding had not been held, he should, by your message, not only have been acquainted with the apparent dangers that her majesty seeth doth hang both over his own person and that realm, but should also by you have understood such friendly offers unto him from her highness as could not but have fallen out greatly to his liking; which now you are commanded to keep in silence. And if, after this speech delivered unto him, he shall be drawn, rather than to suffer you to depart with matter of so ill satisfaction unto her majesty, to yield you audience in such order as was by you demanded, her highness' pleasure notwithstanding is, that you shall allege that you are restrained so to do; and so you shall depart without acquainting him with any part of that matter that by former direction you were appointed to deliver unto him. And for that it is to be thought that the earl Ruthven, and such others as are now devoted unto Lennox, upon knowledge of this your manner of departure with so ill satisfaction, will take occasion thereupon to have some speech with you, her pleasure therefore is, that to those of that faction that shall so deal with you, you shall let them know how much her majesty thinks her honour touched by such a manner of unthankful and contemptuous proceeding as hath been used towards you, especially in seeing Lennox advanced to place of greater trust and honour than he enjoyed before, after signification made, not only to the king, but also to the principal lords and others about him, of her highness' misliking of him; which error she cannot so much ascribe unto the king, because his young years and lack of experience cannot yet discern what is most profitable for his estate, but must, indeed, ascribe it unto such noblemen and councillors as do now possess

his ear, who, to maintain their factions and particular quarrels, her majesty doth very well see, do not care what becomes of the king and his estate; whereof perhaps hereafter they themselves perhaps may receive both the reproach and smart, when more years in the king, and the hard effects that the alienation of her majesty's favour may work towards him, shall lead him to see how ill he hath been counselled. And for that the earl of Morton, if he shall not be beforehand made acquainted with the course to you now prescribed, and with the cause and end whereto it tendeth, perhaps may be drawn to think that her majesty upon this evil usage hath put on a resolution to forbear any further dealing with the king and that state, for the abasing of Lennox, and thereby countenance that he is given over, as it were, a prey to Lennox and his faction; her pleasure therefore is, that you shall, by such good means as you shall find expedient, let him understand that her meaning is upon this ill-usage to abandon the king his master, and let him run the danger of Lennox's course, for that she doth ascribe this error to such passionate counsellors as are about him, and not to the king. But only for the saving of her own honour, which she doth think very much touched by this strange and unthankful kind of proceeding, especially in advancing of Lennox freshly after the show of her misliking of him signified, which cannot but be reputed a plain contempt, and she meaneth notwithstanding, not long after your departure, to take some apt occasion to send persons of greater quality to put in execution the advice by him given, assuring that for that great constancy that she hath always found in him, and in readiness doing good offices, to the maintenance of good amity between the two nations, she will never see him abandoned. And to the end he may see the great trust she reposeth both in his wisdom and affection towards her, she hath willed you in this course that you are now directed, you shall first before the execution thereof, make him acquainted therewith, and take his advice therein; not doubting but that, according to the trust her majesty reposeth in him, he will have an especial regard to the conservation of her honour. And for that her majesty knoweth no way so apt to save her honour, and whereby she may have some good occasion to send unto the king hereafter some persons of quality to do their

endeavours for the stay of the intended alterations in that realm, as, if by some good means, by you to be advised without showing yourself a doer therein, the king may be persuaded to send some gentleman to excuse his error, and therefore would have you employ yourself to the uttermost to bring it to effect. Her pleasure also is that, upon the advertisement that you have given of the great devotion that the earls of Angus and Mar do bear towards her, you should use all good speeches that may tend to the continuance of the same towards her, to whom she would have written her particular letters, but that she doubted, the present humours of that realm considered, they would make some scruple to receive the same."

Bowes received this letter of recall in Edinburgh, on Friday, the 13th of October, and, after conferring indirectly with Morton, he went to the king to communicate to him the instructions he had received for his departure, and convey to him Elizabeth's reproaches. "This sudden motion did much appal and trouble him, and thereon he descended to excuse himself and his doings towards her majesty, adding many large promises and words, to perform and do all things that might please her majesty, and certify to her highness and to the world his care to requite her highness' great benefits, which he acknowledged had been done to him and his realm, and whereof I had made mention and recital. And in the end he prayed more advice; but I denied to counsel him, because I perceived her majesty was inwardly grieved with his doings, and that he had not hearkened to her highness' counsel, that would have been for his most surety and profit. Nevertheless, I let him know that her majesty did rather ascribe this error to his passionate and factious council than to himself, whose young years and want of experience cannot discern what is most profitable for him, and therefore I referred him to the advice of his own council, and chiefly of such as he knew did more love and seek his preservation than their own private causes. And I offered therewith to have taken my leave and depart the next day; but because he seemed desirous to speak both with his council herein, and also with myself before my departure, I agreed to see him again in the next morning, for I meant to speak that night with the earl of Morton and others, and to work that some gentleman might be sent to her

majesty by the king with his excuse, accordingly as by your letter is directed to me, and as I have in that short time brought, I trust, to good effect. On the morrow, at the king's rising, I came to take my full leave, and knowing partly his present disposition and case, I recounted again, with great earnestness, as well the foulness of his unkind dealings with her majesty, as also the hasty inconveniences that thereby should come to the religion, his person, estate, and realm; and all which evils I set forth and opened at large and particularly to him, letting him see how he was drawn to the same by the inordinate affection of passionate counsellors, which himself knew and saw to labour more for the advancement of their own particulars, than to care for the preferment of his welfare or public causes, persuading him to beware and eschue his sudden ruin, and timely to recover her majesty's good favour, which would be most for his safety and profit, and also retain the good opinion that the world had conceived of his promise and towardness in virtue. Whereupon he first declared a fervent desire to satisfy her majesty to her highness' best contentment; and next he showed that he would send a gentleman, or else a nobleman, with his letters to her majesty, and to such effects as would well please her highness; asking mine advice whether he should send a nobleman or a gentleman. And albeit I seemed nice to give any council at all in this matter, yet in that part I advised that, upon his resolution concluded to send to her highness, he should employ some apt nobleman in the same, which he said he would do; promising directly to send some one shortly to her majesty in these causes. And therewith I departed from him." In the night which followed, Bowes had a secret consultation with the earl of Morton. He also communicated with some of the other lords, and received from them, and especially from Angus and Mar, promises that they would remain devoted to the English alliance. The citizens of Edinburgh showed a similar anxiety to avoid any rupture between the two countries, and the provost and burgesses waited upon the ambassador to express their regret at what had occurred. Their example was followed by the ministers of the kirk. Bowes then returned to Berwick, from whence, on the 18th of October, he wrote the dispatch which has furnished us with the foregoing details.

Lennox, if he had not absolutely increased his power, had gained confidence by the unsuccessful termination of Bowes's mission, for it had shown that the king's attachment to his favourite was greater than his fear of Elizabeth. During the remainder of the year 1580, the political aspect remained without much change. Elizabeth seemed inclined to fulfil her threat, of letting the young king and his favourite run their course, while they seemed for some weeks to hesitate in taking any decided step against their opponents. But they were meditating a blow of more importance than any which had yet been struck, the ruin of Morton. That nobleman felt that he was surrounded with dangers, and during the last residence of Bowes at Court, he had only ventured to communicate clandestinely with him, and he had ever since been endeavouring to avert the danger by yielding to the stream. It was no less resolved, however, to bring this aged statesman to the block, and the charge to be brought against him was that crime in which, of many which had been perpetrated during his career, he had probably participated least, the murder of Darnley. The instrument chosen to bring this charge forward was another rising favourite, James Stuart, second son of lord Ochiltree, a man of licentious morals and unprincipled character, but bold, skilful, and ambitious. He had received a learned education, having been in his youth designed for the church, but he subsequently embraced the profession of a soldier, had served for some years in the continental wars, and having returned to Scotland, and obtained the confidence of the earl of Lennox, he had been appointed captain of the royal guard. This man was now chosen as a fit agent of the vengeance of his patron.

On Saturday, the last day of the year 1580, Morton, as usual, took his seat at the council table. He had been privately warned of danger, but disregarded the warning, and did not appear to have been aware of the form in which the attack was to be made. After some business had been transacted, it was announced that captain James Stuart was at the door of the council chamber, and that he demanded admission to make a statement of great importance to the state. On being introduced, he fell on his knee before the table, and immediately accused the earl of Morton of the murder of the late king. Morton rose calmly and disdainfully, and, addressing the king, said, "I

know not by whom this informer has been set on, and my rank would save me from replying to so mean an accuser, but I stand upon my innocence, and am prepared for my trial. The rigour with which I have myself pursued all those suspected of the murder, is sufficiently known; and when I have cleared myself of this charge, your majesty will judge what they deserve who have sent their perjured tool to accuse me." Stuart retorted with bitter words, and reproached him with the favour shown to Archibald Douglas, who was accused of being one of the principals in the murder. He then rose on his feet, and fiercely confronting the earl, both laid their hands on their swords, when the lords Lindsay and Cathcart interposed and separated them. Morton was then removed into the chapel, where his own servants were in attendance, while Stuart was put out of the council-room by another door, at which we are told that "the Gordons and others waited in great number, and looked for the beginning of the broil." Morton's friends in the chapel, who were strong enough to effect his rescue, urged him to depart, and put himself in a place of safety, but he rejected their advice, and returned to the council-chamber. Stuart also returned, to proceed with his accusation, which gave rise to a new "ruffle," and they were again separated. The earl's friends and servants were now commanded to depart, on pain of treason, and at Morton's own request they obeyed.

A debate now took place in the council. The earl of Argyle, who was notoriously the enemy of Morton, attempted to throw the responsibility of what was now to be done on the friends of the accused, by demanding the opinion of the earl of Angus. But Angus, alleging that the matter touched him too narrowly, refused to give an opinion or a vote in the matter. The earl of Lennox pursued the same course. After some hesitation of this kind, it was suggested by the earl of Eglinton that the king's advocate should be conferred with; and he immediately stated that, in accusations of treason, the party accused must be committed to safe custody, and afterwards be brought to trial according to the law of the land. The earl of Morton was thereupon committed to custody in a chamber in Holyrood House, where he remained till Monday, when he was transferred to Edinburgh castle. But his prosecutors seem to have thought that they were not safe of their

prey even there, for he was subsequently carried to the strong fortress of Dumbarton, which was now in the keeping of his arch-enemy, Lennox.

The sudden arrest of the earl of Morton caused a great sensation, which was not generally one of satisfaction. It is said that even the citizens of Edinburgh, in spite of their quarrel with him, hazarded a demonstration in his favour. On the Sunday which intervened between the arrest and the removal to Edinburgh castle, the theme of the ministers was the wickedness of false accusations: and one of them, John Cragge, spoke with so much warmth, that James Stuart, who happened to be one of his audience, threatened him with his dag if he should make any direct allusion to him. There was everywhere a feeling of alarm; and Bowes, writing from Berwick on the 7th of January, assures us, "It is now thought as dangerous in Scotland to confer with an Englishman, as to rub on the infected with the plague, and most men openly fly the English company; yet there is a remnant that abide at her majesty's devotion, which may be continued and enlarged at her majesty's pleasure."

As soon as the earl of Morton had thus been committed, an order was issued for the arrest of his cousin, Archibald Douglas, who was at his castle of Morham in Haddingtonshire, whither a party of horse, under Hume, of Manderston, was dispatched in the utmost haste. But they missed their prey; for his friend, the laird of Lang-Niddry, had preceded them with the intelligence, and Archibald Douglas had escaped over the border. The laird of Lang-Niddry is said to have ridden two horses to death in his haste to warn Douglas of his danger.

The French party, as we learn from the dispatches of M. de Mauvissière, were in great joy at the success of the plot against Morton, and the king, Henry III., assured his ambassador of his satisfaction that this great prop of the English influence in Scotland was at last "treated as he deserved." In Morton the French saw only a resolute enemy, and they rejoiced in his ruin; but the French policy, in regard to Scotland, was again neutralized by several circumstances. While Lennox professed, on one hand, his anxiety to support the amity with England, and, on the other, professed friendship to France, things came to the knowledge of M. de Mauvissière which led that diplomatist to believe that James's

favourite was in reality intriguing with Spain, and it was even whispered that there was a design of carrying the young prince into that country and marrying him there. This excited the old jealousy between France and Spain; and as the former country was at this moment desirous of securing Elizabeth's friendship rather than her enmity, Henry interfered no further to avert the anger of that princess from James and his favourites than by a few lukewarm expostulations.

The queen of England seemed indeed to be effectually roused from her previous hesitations. The intelligence of Morton's arrest no sooner reached her, than she dispatched Randolph to the Scottish court to expostulate in the most energetic manner, while lord Hunsdon was directed to assemble an army on the border ready to invade Scotland. Randolph arrived on the 18th of January, 1581, and found the capital in the greatest agitation. So bitter was the hostility of the Lennox faction, and at the same time so powerful, that Randolph was obliged to ask for his title of envoy to be exchanged immediately for that of ambassador, as a protection against personal violence. The earl of Angus alone displayed any courage in Morton's cause; most of the other nobles were either banded with Lennox, or were afraid to declare themselves. Randolph offended the king by refusing to hold any intercourse with the earl of Lennox; and when he justified himself by declaring that he was ready to produce an intercepted letter, which proved that the favourite was a secret agent of Rome and the Guises, James replied firmly that he disbelieved the statement, and that he was convinced the earl was an honourable nobleman. He declared that the letter in question—which was one from the archbishop of Glasgow—was either a forgery, or had been written by that prelate, who was, he said, a traitor and a friend of the Hamiltons, for the purpose of injuring Lennox, who had freely and zealously embraced the protestant religion, and was a faithful supporter of the interests of the Scottish crown, and who was ready to stand his trial, and justify himself against the slanders of his enemies. In reply to Elizabeth's solicitations in favour of Morton, the king expressed his surprise that she should take it ill if he committed to custody a man accused of the murder of his father until the necessary evidence were collected; and that evidence,

he added, could not be completed until Elizabeth delivered up Archibald Douglas, a principal witness, who had fled into England.

It was quite evident, however, that no fair trial would be allowed to Morton, and that his enemies had already resolved upon his death. The warlike preparations on the English border, and Randolph's, had only produced irritation, and Lennox and his friends assumed a tone of defiance. Soldiers were levied to serve against England, and the force of the kingdom was summoned to resist the expected invasion. At the same time a parliament was assembled to provide the money necessary to support a war. Randolph appeared before the estates, and spoke for two hours in deprecation of the course which the government was pursuing. He earnestly pleaded the advantages which Scotland had derived from Elizabeth's friendship; and he denounced, with equal warmth, the dangers to be apprehended from the influence of the earl of Lennox; but in vain, and the parliament agreed to give forty thousand pounds towards the preparations for the war with England. Finding that his open negotiations were likely to be fruitless, Randolph applied himself secretly, but diligently, to reorganize and strengthen the party which was opposed to the favourite. A conspiracy was formed, with the object of seizing upon the king, and separating him from his favourite, and perhaps of putting the latter to death; and this design seemed to promise success. The principal conspirators were the earls of Angus and Mar, and a brother of Archibald Douglas (the laird of Whittingham); and among the chief and most confidential agents were four servants of the earl of Morton, named Fleck, Nesbit, Reid, and Jerdan. They succeeded in corrupting some of the royal household, and by their means had obtained forged keys to the king's private apartments. As soon as they had effected their purpose, lord Hunsdon was to support them by crossing the border with the English army. But just as this conspiracy was on the point of being carried into execution, Lennox received some intimation which led to the arrest of the laird of Whittingham, who immediately confessed the whole. This discovery happened just when the king's answer to a part of Randolph's commission relating to outrages on the border was given in. "On the 8th of

March," we are told, in an abstract of Randolph's proceedings, drawn up apparently by order of Walsingham, "the answer so long in framing was at last given by the king. It was stated in it that all griefs and jealousies should be healed by a meeting of commissioners on the frontiers. During the time that this answer was a framing, the ministers who continually in their sermons preached against the disorders of the court, to prevent the wrath of God, that now seemed to be imminent, published a general fast to be held through the realm from the first Sunday in March to the second of the same. This promised meeting of commissioners on the borders might have been to good purpose, had it not been for the discovery of the practises between Angus and the ambassador, by Angus and Morton's own servants, which caused the ambassador to be greatly suspected and disliked. Whereupon all persons were examined that resorted to him, viz., George Fleck, the laird of Mains, the laird of Spot, John Reid, and Whittingham, all servants and nearest kinsmen to Morton and Angus. Angus himself was banished beyond the Spey. He laboured, notwithstanding, by conferences with the clans, his friends Glencairn, Boyd, Lochleven, Clanquill, Dryburgh, and Drumquassel, to combine together a sufficient party to join with her majesty's forces on the borders; and might have wrought good effect, had not their own trustiest servants betrayed them, overthrowing all their purposes, to the great danger of themselves and Mr. Randolph. The faithless and traitorous dealing of Whittingham was most noted, like a deep dissembler and fearful wretch. From the beginning, having had the handling and knowledge of all matters of importance and secrecy between Angus and the rest, in the end, without compulsion, by a voluntary confession, he discovered their whole proceedings, not regarding his nearness of blood or bond of duty to the earls of Angus and Morton, or the danger he threw the other noblemen into. This man's treachery made Angus be put to the horn, and the ambassador ill handled. The king, upon this, intending to acquaint Elizabeth with the result of the confession by an envoy, and proceeding with greater severity against Angus, Morton, and Mar, Randolph, finding his longer abode useless, and dangerous to himself, retired to Berwick, there to await her majesty's farther orders. Within two days a gentleman from

Angus and Mar came to him to declare their state, and wishing to know when and where they were to await his coming. But finding their party not sufficiently strong nor trustworthy, it was thought imprudent to hazard the advance of her majesty's forces; and so the messenger was dismissed. Thus were they deserted. In the meantime news came daily of their proscription, and seizing their houses, summoning of Stirling castle held by Mar, fortifying Leith; at last they heard that Mar was reconciled, and Angus left alone. Such being the state of matters, it was thought best to discharge her majesty's forces, to remain in these terms of divorce (between the two kingdoms), and to call Mr. Randolph home."

Randolph's residence in Scotland had indeed become not only disagreeable, but dangerous. Threatening placards were set up against his door, and, but a day or two before his departure, a ruffian fired through his window, and two bullets were found in the wall opposite. By the recall of Randolph, Morton was abandoned to his fate, and the discovery of the conspiracy against Lennox, with the confessions of the conspirators, had made it more inevitable. Soon, therefore, after the ambassador's departure, it was determined to bring him to the form of a trial; and James Stuart, his accuser—who had been rewarded for his zeal with the earldom of Arran—with the earl of Montrose, were sent to Dumbarton to bring the victim to Edinburgh. When the commission for this purpose was read to Morton in his prison, he was startled at hearing the name of Arran, for he had not been informed of Stuart's promotion, and he expressed his surprise at the introduction in such a document of a title which was extinct by the death of the last man who bore it. It happened there was a popular prophecy, which Morton had always affected to despise, to the effect that the name of Arran would be fatal to the house of Douglas; and when the prisoner was informed that it had now been conferred on his deadly enemy, he exclaimed, "Then indeed all is over, and I know what I have to expect."

Morton was conducted to Edinburgh under a very strong guard, and he was brought to trial on the first day of June. There was still so much fear that an attempt might be made at a rescue, that the citizens were placed under arms, and strong bodies of hired troops were posted in the High-street, at the Cross, and above the Tolbooth.

To this latter place, which was the scene of the trial, the prisoner was carried. The jury who tried him were chosen especially from among the nobles who were known to be most bitterly hostile to him, and he was not allowed to challenge them. The objection he ventured to make to the earl of Argyle and the lord Seton, as being his personal enemies, was overruled. The indictment is said to have contained twelve articles of accusation, but the jury were commanded by a letter from the king to confine themselves to one charge only, that of having been a party to the murder of Darnley. It now appeared that sir James Balfour had no such written evidence of Morton's complicity in that crime as had been talked of, and it was at last only upon the earl's own avowal that he had been informed of a design against Darnley's life and concealed it, that he was found guilty. During the whole of his trial his demeanour was calm and composed, and it was only when he heard the terms of the sentence, which declared him to be "convicted of counsel, concealing, and being art and part of" the king's murder, that he became violently agitated, and exclaimed with great vehemence, striking the table with a small staff he usually held in his hand, "art and part! God knoweth it is not so!" The phrase "art and part" in Scottish law signified that the person to whom it was applied had been an active accomplice in the murder. It was evening when the trial closed, and Morton was remanded to his place of confinement, with orders to prepare for his execution on the following day. In consideration of his confession, the more disgusting part of the punishment for high treason was dispensed with.

During his long imprisonment, Morton had sought consolation in religion, and he professed sincere penitence and contrition for the many sins of his past life, and a confident trust in divine mercy and forgiveness. Resigning himself to his fate with an apparent serenity of mind to which he can hardly have been accustomed, he supped cheerfully, and slept soundly during the great part of the night. Next morning he was visited by Durie, Balcalquhan, and other leading ministers of the kirk, who breakfasted with him, and who subsequently drew up an account of this interview, which has since been printed.* Morton confirmed

* At the end of Bannatyne's Memorials, printed for the Bannatyne Club.

to them the statement he had made in his confession of the previous day. He said that after his return from England, where he had been banished for his part in the murder of David Riccio, he met Bothwell at Whittingham, when that nobleman informed him of the plot to murder the king, and asked him to join in it, as the queen desired anxiously to be rid of her husband. He said that at first he refused flatly to have any concern in the matter, as he had had trouble enough already, but on being further pressed in different interviews with Bothwell and Archibald Douglas, who both assured him that it was the queen's pleasure that this murder be committed, he required them to bring a warrant under the queen's hand authorizing the act, before he gave any more decided answer. This written warrant was promised, but never produced, and he declined entering further on the subject; but he acknowledged that he was informed of the murder, after it was perpetrated, by Archibald Hamilton, one of the assassins, and that he had neglected to reveal this knowledge. He declared that the queen was the contriver of the plot. The ministers reminded Morton that, by concealing the murder, he had, in fact, made himself a party to it, and that he thus justified the sentence under which he was about to suffer. The earl acknowledged that, according to the strict sentence of the law, this was true, but he excused himself on the ground that it was not possible to reveal it to any one for any available purpose, and even that it was dangerous to himself to attempt to do so. It was no use revealing it to the queen, who was the author of the plot; the king was "sic a bairn," that, had he told him anything, he would only have gone and repeated it to the queen. It would have been equally useless to address himself to the nobles, most of whom were more or less implicated, while Bothwell and Huntley, the most powerful amongst them, were two of the assassins. "I foreknew the murder," he said, "and concealed it, because I durst not reveal it to any creature for my life." This plea was afterwards allowed to others by James himself. As to being "art and part" in the commission of the crime, Morton declared again, and most solemnly, that he was entirely innocent. He further solemnly denied having in any way promoted the death of the earl of Athol, and he declared that he had never had any intention of carrying the king out of Scotland,

unless it had been for the purpose of having him crowned king of England. "If," said he, almost in the memorable words of Wolsey, "I had been as careful to serve my God, and walk in his fear, as I was to promote the king's interests, I had not been brought to the point I am this day."

When the ministers turned the conversation to what they considered as his offences against the church, Morton declared that in all he had done he had acted conscientiously to the best of his judgment, and that he had followed the course which appeared to him most beneficial to the country. He confessed that in other parts of his conduct, and in many circumstances of his private life, he was blameworthy, and that he hoped, had his life been spared long enough, to make reparation for them. After breakfast, the ministers left him for a while, and he retired to his chamber; but they soon returned, and they dined with him at two o'clock. After dinner they again retired, and when they were gone, his keeper came into the room to announce that it was time for him to proceed to the scaffold. The earl expressed some surprise, alleging that, as he had been that day much troubled with worldly affairs, he had expected that a night might have been allowed him to commune tranquilly with his God. The keeper replied that his judges would not wait, and that everything was ready for the execution. "If it be so," he said, "I thank God I am ready also;" and without more ado, except making a short prayer, he proceeded towards the place of execution. As he was preparing to descend the steps of the palace, he was stopped by his old enemy, Arran, who desired him to wait while the confession he had made to the ministers had been reduced to writing for his signature. Morton refused to do this. "At present," he said, "I have far other things to advise upon. I am about to die, and must prepare to meet my God. Ask me no more to write, but be satisfied with the testimony of these good men, who can bear witness to what I have spoken." Arran, professing himself satisfied, with characteristic effrontery told Morton that he had done nothing against him out of personal enmity, and requested that he would be reconciled to him. To this he agreed without any hesitation. "This," said he, "is no time to reckon quarrels; I forgive you and all others, as I wish all to forgive me." Upon this Arran ceased his importunities, and Morton pro-

ceeding on his way, ascended the scaffold with a firm step. He then turned to the crowd, and again confessed briefly his foreknowledge of the murder. He next declared aloud that he died in the faith of the gospel, as then professed in Scotland, and exhorted his countrymen to adhere to it. He was attended on the scaffold by Mr. James Lawson, the preacher, and, after earnest prayer, in which he was visibly affected, he laid his head on the block, and, at about four o'clock, as he uttered the words, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," the fatal axe descended upon his neck, and the head was severed from his body. His head was fixed on the Tolbooth, where it remained during a year, and the body, after having been exposed to the public gaze till after sunset, was carried away, and buried obscurely.

Morton was beheaded on Friday, the 2nd of June, 1581. The day following, apparently to throw disgrace on the noble-

man by coupling his fate with that of a humbler actor in the terrible events of his age, a man named George Binning, a servant of Archibald Douglas, who had been convicted of participation in the murder of Darnley, was likewise brought to the scaffold. His confession threw some further light on the circumstances of the murder, and of the proceedings of the earl of Bothwell, of whom Archibald Douglas was then an adherent. He said that both Archibald Douglas and himself were present at the perpetration of the murder, and that Douglas, in hurrying away from the spot, lost one of his slippers, and had his clothes covered with clay and soil, it was supposed from the explosion. As he was himself retiring from the spot, after the king had been slaughtered, he met at the corner of a narrow lane certain persons with their faces concealed by their cloaks, one of whom he judged, from his voice, to be a brother of sir James Balfour.

CHAPTER XIII.

INTRIGUES FOR THE RESTORATION OF MARY; QUARREL BETWEEN THE COURT AND THE CHURCH; THE RAID OF RUTHVEN.

THE very act which had left the earl of Lennox without an enemy able to injure him, gave him a partner in his power. Captain James Stuart, who had been the immediate instrument in the ruin of Morton, had been notoriously rising in the royal favour, and this rise had been indicated, in the most unequivocal manner, by his elevation to the earldom of Arran, even before the death of his victim. Two days after Morton's execution, the new earl of Arran presented himself before the council, and made a statement of his proceedings against that nobleman, from which it appeared that, unable to get any direct evidence against the earl, he had forced some of his servants by torture to make charges against him, and adopted other methods of proceeding which were not justified by law. He accordingly expressed regret at having been obliged to pursue this course, and requested an act of indemnity, which was given by the king in such terms as assured the world that he

was an honourable man, who had done nothing without the king's authority and entire approbation. Arran was a man of most profligate habits, and his contempt for public opinion was shown at this time by a proceeding which caused great scandal among the public. He had lived in great familiarity in the household of the earl of March, from whom he had received many benefits, which he repaid by seducing his countess, a woman of great beauty, but, as appeared by the sequel, of no great virtue. At Arran's instigation, this lady now brought an action for divorce against her husband, and, having succeeded, she was immediately married to her seducer, who was at the same time invested with his earldom with much solemnity of form. Other promotions were also made among those who had been most zealous in the proceedings against Morton. The earl of March himself, perhaps as a compensation for the loss of his wife, received the earldom of Orkney; the

earldom of Morton was given to the lord Maxwell; and the lord Ruthven was created earl of Gowrie. Lastly, the earl of Lennox was made a duke, and was proclaimed by that title on the 27th of August.

A parliament was soon afterwards assembled, which many of the nobility, who were obnoxious to the court, were forbidden to attend. Among the nobles who received intimations from the king to this effect, were the earls of Mar, Eglinton, and Glencairn, and the lords Lindsey, Boyd, Herries, and Ochiltree. This parliament, as might be expected, was obsequiously obedient to the will of the court, and it proceeded immediately to acts of attainder and confiscation against the late earl of Morton and his adherents. These acts fell heavily upon the Douglasses, and among those who were pronounced rebels, and their estates confiscated, were the earl of Angus, Douglas of Whittingham, James Douglas, prior of Pluscardine, and James Douglas of Pittendreich (the two latter were natural sons of the late earl of Morton), Douglas of Parkhead, and Archibald Douglas, constable of Edinburgh Castle. Lennox wished on this occasion to obtain a pardon for the notorious Sir James Balfour, but the king could not be prevailed upon to consent to this act, and he pointed to the acts of parliament forbidding the restoration of any one directly guilty of the murder of his father. The other acts of this parliament were not of great importance; the principal were designed for the regulation of the coinage, to check the exportation of wool, and against excess of apparel and living among the middle and lower classes; and the statutes which protected the reformed religion were confirmed.

It must not be supposed, however, that this last measure indicated any intention on the part of the court of really conciliating the ministers of the kirk. It is true that, until they had assured themselves of Morton's destruction, Lennox and the king showed an extreme anxiety to secure the alliance of the preachers, in spite of their uncompromising spirit. Immediately after the arrest of the earl of Morton, to calm in some measure the agitation produced by that event, and counteract the alarm which it was naturally calculated to excite among the ministers of the kirk, the king published a formal declaration of his faith in the reformed religion of the gospel as authorised by the kirk of Scotland; but no sooner had

Morton's death confirmed the power of the favourite, than both James and Lennox threw off the mask, and they soon afterwards proceeded to an open quarrel with the kirk. But before we relate the occasions of this quarrel, we must call attention to a very extraordinary project which appears to have been entertained at this moment, and which seems to have been unknown to former historians. The correspondence of the captive queen, during this time, shows how actively she was engaged in political intrigues, and what hopes she conceived from the destruction of Morton, and the overthrow of the English influence in Scotland. No sooner did she hear of the arrest of the earl of Morton, than she actually dispatched a document to France, constituting the duke of Guise her lieutenant-general of the kingdom of Scotland, and authorising him to take measures for carrying her son over to France. Letters were sent to the archbishop of Glasgow to the same effect, but as most of Mary's correspondence at this period seems to have reached its destination and been destroyed, we are left in the dark in regard to most of the secret intrigues which were now carrying on in her name in France and Scotland. We find, however, that immediately after the execution of the earl of Morton, a proposal was made of such an extraordinary character that it was hardly likely to be successful.

We have already seen that a parliament was called immediately after Morton's death. Among some official documents preserved in the manuscripts of the national library in Paris, is a draught of a petition to be laid before this parliament, of which the following is a literal translation. "It is a thing known to every one, and principally to you, the nobility and estates of this kingdom, that the queen of this country, who, according to the right of birth, and the laws of this kingdom, is undoubtedly our true sovereign and princess, was long time, by the violence of her rebels, detained captive and in prison in the castle and fortress of Lochleven. During which time of her imprisonment, these rebels presented to her majesty, when she was in great emotion, expecting no other thing than immediate death, a document which contained a demission and resignation of her crown and royal authority in favour of her very dear and well-beloved son, who was then an infant in his cradle, and in the hands of the rebel lords and enemies of his said lady and

mother. Which document contained her consent to their pretended resignation, with commission to certain individuals mentioned therein to receive the said pretended resignation and demission in the name of her said well-beloved son, in order afterwards to seize, invest, inaugurate, and crown him with the royal crown of this kingdom, observing all the accustomed ceremonies and solemnities; as may be seen more fully by the said brevet and procuration published by the said rebels. To sign which our said sovereign was pressed by different threats of the loss of life; and, being assailed with a demand of so great consequence, at such a time, and being so strictly imprisoned that she was cut off from all conference and consultation with her faithful and loyal councillors, she prayed them to give her time and leisure to consider the said demand, being so rigorous and of such importance; which they would not accord to her, so that at last she was constrained to yield to their cruelty and bloody force, having no longer the means of resisting their violence; considering that those who had brought her so sad and harsh a message, had used towards her majesty such fearful words, and such terrible threats, with so fierce and terrible a countenance, that she saw nothing but danger of her life and noble person, if she had opposed their so harsh and unjust demand; besides that she had secret advertisement from some of the nobility, who were faithful to her, and careful of her life, of the great cruelty which was prepared against her majesty, unless she yielded them their so treasonable will. The said nobles, faithful to the queen, advised and counselled her to make no difficulty in yielding the said rebels their desire, as she had in commendation her life, to avoid immediate death. Which advice was also given her by sir Nicholas Throgmorton, then ambassador of her good sister the queen of England in this kingdom, who was sent thither expressly on the part of her said good sister to console her, and do all good offices tending to her liberation; who, after having held long conference with the said rebels, and learnt their resolution and cruel design, immediately gave information of it to the said lady, who, after having considered the imminent danger, and seeing the place of her imprisonment surrounded by a deep and spacious lake, and the people, who held her in so great a servitude and subjection, light and prompt to put in execution their

cruel and barbarous threat, having well experienced, by many murders, their joy in the shedding of blood; and seeing the small respect they bore to her royal person, although she was born to reign, and from her cradle accustomed to govern and command others, not to obey those whom the law of God had made her subjects; being a woman, and destitute of all worldly consolation, having no more hope of any succour, seeing her royal estate in such disaster and decadence, and the common order of nature changed in regard to her, that she must be commanded by her subjects and vassals, it is not to be wondered at if her majesty should be terrified and put in fear, into which the firmest and most confident man in the world would have fallen. By which fear she was constrained to consent to their barbarous will, so contrary to all laws, and to sign the letters of resignation and demission of her crown in favour of her very dear son. Which letter of pretended resignation contained in it an establishment of a government for the country during the minority of her said son. The causes alleged in the said pretended demission, for which they would make her resign her crown and royal government, are so frivolous, as it appears by the letter of resignation, that they need no refutation, since the principal and most urgent cause therein contained is, that she felt weary of governing, and incapable of bearing so great a burthen as the government of her country. A thing false and forged by the said rebels, for all who know her, and have talked with her, will bear good testimony that she is not so dull in mind, so devoid of judgment, and so wanting in reason and wisdom, that she could not a little better discharge and acquit herself of her duty or government, to which God had called her, than any whom her rebels have intruded in her place. Every one will judge that it is a ridiculous thing to take such a heavy burthen of government from such a queen, as unable to support it, and put it on the shoulders of a sucking infant in the cradle; seeing that it is known to every one that the queen our sovereign is well born, of great intelligence, and good brains, bred in the court of France, the most celebrated and frequented theatre of all the world, and well practised and instructed in the management of royal affairs, furnished with rare prudence, with an infinity of other gifts of the nature required in so great a princess; so as that her most

wicked and capital enemies will not be so impudent as to affirm that she is not capable of governing. If the earl of Lennox, to whom the rebels gave their so difficult government, were a man more able to bear so great a burthen than the queen our sovereign, the world may judge, but principally those who have known her, and have good experience of her great dexterity in discouraging of public affairs. On the said pretended demission, signed in prison, and given by constraint and violence and *justo metu* and fear of present death, is founded the coronation of the prince, her very dear son, then an infant in the cradle. A thing against God and nature, to make use of the name and authority of the son against his own mother, and to seduce the people to follow their unhappy enterprize. This abuse, too, was begun by a small number of dissolute and reckless people, who, after having used great violence towards the person of the queen, to make her sign the said demission and resignation, they also used great extortion towards the keeper of the seals, who refused to sign a letter given and signed in prison and by constraint, in taking the seals from him by force; a thing known to all the country, and proved by good and sufficient testimonies. Moreover, it is to be considered what probability there is, that the queen our sovereign was so weary of her life, and disgusted with the goods of this world, that of her will, without any force, she should deprive and dispossess herself of her crown and royal authority to resign and give it to her son, a child in the cradle, nowise capable of government, who could not as yet receive any profit from this demission, without retaining for herself some dowry or portion of her revenues to maintain her in her royal estate. And, even if the demission had not been made by violence and in prison, still, according to the laws of this country, it is not authentic or sufficient, but it is a private act, made and completed without any solemnity, without the advice and consent of the estates, who are principally interested in it, and without whose advice matters of great importance cannot be treated or concluded, according to the laws and customs of our country. How then were it possible that the queen could have alienated all her crown, and stripped herself simply of her government, without the consent of her estates, seeing that she cannot give or alienate the least land or tenement of the crown, without the

advice, consent, and approbation of the said estates? After God had miraculously saved and delivered her majesty from the prisons of Lochleven, and from the captivity in which she was detained by the rebels, having made a convocation of the nobility in the town of Hamilton, she publicly took oath, in presence of the nobility there assembled, of whom a good part was seduced under pretext of the said pretended demission, that she had never made this resignation of her good will, but that she had been forced to it *justo metu*, and by the violent threats of her enemies. And consequently she made revocation, in the presence of all the said nobility, by her advocate general, sir John Spence, of Condie, of the said pretended demission for the reasons above said. Now, for the above reasons, it is demanded, in the name of the queen our sovereign, of you, the nobility and estates assembled in general parliament of this country, that, after advice and mature deliberation, you proceed to examine the foundation of the authority and government usurped under the name of her well-beloved son. And if you find that it rests upon this forced demission, as in truth it does, and that that pretended demission, for the reasons above said, has not been authentic or valable according to the law of God and men, that immediately you give sentence and decree by which the said demission, and all which has been made after and in virtue of it, shall be declared null and of no effect and value, either for the past or for the present; and by consequence that the pretended coronation and government usurped under the name of her very dear son shall be of no effect or authority during her life, so that all the subjects of this realm shall acknowledge the duty and obedience which, according to God, they owe to her to serve and obey her, in everything and everywhere, as their true and undoubted sovereign, and in all as though this pretended demission had never been made, supposed, or written, nor *extans in rerum natura*. You, the three estates, are required that, according to all justice and equity, you give a decree thereupon, whereof shall be made edict and proclamation in all solemnity." Attached to this document is a draft of the decree which was to be given. "The lords spiritual and temporal, the commissioners of the towns and shires, and other officers of state, assembled in this town capital of the realm, having considered and with mature deliberation diligently

examined the above supplication presented to their parliament, have enacted, ordained, and decreed, and by the authority of the said parliament, that the said demission, revocation, and resignation of the crown in favour of the prince, her very dear son, and his coronation, the usurped government, the pretended authority, and all that has been done thereon, for the reasons fully stated in the said supplication, and the circumstances, causes, and considerations known and manifest to every one, and to the estates now assembled, has never been or is of any value, force, or virtue, and for the future shall be held and reputed for such, and shall cease during the life of her majesty, and that all her vassals and subjects shall be held and obliged to acknowledge their natural duty and obedience which they owe to her majesty as to their undoubted sovereign, just as if the pretended demission, and all that has followed from it, had never been done or invented and had never been *in rerum natura*, according to the said supplication presented to our said parliament, and that the said present decree be published and proclaimed solemnly in all public places."

This curious document appears to have remained in the royal or ministerial archives in Paris; for it was certainly never laid before the Scottish parliament; and we cannot discover that any steps were taken upon it. A careful perusal of it by any one who has read the printed correspondence of Mary will, I think, leave little doubt on his mind that it was drawn up by that princess, who evidently imagined that the moment was come when she might carry all at her own will. But it needed little reflection to have convinced her of her error. The state of Scotland at the moment; the relations of the various parties in the state to each other; even the distribution and possession of property, all depended upon the government as it then stood; and all must be perilled by the change. Moreover, it was now no longer the government of a faction under the name of the prince; but James had for some time ruled without control, and in his own name; and he had not only acted and been acknowledged as king at home, but he was treated as such by foreign princes; and to accede to Mary's demand would have implied the deposing of one prince to put another in his place. The impracticability of the scheme which appears to have been proposed by Mary to the king

of France was thus too apparent; and we find that, instead of listening to it, he now pressed her, as a measure of prudence, to acknowledge her son's authority. Both the king of France, and the queen-mother, wrote letters to Mary, at the beginning of September, 1581, urging upon her that, by at once acknowledging her son's regal title and authority, she would at the same time make the throne more secure to him, and consult her own personal interests. Mary seems to have listened to this proposal with great reluctance, and finally yielded to a sort of compromise, which gave rise, soon after this, to a new scheme, known as "the association;" according to which, James was to resign the crown to his mother, who was thereupon to restore it to him as her associate on the throne; and he was then to exercise all the powers of the government. This act was to have the full consent and confirmation of the foreign powers. But new troubles were at this moment arising, which delayed all proceedings on the scheme just mentioned.

As we have said, as soon as Lennox and his royal master felt themselves secure by the execution of Morton, and their conviction that no direct intervention was to be expected from Elizabeth, they no longer held the same friendly and conciliating tone as before towards the ministers of the kirk. A belief prevailed that new intrigues were going on for the restoration of the catholic religion, and this seemed to be confirmed by the coldness with which Lennox now treated the presbyterian ministers. It soon, however, became more certain that, if Lennox was not returning to the Romish faith, both he and the king had warmly espoused the cause of episcopacy, and that they had resolved to use their utmost endeavours for its restoration. The presbyterian ministers had already declared their hatred to this form of church government, and they were zealously supported by the great mass of the middle and lower orders of the Scottish people. Success, however, seems to have made Lennox too proud to consult, in this respect, the sentiments of the people, and he proceeded to obtain an order of council restoring the regulations of Leith, which had recognised the episcopal government in a modified form; but which had been so unpalatable to the clergy, that they were abrogated by the general assembly. Having restored these regulations to force, the duke of Lennox determined to

put them in practice; but in doing this he seems to have had quite as much in view his own private profit as any considerations of public utility. At this moment the archbishopric of Glasgow lay vacant, and Lennox, taking possession of it, offered it almost publicly to any one of the ministers who would agree to leave him nearly the whole temporalities of the see, contenting himself with a small stipend to be paid out of it. The preachers held back from so discreditable a transaction, until at length the minister of Stirling, Mr. Robert Montgomery, accepted the offer, and was duly invested with the spiritual jurisdiction of the see. The clergy immediately passed a censure upon Montgomery, and interdicted him from accepting a bishopric. Their alarm was excited at this moment by secret intelligence of a design for the bringing back of Mary, or at least for associating her with her son in the government, and for the restoration of popery. It was known that George Douglas had arrived from France, bringing, it was said, secret despatches from the popish bishops of Glasgow and Ross; and that seminary priests were prowling about the kingdom. Under these circumstances, a general assembly of the church was held in Edinburgh, at which articles were exhibited against Montgomery, embracing various charges against his life and opinions; and, though many of the charges would not stand examination, enough was believed to be found against him to render him unfit for the office of bishop. They, therefore, issued an injunction, forbidding him to accept the archbishopric, or to quit his ministry at Stirling. Montgomery protested, and he was supported by Lennox, and therefore by the whole influence of the court.

Queen Elizabeth, who was well informed of what was going on, seized this moment to send a new envoy to Scotland; and she selected for this purpose captain Arrington, of Berwick, who had already executed several important missions of the same kind. Arrington was instructed to increase the alarm of foreign plots against Scottish protestantism, and to urge the necessity of maintaining the closest alliance with England. But the chief and secret object of his mission was to labour to widen the breach which it was understood had arisen between the duke of Lennox and the earl of Arran. In this, however, Arrington failed; for the two favourites themselves took the alarm, and

they suddenly became reconciled and united against all opponents. Arrington's mission had failed, and he returned to Berwick, leaving Lennox more resolute than ever in his quarrel with the ministers, who also had been further irritated by new intelligence from abroad, and new assurances of the progress of the intrigues for the restoration of their queen, and ultimately, as they believed, of the errors of popery. Excited by these reports, John Durie presented himself in the pulpit of the high church in Edinburgh, and delivered a violent discourse against the court. He declared to the congregation that the king, under the guidance of certain courtiers, had sent to the king of France and to the duke of Guise a proposal for a reconciliation with his mother by their means; and he asserted that he had his information from George Douglas, the messenger entrusted with these important communications. He stated that it was proposed that the king should resign the crown to his mother, and that she should restore it to him, upon which he was to be acknowledged as king of Scotland by the catholic sovereigns. The circumstance of Durie's being so well informed of what was going on, shows how ill secrecy was observed among the Scottish agents at this period. The preacher pointed out the disastrous consequences which would result from this project, if it were carried into effect; everything that had been done since the coronation would be rendered null, and all the king's true friends would be convicted traitors.

After the sermon, Durie, with two other eminent preachers, Lawson and Davison, had a conference with the earls of Argyle and Gowrie, in the council-house, in which they strongly urged those two noblemen to stand up in protection of the church and state against the practices of foreigners. Argyle expressed something like repentance, and declared that if he saw anything attempted against religion he would desert his friends and support the preachers. Davison's zeal carried him still further; for with Duncanson (the king's chaplain) and Peter Young (the king's instructor), he obtained access to the king when alone in his private chamber at Stirling, where he pointed out to him the critical condition of his country, and urged him to follow a course more calculated to promote its prosperity. James listened awhile; and then, observing that it was good counsel, contrived to rid himself of his visitors.

For awhile the king and his favourites appear to have felt embarrassed by these attacks, but towards the spring of 1582 they resolved on taking measures to suppress them. It was then determined to obtrude Montgomery into the see of Glasgow by force; and he accordingly proceeded to the church of that city, bearing with him the king's charge to the presbytery, supported by a party of the royal guard, and he there attempted to expel the minister from his pulpit. But he met with a vigorous resistance, in consequence of which the presbytery of Glasgow was summoned to appear before the council. Durie, Lawson, Andrew Hay, and a large body of preachers and elders from Edinburgh, Dalkeith, and Linlithgow, accompanied the ministers of Glasgow to Stirling, where they defended themselves with firmness, and declined submitting to the king's jurisdiction in matters of a purely spiritual character. The king angrily insisted on their receiving Montgomery as bishop, and held out threats in case of refusal; upon which Durie boldly reminded him that the only result of such violent proceedings would be to draw down the resentment of the church in form of excommunication against the man whom he would force upon them as a bishop against their will. This threat produced an immediate effect upon Montgomery himself, who submitted to the injunction of the assembly, and the matter seemed to be set at rest.

This latter body was now emboldened by its success, while other circumstances occurred to increase the excitement of the presbyterian clergy. A message had just arrived from the duke of Guise to the Scottish king, and it was soon whispered abroad that the duke had selected for this mission one of his Italian servants, who was infamously notorious for his activity in the massacre of the protestants on St. Bartholomew's-day. It was said, moreover, that the object of this mission was to propose a marriage between James and one of the princesses of the house of Guise. The zeal of the preachers was stirred up to a high pitch of fury, and Durie rode off in haste to the king, who was then remaining in the earl of Arran's castle of Kiuneil. On his arrival there, meeting the agent of the Guises as he passed through the royal garden, Durie drew his cap hastily over his eyes, that his view might not be polluted with the sight of what he called the ambassador of the devil. Durie addressed the king with impassioned elo-

quence. "Is it with the Guise," he said, "that your grace will interchange presents?—with that cruel murderer of the saints? Beware, my liege, I emlore you, beware with whom you ally yourself in marriage, and remember John Knox's last words unto your highness; remember that good man's warning, that so long as you maintained God's holy gospel, and kept your body unpolluted, you would prosper. Listen not to those ambassadors of the devil who are sent hither to allure you from your religion." The young king was so overawed by the manner and language of the preacher, that he promised with apparent humility he would accept no woman for his wife "who did not fear God and love the evangel."

The interview at Kiuneil took place on the 11th of May; and a few days after his return to Edinburgh, on the 23rd of May, Durie's zeal drove him into another of those fierce declamations from the pulpit which then exercised a sort of spell over the popular mind. One of Walsingham's correspondents has left us the following account of this sermon, the results of which were very important. "Upon Wednesday, being the 23rd instant, Mr. John Durie preached in the cathedral church of Edinburgh, where divers noblemen were present, the effect thereof tending to the reproof of the bishop of Glasgow, as plainly terming him an apostate and man-sworn traitor to God and his church. And that, even as the Scribes and Pharisees could find none so meet to betray Christ as one of his own school and disciples, even so this duke (Leinnox), with the rest of the faction, cannot find so meet an instrument to subvert the religion planted in Scotland, as one of their own number, one of their own brethren, and one nourished among their own bowels; who likewise touched the virtuous bringing-up of the king, fearing now they have some device to withdraw him from the true fear of God, and to follow the devices and inventions of men; affirming that he was moved to think so, for that he saw all that were manifestly known to be enemies to the church and religion to be nearest unto his person, and others that were favourers and maintainers thereof put off the court, or to have small countenance there shown them. And likewise he touched the present sent by the duke of Guise to the king in these manner of speeches:—'I pray you, what should move Guise, that bloody persecutor and enemy unto all truth, that pillar of the pope, to send this present by

one of his trustiest servants to our king? Not for any love; no, no, his pretence is known. And I beseech the Lord, the church of Scotland feel it not over soon! The king's majesty was persuaded not to receive it—for why? what amity or friendship can we look for at his hands, who hath been the bloodiest persecutor of the professors of the truth in all France? Never was there ever any notable murder or havock of God's people at any time in all France, but he was at it in person; and yet, for all this, the duke and Arran will needs have our king to take a present from him. If God did threaten the captivity and spoil of Jerusalem, because that their king Hezekiah did receive a letter and present from the king of Babylon, shall we think to be free, committing the like, or rather worse? And because you, my lords, which both do see me, and even at this present hear me,—I say, because ye shall not be hereafter excusable,—I tell it you with tears, I fear such confusion to be like to ensue, that I fear me will be the subversion and ruin of the preaching of God's evangile here in the church of Scotland. I am the more plain with you, because I know there is some of you in the same action with the rest. I know I shall be called to an account for these words here spoken; but let them do with this carcase of mine what they will; for I know my soul is in the hands of the Lord, and therefore I will speak, and that to your condemnation, unless you speedily return.' And then, in the prayers made, he prayed unto the Lord either to convert or confound the duke. The sermon was very long, godly, and plain, to the great comfort and rejoice of the most number that heard it or do hear of it."

Durie's prophecy that he would be called to account for his words was soon fulfilled. His sermon had given so much offence, that he was immediately summoned before the council, and ordered to quit Edinburgh; and the provost and magistrates of the city were enjoined to enforce this order under pain of treason. The court proceeded at the same time to other measures of defiance. Montgomery, in spite of his previous submission and promises, was again brought forward in his obnoxious character of bishop, and his disobedience of the kirk was punished with excommunication, while the pulpits literally rung with declamations and lamentations. The alarm became at length so great that, on the 27th of June, an extraordinary as-

sembly of the church was held in Edinburgh to consider the dangers which threatened the reformed religion, and to concert measures for meeting them. This assembly was held in the new kirk at Edinburgh, and was opened with a fierce sermon by Andrew Melvil, one of the most eminent and most zealous of the ministers. He said that the church was threatened by the "bloody gully" (or knife) of absolute power, a weapon furnished by the pope to be used against Christ himself. He spoke of the king's intended demission of the crown to his mother, a scheme which he said had been concocting this eight years past, and the palpable object of which was the resumption of her lost power, and with it the re-establishment of her idolatrous worship. The authors of this scheme were the two popish bishops of Glasgow and Ross, who were active agents to carry out the designs of the Romish princes. After the conclusion of Melvil's discourse, the first subject of debate was, whether Durie was bound to obey the sentence of banishment. The provost and magistrates urged the penalties with which they were themselves threatened unless they carried the sentence against Durie into execution; and one party recommended a middle course, and proposed that two ministers should be sent to expostulate with the king. The more violent party warmly deprecated a compromise of this description. "Do ye talk," said Davison, "of replacing John Durie? Will ye become supplicants for reinstating him whom the king had no power to displace, albeit his foolish flock have yielded." He was here interrupted by a fierce look from Sir James Balfour, who had been acquitted of the murder of Darnley by a packed jury, and had consequently been restored to his place as an elder of the church. "Tell me," continued Davison, still more vehemently, "tell me what flesh may, or can, displace the great king's ambassador, so long as he keeps within the bounds of his commission!" This bold address created some agitation and confusion in the assembly, in the midst of which Davison, convinced the question would be carried against him, left the meeting. It was finally determined that, if the magistrates insisted, Durie must submit to the decree of banishment; and the same evening he was charged to depart from the capital. At nine o'clock at night, Durie, accompanied with some of the leading preachers and two notaries, left his residence to obey the in-

junction of banishment. At the market cross, he ordered the notaries to read a written protestation of the sincerity of his life and doctrine, and of his determination to preach God's word in spite of all opposition and persecution. Davison, who was one of his companions, broke out into a passionate denunciation of divine vengeance against those who had banished him; but the street was deserted, except by one or two persons, who seemed to treat the whole proceeding with contempt. This, however, was no evidence of the temper of the citizens, the majority of whom sympathised warmly with the church; and few recent events had caused so much sensation as the banishment of Durie.

The violence of Lennox's proceedings against the preachers was now rapidly bringing its own punishment. In order to appease a little the storm which was raging, commissioners of the court on one side, and of the kirk on the other, had been appointed to meet at Stirling, to draw a statement of the grievances complained of by the preachers, which they were to be allowed to present to the king. They accordingly drew up a series of articles, expressed in bold language, and defining the limits of the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. They complained that the king had, in the late proceedings of the court, usurped an authority which belonged only to the kirk, and that this usurpation had been specially manifested in the banishment of Durie, the maintaining of an excommunicated bishop, interfering with the free deliberations of the assembly, and persecuting the presbytery of Glasgow for their resistance to the intrusion of Montgomery. A committee of the principal ministers, joined with the aged reformer Erskine of Dun, was appointed to present these articles to the king. The court faction attempted to intimidate them by every means in their power, and Andrew Melvil, one of the ministers appointed on the committee, received a secret intimation from his kinsman, Sir James Melvil, that his life was threatened. But the courage of the preacher was unshaken, and he accompanied his colleagues to court, where, on being admitted into the presence chamber, they found the king with Lennox and Arran, and laid their articles on the table. Arran took them up, read them, declared that they were treason, and demanded fiercely who dared to sign them. "We dare," said Andrew

Melvil, firmly, "and are ready to seal them with our lives;" and he advanced to the council table, took up a pen, and subscribed his name. His companions followed the example, and the two favourites, intimidated by their boldness, allowed them, after a short conference, to depart peaceably.

This occurred on the 6th of July, 1582. The king had just reinstated Montgomery in the archbishopric of Glasgow, and, by royal proclamation, reversed the sentence of excommunication. Montgomery had been residing with the household of the duke of Lennox at Dalkeith, whence he now had the boldness to go publicly into Edinburgh. The anger of the ministers took fire at this insult on their authority, and Lawson called upon the magistrates to hinder the "excommunicated traitor" from showing himself in the streets. He was accordingly ordered to depart out of the city, but he threatened that he would soon return, and compel them to assume a different tone. Accordingly, he returned almost immediately with a royal proclamation, commanding that he should be received as a good christian and true subject, and letters to the same purport were sent to the lords of the session. The provost and magistrates assembled in great embarrassment, afraid to disobey either the court or the ministers, and the citizens, men and women, in a furious state of excitement, seizing whatever weapon came to hand, assembled in the street. If Montgomery had fallen into their hands, he would no doubt have been torn to pieces; but the magistrates caused him to be led out secretly by a narrow lane, called the Kirk Heugh, to the Potterrow gate. Before he had reached it, however, the mob received intimation of his evasion, and rushing madly after him, he escaped with difficulty through the wicket, after receiving several blows from his pursuers. It is said that when the king, who was at Perth, was told of the circumstances of Montgomery's disgraceful retreat out of the capital, he called him a seditious loon, and threw himself on the ground in a violent fit of laughter.

While these disputes were going on with the church, the two favourites were leaving themselves open to danger on another side by their over-security, which was the consequence of their success. Believing that, as long as they held the king in their hands, they were safe against all dangers, they adopted means to strengthen their influence which exercised an effect over the whole

course of his subsequent life. By his earlier presbyterian teachers, the young prince had been subjected to a very strict discipline, and one which was by no means agreeable with his natural inclinations; and he had now reached an age peculiarly exposed to temptations. The duke of Lennox and the earl of Arran were both men whose lives and principles were equally licentious, and they hesitated not to administer indulgence to all the worst passions of the king, in the hope, by enervating and sensualising his mind, to chain him more firmly to their interests. James's private society was thus composed of persons of so abandoned a character as to be regardless of the outward appearance of decency, even in language, amid which the better lessons of his earlier years were soon forgotten. The position held by the worthless countess of Arran showed how little morality was regarded, and the political lessons he received were those of the most selfish and unlimited despotism. At court, every sort of licentiousness prevailed; throughout the country, oppression and injustice. To support the extravagance of the former, and supply the greediness of the courtiers, the middle orders were subjected to many grievous exactions. Courts of justice were held in almost every county, before which the proprietors of land were called, and the slightest neglect of any of the numerous forms of feudal tenantry was made an excuse for levying the severest fines and penalties. The lord chamberlain revived his obsolete jurisdiction over the boroughs, and thus found means of subjecting them to the same grievous exactions. Even the lower classes were made to suffer from the same iniquitous system, in which the countess of Arran seems to have been a chief actor. People were accused of crimes, for which, innocent or guilty, they were compelled to compound with money. We are assured by contemporary authorities, that "the poor of the country were sold and ransomed at a hundred pounds the score. The countess of Arran controlled the judges at her pleasure, and caused sundry to be hanged that wanted (*i. e.* were not able to pay) their compositions, saying, what had they been doing all their days, that they had not so much as five pounds to buy them from the gallows?"

Since the death of Morton, the court had felt so confident in its security that it was hardly thought necessary to guard against any further attempts on the part of the

nobles, but the firmness and boldness of the ministers of the kirk had now given alarm, and Lennox and Arran determined to secure themselves against any possible combination of the nobility and the clergy. They had resolved therefore to seize some of the more popular of the nobles, and bring them to the scaffold, under pretence of a conspiracy against the king. This design, however, was soon detected by the vigilance of Robert Bowes, who lost no time in acquainting the Scottish nobles of their danger. Reports, corroborative of Bowes's information, reached the English ministers from France, which seemed to show that Lennox's proceedings were part of a greater design in which the French king was a principal conspirator. We gather these facts partly from a despatch of Bowes to secretary Walsingham, written on the 15th of August, 1582. "According to the contents of your letter," Bowes writes, "I have given notice and warning to such in Scotland as will speedily impart the same to the lord Lindsay and others interested in that behalf, wherein, before the receipt of this letter from you, I have already advised my especial friends to warn the lord Lindsay and sundry other noblemen, gentlemen, and ministers, to beware of the practices of the duke of Lennox, proposing and travelling (*labouring*) with the king to apprehend the chief of the nobles, gentlemen, and ministers favouring the religion and amity with England; for I have been informed that the duke intendeth to persuade the king both to remit to ward the earls of Glencairn and Mar, the lord Lindsay, Boyd, and sundry others best affected in the religion, and loving the amity aforesaid, and also afterwards to hasten the death of the principals of them, whom I hear that he will not pursue for the death of David, the Italian,* as from France ye have been advertised, but rather to charge them with late matter and conspiracy, intended, and to have been put in execution by them and their complices in the last month of July, against the king and himself. And, in case the information given me be true, then there is a second intention and practice in device, that, after the execution of such principal persons in Scotland as would be most ready to defend religion, and the apprehension and safe custody of others known to be chiefly devoted that way, the

* Riccio. Gowrie (Ruthven), Lindsay, and one or two others then alive, were principals in the assassination of Mary's Italian favourite.

alteration of that state and religion in Scotland should be attempted, and the matter to reach into England so far, and with such speed, as they in the practice could perform. The truth and secret herein may be best learnt in France, I think, from whence the device and directions for the execution is said to come. The variance between the duke and the earl of Gowrie, the progress of the matter against the new bishop of Glasgow, both intreated in Edinburgh, the labour of the duke to win noble and gentlemen to enter into friendship and bond with him, the purpose of some persons in Scotland to proceed in the provision of remedy against the dangerous course presently holden there, with all other intelligence and occurrences in that state or realm, worthy advertisement, are so sufficiently signified to you, as I need not to trouble you with needless repetition; and therefore I leave all the same to the report of others presently at Berwick, and which know the same with much better certainty than I have." Bowes was at this moment at Durham, employed in official business.

This intelligence, which was sufficiently minute to leave no doubt of its accuracy, alarmed the Scottish nobles so much, that they immediately entered into a secret association for mutual defence, and for the overthrow of the duke's power. The chief leaders in this conspiracy were the earls of Mar, Glencairn, and Gowrie, the lords Lindsay and Boyd, the masters of Glamis and Oliphant, the titular abbots or commendators of Dumfermline, Paisley, Dryburgh, and Cambuskenneth, the lairds of Lochleven, Easter Wemyss, and Cleish, and the provost of Dundee. Their design was to obtain possession of the king's person, send Lennox back to France, and remove the earl of Arran from the court. They entered into a written bond or contract, which was at once signed by a part of the conspirators, and only waited the signatures of the others. These proceedings seem to have been totally unsuspected by the favourites, but information of some design against the Scottish government was given to the French ambassador in England, M. de Mauvissière, apparently through the incaution of the earl of Angus, who was at the English court, and was deeply interested in the success of the plot. An interesting despatch from the ambassador to the king of France, written from London, on the 26th of July, assures us of these facts. M. de

Mauvissière informed the king, "that the earl of Angus, nephew of the earl of Morton, who, by the ruin of his uncle, was obliged to retire hither, where he has maintained himself, as well as he could, ever since, practising with his friends in Scotland, in order to do some ill turn to Monsieur de Lennox, either by killing him or driving him from Scotland, to render him by divers practices odious to the people of that country, and to the nobility, but seeing that he maintained himself daily in greater credit, as well with the prince of Scotland as with the greater part of the nobles of the country, and that the prince did not care much for the queen of England, who, on the other hand, hates him more than ever she did the queen of Scots, his mother, and expects one day her ruin from thence, if she herself does not ruin the said prince of Scotland, where both parties are ready to proceed to extremities as soon as they have the means; nevertheless the said Angus, with the good friends he has found here, have so stirred up and animated the ministers in Scotland, that they have persuaded them that if they do not find means to raise the people and nobility of Scotland against the duke of Lennox, he will ruin them, driving away some, and having the confiscation of the others, as he had of the said earl of Morton, his uncle, and further that he would re-establish the catholic religion in Scotland, as already he had drawn thither some jesuit priests, and had the bishops, as him of Glasgow (not the one who is in France), at his devotion, whom he had caused to preach before the said prince of Scotland. Thereupon, sire, the said ministers, as that race would command everywhere, have done a thousand practices and do them every day against the said Lennox, and have preached in public against him and in his presence, and have excommunicated the said bishop of Glasgow and the lords who were favourable to the said Lennox, so that they are ready to do their worst on both sides. Whereof I have advertised the said Lennox of the particularities, which are better known here than there, and how the said earl of Angus had promised the queen of England to have at least ten lords and barons of Scotland favourable and resolved, at whatever risk, to drive out the duke of Lennox, or to hold him fast one way or other, and consequently to cause the king to follow a different course, or to catch him as they had done

the queen his mother. And the said earl of Angus promises here that, if they will give him the means, he will return into Scotland and join with the partizans and friends of the late earl of Morton and his own, and, with the voice of the ministers and the Scottish people, he will put every thing there to the extremity of arms and war; but that, nevertheless, the queen of England must give him her shoulder and grant favour and aid, according as he may want it. This had been promised him in case he manage his affairs well. And meanwhile he requires that, if fortune should be contrary to them, and those who shall undertake this affair in Scotland should be compelled to abandon the country and retire into England, it would please the said lady to give to ten of these principal lords of Scotland ten thousand pounds sterling in pension, to distribute to each of the ten a pension of a thousand pounds to support those who shall have put themselves in hazard with them. This expense and these pensions startle the said queen, but they are only required in case they should be constrained to quit Scotland by the failure of the enterprise. Thereupon, the said queen has been advised to promise generally not to desert them in good or bad fortune, and meanwhile to give the said earl of Angus a pension of a thousand pounds sterling, and to advance him another thousand, and, besides that, to give him four thousand pounds sterling with which to proceed to the borders of England and Scotland, to be ready to re-enter at the moment when the ministers should lead those of their affection to take arms to kill or drive away the duke of Lennox, whom the ministers are also to excommunicate, because they have a law passed in their parliament that one who is excommunicated, can neither govern the king nor the kingdom of Scotland. Of all this I have advertised the said Lennox, that he may be on his guard, as I believe he does all in his power to be; and I think, sire, that your majesty ought in no wise to let the said duke of Lennox be ruined there, which would be by the same means to ruin the hope there is of still having the alliance of Scotland as much at your devotion as the kings your predecessors, with the further consideration that, if the catholic religion could be restored on that side, it would be to give the example for doing the same here, God aiding, some day; of which I know several means when the time

shall come that God will restore his church, and chastise those who have sought hitherto to ruin it." Some part of M. de Mauvissière's information was probably incorrect, but his intelligence would be sufficient to make the duke of Lennox more than ever suspicious of his enemies, and his dispatch shows us what the king of France expected to be the result of the favourite's influence.

The information came, however, too late to save Lennox from the dangers which now surrounded him, for a combination of circumstances assisted the conspirators in their plans. The young king was enjoying his favourite recreation of hunting, in the north of Perthshire, during the middle of August, while Lennox was at Dalkeith, and Arran at Kinneil, and it was arranged that James, in his return to the capital, should stop at Dunfermline. Here it was the intention of the nobles to wait upon the king, and present a supplication to him, complaining of the conduct of his favourites, and under cover of this, they hoped to gain possession of his person, for Gowrie, Glamis, and Lindsay, were all powerful in Perthshire. At this critical moment they seem still to have hesitated, when they received secret intelligence that Lennox had received information of their design—it was probably the information sent him by M. de Mauvissière. All hesitation now gave way to the sense of their own danger, and they felt that their safety depended entirely upon their immediate success. The king received an invitation to visit Gowrie's castle of Ruthven, on the north-eastern border of Perthshire, which he accepted, without any suspicion of evil. Gowrie, Mar, Lindsay, the master of Glamis, and their associates, assembled with extraordinary rapidity, a force of a thousand trusty men, who were drawn round the castle in the night. The conduct of his host had already excited suspicions, but they were dispelled by the respectful treatment he at first experienced. Early, however, in the morning, when the king was already preparing for the chase, the lords entered his chamber, and presented a memorial of their grievances. This the king received, observing that it was time to take horse, and was going to leave the chamber. But the lords had already removed his guards, and the master of Glamis intimated to him that it was their opinion it would be safer for him to remain at Ruthven. The king remonstrated, declared he would go in spite

of them all, and was hurrying to the door of the chamber, when the master of Glamis rudely stepped before him, and placed his leg across the door to stop him. The king was so affected by this rough treatment that he burst into tears, which drew compassion from some of the conspirators, but the master of Glamis sternly replied that it was "better for bairns to greet (*cry*) than bearded men;" a speech which the king never forgot or forgave.

Meanwhile nothing could exceed the consternation of the two favourites, when they received intelligence of what had happened. Neither of them appears to have been at all aware of the formidable character of the conspiracy, and when the news reached Arran at Kinneil, he called to him his brother, colonel Stuart, collected as many of his followers as were at hand, and set off at full gallop towards Ruthven, declaring

as he went along, that he would drive all the lords into mouse-holes. His anxiety to reach Ruthven was so great, that he separated from his brother on the way, taking with him a few men, and hurrying forward by a cross-road. He thus escaped an ambush which had been laid for him in the high-road by Mar and the laird of Lochleven, who attacked and captured his brother, colonel Stuart, and dispersed his men. Arran himself, on arriving at Ruthven, narrowly escaped a party of the conspirators, who would no doubt have slain him, to fall into the hands of the earl of Gowrie himself, who, more generous, ordered him to be committed into safe custody.

Thus, when least expected by the favourites, was completed the important enterprise which, from the place where it was performed, was ever afterwards known popularly as the *Raid of Ruthven*.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE RAID OF RUTHVEN; BANISHMENT AND DEATH OF THE DUKE OF LENNOX.

THE news of this sudden revolution reached the duke of Lennox at Dalkeith, and, feeling conscious of insecurity in the open country, his first thought was to seek his personal safety by hurrying with his household into Edinburgh. His conduct was weak and vacillating, and it was evident, that, however bold he may have been while his influence over the king protected him against his enemies, he did not possess any of the qualities which would have enabled him to contend with an emergency like the present. He conferred with the magistrates of Edinburgh, who also, undecided what part to take, entreated the ministers of the kirk to act with moderation, while they sent messengers in haste to Ruthven to ascertain the real state of things. But the zeal of the ministers was far too fierce to allow them to be governed by any considerations of expedience; they proclaimed aloud their joy at the success of the conspiracy, and urged the people to join in supporting the Ruthven lords; and Lawson, who in answer to the recommendation of the provost, that he should be temperate in his sermon, had

answered in the words of Balaam, that the word which God put into his mouth he must speak, delivered from the pulpit a violent attack upon the two fallen favourites. Yet the final success of the revolution was still doubtful, and Gowrie and his friends hesitated for a moment. The strength of Lennox was indeed formidable, had he known how to use it. He could reckon on the support of the earls of Huntley, Sutherland, Morton, Orkney, Crawford, and Bothwell, the lords Herries, Seton, and Hume, Kerr of Fernyhirst, sir James Balfour, the abbot of Newbottle, and a number of lesser barons, some of whom had raised their forces, and were ready to march to his assistance. But Lennox decided on trying less violent means, and his indecision, no doubt, damped the zeal of his adherents. Arran, who was of a more daring character, was a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, who were sure also of the support of Elizabeth.

The only step which Lennox took at first was to send the lord Herries and the abbot of Newbottle to the court at Ruthven. They

were not allowed a private interview, but were admitted to an audience of the king in the council-chamber, in presence of the Ruthven lords, where they declared that they were sent by the duke to ascertain the truth of the report that the king was a captive, and, if it were true, to declare that he was ready to come to his rescue at the head of his good subjects. James instantly started up, and in a passionate manner declared that the report of his captivity was true; that he was not allowed to go where he liked, and that they should proclaim his wish that all who loved him should join with the duke to restore him to his liberty. The lords were disconcerted at this outbreak, but they soon recovered courage, and, asserting that his majesty had no truer or more obedient subjects than themselves, they declared that the king should not be restricted from going whither he pleased, but that they would no longer allow him to be misled by Lennox and Arran. Unless, therefore, the duke quietly left the kingdom, and retired to France, it was their intention to proceed against him in the most rigorous manner, and punish his crimes with the utmost penalty of the laws. In accordance with this answer, a peremptory injunction was sent to Lennox, that he should immediately quit Edinburgh, and retire to Dalkeith or Aberdour, that he should surrender Dumbarton castle to the earl of Mar, and that he should quit Scotland before the 20th of the same month of September. On his promise to obey this command, he was to be assured of his safety while he remained in Scotland, and of permission to depart unmolested. To the surprise of many, the lord Herries was sent back to Ruthven, to announce that Lennox would obey the king's command, and he immediately left Edinburgh, attended with a company of eight horsemen, and took the road to Dalkeith. This, however, was only a feint, for he had no sooner reached the fields than he turned off from the road to Dalkeith, and never stopped till he had sheltered himself behind the walls of Dumbarton. Before he left Edinburgh, the duke of Lennox was subjected to an additional mortification. The order of banishment against John Durie was reversed, and the preacher was brought back to Edinburgh in triumph, nearly two thousand people marching before him bareheaded, singing the hundred and twenty-fourth psalm. They paraded ostentatiously before the window of the duke, who was so provoked that he was

observed, while looking down upon the crowd, to tear his beard in despite.

Lennox's flight completed the triumph of the Ruthven lords, who now caused the king to issue a proclamation, declaring that he was in the free exercise of sovereignty, but that he chose for the present to remain at Stirling. Having taken the precaution to commit Arran to stricter ward, they next summoned a convention of the nobility; to which they required the kirk to send commissioners, promising to hear and remedy all grievances which the ministers had to allege. The court had now removed from Ruthven to Stirling.

The news of this sudden revolution was received in England with great satisfaction. Elizabeth immediately dispatched sir George Carey, son of lord Hunsdon, with letters to the young king, and instructions to encourage and support the party in whose hands he now was, and Bowes was directed to proceed into Scotland again, and co-operate with Carey. The latter had his first audience at the Scottish court on the 12th of September, and Bowes arrived in Stirling on the 14th. Both were received with cordiality; but when Carey charged the duke of Lennox with practising against religion and the state, James vindicated him with warmth, declaring that the favourite had done nothing without the consent and advice of the council, and that he was convinced no treason could be proved against him. It was evident, indeed, that the king's attachment to his favourite was not abated, and, on the day of his arrival in Stirling, Bowes wrote to Walsingham—"albeit the king is pleased to yield his person to the lords present with him, yet he keepeth his affection still fastened to the duke, so far as some doubt may be that all clouds are not past, neither can there be any surety of quietness before the knowledge of the departure of the duke, who is suspected to have a mind either to tarry still at Edinburgh, or else to return hither, or to some other place, as soon as he can make provision for it." The uncertainty of the duke's intentions, and the knowledge that if the king had the power, he would immediately restore him to his former position, probably with greater favour and power than ever, kept the lords in alarm, and some of them were beginning already to be discouraged. The disunion likely to arise from this cause, did not escape the vigilant eyes of Bowes, and four days after the date of the letter,

just quoted, on the 18th of September, that ambassador wrote as follows. "Albeit that the king's love and affection to the duke continueth, and is very great, and that many of this realm move the duke to remain here still, to recover the king, persuading that small force shall readily prevail against the small number of the noblemen and others presently with the king, as by the other advertisements will well appear unto you; yet there is good hope of the prosperous progress of this cause, in case these lords shall be able to abide together, and endure the charges of the maintainance of the action. But I see some already tired under their burdens, and others will call for more large relief than I think shall be granted. So as no little difficulty will be yet found to bring it to the wished conclusion; which, with charge and some diligence may be easily and with surety compassed, together with all such other effects as, for the establishing of any course to be advised and directed for her majesty, shall be most profitable." On the 20th, Bowes entered again upon the same theme, and more particularly. He saw the necessity of giving some pecuniary assistance to the Scottish lords. "As in my former," he writes, "I signified that there was good hope of the prosperous success in this action, in case these lords may be holden together, and can endure the weight of the charges growing hereon, and that I saw some of them almost weary of their burdens, and others calling for greater relief than I think shall be granted, a matter working the chief difficultie in this cause, so I remain still of the same mind; thinking that reasonable charges and good handling shall bring the action to the wished end, and obtain the grant of all such conditions as may be most profitable for any course to be taken here for her majesty's good service, and surety of the amity, wherein these lords appear now to be well disposed; and before the delivery of the matter desired, and appearing in the other letters to you, they may be induced both to draw the king and also to show themselves ready to perform and agree to the demands to be proposed by her majesty; which I leave always, according to my former, to wise consideration. The lords here did seek pay to be granted by her majesty to the two hundred horsemen and three hundred footmen to be levied and continued for three months, which charge will amount to two thousand four hundred pounds, or

near thereabouts. But now they are pleased to commend the same to her majesty's good pleasure." "If," Bowes adds, "this cause shall now be overthrown, then the remedy or recovery to be found at any time hereafter is almost desperate, and all instruments willing to do good offices for her majesty shall persist with the same, or, at least, be so far discouraged, as they will not hastily be drawn to hearken any more to fair words, or adventure themselves for the benefit of public affairs. The king and best affected in this country are now well reduced to incline and hearken to her majesty's advice. The progress and good success whereof will stand upon the view and taste of her highness's bounty to be shown, in the requests of the lords; that, finding little or no help, will surely, in mine opinion, turn to help themselves, howsoever they leave the cause."

In this same despatch, Bowes informs the English minister of the pusillanimous spirit shown by the duke of Lennox, and his determination to leave the kingdom. "It is certified," he says, "by a minister coming this day from the town of Dumbarton, that the duke hath little company with him, other than such of his tenants and vassals in Lennox as come to purchase lands of him, and that he prepareth to hasten his departure, having well victualled his ship there. And by some of credit I am advertised, that he frameth rather to depart than tarry, carrying a mind to return again with the best speed he can. For which purpose he and his friends do enter into a bond presently in hand and to be made amongst them. By this, and by the letters and advertisements from sir George Carey, it well appeareth that these lords, and the number of good men resting now especially devoted to her majesty, ought to be comforted; but being loath to persuade a matter of charge to her majesty, I leave it, therefore, wholly to the consideration and furtherance of others."

In the midst of these proceedings, two arrests were made, which promised to throw considerable light on the nature of the secret intrigues with France and the catholics, and which, it was confidently expected, would complete the ruin of the earl of Lennox. The first of these was George Douglas of Lochleven, who, some years before, had assisted Mary in her escape from prison, and who had been ever since one of her active agents. He had been frequently

employed in the recent communications with France, and he now confessed that he had been the agent in a correspondence between James and his mother, in which, under the immediate directions of the court of France, Mary had agreed to resign the crown to the young prince, on condition of being associated with him on the throne; and his confession also brought to light the fact, that a correspondence was also carried on, partly through the popish bishop of Glasgow, between Lennox and Mary.

The other person alluded to was Archibald Douglas, a man whose name has often been brought forward in the previous history, and who, as we have seen, escaped into England at the time of Morton's arrest. He had since been reconciled with Lennox, and actually become a confidential agent in the intrigues now carried on by Mary and the French court, all which he betrayed to the English ministers. On the 12th of September, Douglas wrote a letter from London to his old friend Randolph, acquainting him with the news of Lennox's flight to Dumbarton, in which he made the following sarcastic remarks on the state of Scotland. "The king," he said, "will hold his convention at Edinburgh, on the 15th day hereof, to the which the duke is charged to compare; but I think he shall not obey, when law has given the stroke against him, and believe ye shall hear news of his escaping. Your special good friend, the earl of Arran, for the singular and constant affection he bears to the duke, offers to accuse him of high treason, if they will spare his life to serve and assist the party that is with the king. Pity it were that he should not be well used in respect of his rare qualities natural, beautified with his virtuous education in moral philosophy; wherein he has so well profited, that his behaviour is marvellous, specially in treating of ambassadors; which makes me believe that your worship, as one honoured with that dignity, will interpose some special request in his favour. If ye be disposed so to do, I will take the pains to be your messenger, for the safe conveying thereof to her majesty's ministers in Scotland. Your physie, ministered at your late being in that realm, begins now to be of so mighty operation, that banished men are like to have place to seek trial of their innocency, or else I think very shortly it shall be hard to discern the subject from the traitor. From such a market ye may

think that I shall not be long absent. I am to take my journey towards that country shortly. If your sore horse's price be so low as a poor, banished man's money may amount unto it, I pray you send him hither, and I will pay what price ye set upon him, so it be reasonable." Archibald Douglas seems at this time to have been playing a very double game, and perhaps what followed was the result of an understanding between himself and the English ministers. Only six days after the date of this letter to Randolph, M. de Mauvissière boasted, in a despatch to the queen-mother of France, of the faithfulness and ability of Archibald Douglas, and the confidence he placed in him. A few days after this, letters of Archibald Douglas were intercepted on the frontier, and carried to Elizabeth's ministers, who issued an order for his arrest. It was after a long private interview with the French ambassador, that he was taken into custody, and carried a prisoner to the house of sir Henry Killigrew, where he was subjected to an examination which, according to the account of M. de Mauvissière, led to no discoveries, and only proved his faithfulness to the cause of France and the captive queen. But Douglas's house had been visited, and his papers seized, and it was said that some new light was likely to be thrown on the practices and designs of the duke of Lennox.

But, if the disclosures of the Douglasses were not sufficient to ruin Lennox, he was threatened from another and unexpected quarter. The earl of Arran, who was willing to buy his liberty by the desertion of his former friend, offered to become himself the accuser, and he promised to disclose matters which would be sufficient to cost Lennox his head. But the lords were unwilling to put any trust in Arran's promises, and they only committed him to closer confinement, while Lennox remained at Dumbarton, apparently still hesitating whether he should depart immediately or wait for some sudden chance that might restore him to power.

From thence, on the 22nd of September, the duke addressed a declaration of his innocence of the principal charges brought against him. He accused the lords of having violently taken possession of the person of their sovereign, and of holding him under restraint; to cover which, he said, they accused him, the duke of Lennox, of various crimes amounting to high treason. These

were,—a design to subvert religion, the giving support to those who slew the king's father and the two regents, oppressing the subjects, practising to effect a reconciliation between the king and his mother, with a view to the restoration of the latter to an equal power with the king, and the being guided in all his enterprises by the popish bishops of Glasgow and Ross. With regard to the first of these charges, Lennox declared that he was a confirmed protestant, and that he never had any intention injurious to the religion as then established in Scotland, although he had been much abused and scandalised by its ministers. The second charge alluded, no doubt, principally to the favour shown to sir James Balfour. Lennox denied that he had ever shown indulgence to the murderers of the king and regents. He said that he had always been of opinion that a son ought to honour and love his mother, and he did not deny that he had counselled the king to do so, and not to dispossess her of her authority, "either half or altogether." In this, he said that the earl of Gowrie had been perfectly in accord with him, both thinking it better that, in case of the young king's death, the crown should return to her than go to the Hamiltons. Lennox said further that, with regard to the general charge of treason, he had offered to the king himself by the mouth of the lord Herries to stand his trial before parliament and submit to its judgment. "And although I have received the command of his majesty, by the persuasions of those who detain him, to quit the kingdom, without the lord Herries having ever been able to obtain permission for me to be heard in my justification, nevertheless, I shall be always ready, when it shall be his good pleasure, to return, in order to be purged of the false calumnies of my enemies. And with regard to the scandal which the ministers say I have done to the church, I have prayed the said lord Herries to offer to the said ministers of Edinburgh to purge myself of all the calumnies with which they can accuse me; nevertheless they have refused to enter into conference either by words or by writing. And for my part I will submit myself to six such ministers as they may choose and to six gentlemen and to the provost of Edinburgh and five burgesses; and, in whatever manner these eighteen shall ordain, I should be content to obey; but I have never been able to obtain an answer from those ministers, which

is the cause of my making public this declaration of my innocence, in order that every one may know how much I have been blamed wrongly and without cause."

The French court was as much disconcerted with the news of the new revolution in Scotland, as that of England was overjoyed. On the 8th of September, the king wrote to his ambassador, M. de Mauvissière, with instructions to watch more attentively than ever the course of events, and directed him to send a confidential agent into Scotland to act under his orders. He appears to have been unwilling to send an ambassador to that country, because Mary's objections still hindered him from deciding whether to address James as king, or merely as prince. In a despatch of the 13th of September, M. de Mauvissière, relates his practices to hinder Elizabeth from giving direct assistance to the Scottish lords who now held the government, and he expresses great uneasiness at the possible result of Arran being accepted as the accuser of Lennox. On the 18th, Catharine de Medicis again represented to the ambassador the difficulty which arose from Mary's unwillingness to allow her son the title of king. "I have," writes the queen mother, "and with great reason, much regret for what is arrived in Scotland, and for the bad state of things there, according to what we have seen by your two last despatches, which the king, my lord and son, has seen, and upon which he communicates to you his instructions, which you will, I doubt not, follow punctually; but still I must tell you that it is absolutely necessary, if my daughter-in-law, the queen of Scots, desires us to send into Scotland to see to arrange matters pacifically, as we desire as well as she does, that she must determine what title we shall give her son. For if we give him the title of prince only, those of the country, who are now in authority, will never permit our ambassador to speak to him and present our letters. She shall do as she may think best." In a despatch of the 28th of September, M. de Mauvissière complains of the embarrassing position in which the arrest of Archibald Douglas had placed him, and describes the irritation shown by Elizabeth on learning that the French ambassador was intriguing in favour of Lennox. A month after this, the French king informed his ambassador of the expostulations which had been made to him on the same subject by the English

ambassador in France, and assured M. de Mauvissière of his entire approval of his conduct.

Two days before the appearance of the duke's manifesto, a deputation of the ministers of the kirk had conferred with the lords at Stirling, and a bond was drawn up, explaining and justifying the late revolution and the proceedings of the promoters of it, which, all who loved their country and their religion, were called upon to subscribe. It was in the kirk, indeed, that the Ruthven lords found their firmest ally, and the preachers emulated each other in the zeal with which they supported the cause. They joined in an indignant reply to the manifesto issued by the duke of Lennox, and held out threats of bringing him to an extreme punishment. Lennox himself appears to have been now profoundly discouraged, and he took little comfort from the urgent recommendations of his more zealous friends to remain at Dumbarton, and await till they could effect a counter-revolution in his favour. On the 22nd of September, Bowes, the English ambassador, wrote from Stirling—"The duke's friends do diligently labour to procure him the bond of many, and also earnestly travel (*labour*) to persuade him to remain still in this realm, at least, until the end of the next convention, and thereon both to seek aid from all foreign friends, and also to assay what may be done here at this convention or afterwards. But by the advice and charge given him by the king, and by the persuasion of Henry Kerr (that understandeth two of his enemies to be awaiting to execute their revenge on him, and busily seeketh to pass away with his wealth gotten), the duke is drawn to like best of his departure, much against the minds of his friends, that note in him great wants and insufficiency; which, coming to the duke's understanding, and viewing his distressed estate, he showeth himself so far appalled and cast down, as there appeareth in him little courage or resolution, and his near friends and household servants begin to contemn him, and to be more familiar with him than his late greatness requireth or permitteth. It is like, and the lords here verily look, that he shall depart indeed before or on Tuesday next, if wind and weather serve thereto. But yet it is not certain, neither is he fully resolved thereon, as I think, with himself. By his abode in this realm, the king is holden back in many

things, and sundry noblemen differ (*put off*) to give their presence and assistance here as speedily as they would do in case he were gone. And during this time, the most part stand at gaze to behold what he will do, and how this small number with the king shall proceed in this action, for the expedition and advancement whereof the lords with the king go forwards to levy and keep forces about the king. . . . Upon the departure of the duke, the king and council intend to repair to Edinburgh, there to hold the convention appointed the tenth of October next. By the which they purpose to establish some order for the continuance of religion, the preservation both of the king and his estate, and also of the amity with her majesty, for the course and policy of the government, and to appoint a parliament to confirm the acts to be concluded at the convention aforesaid. These lords with the king have a meaning to draw all or the most and best part of the nobility, boroughs, barons, and honest persons, to one unity and mind, to advance and maintain the courses to be established in the next convention." The Ruthven lords, had indeed, hitherto not found great support from the rest of the nobility, and they could not but feel that their position was still a difficult and dangerous one. They had the king in their power, but they were well aware that he was not a willing instrument, and, as his attachment to his favourite remained unchanged, there was no certainty until the latter left the kingdom, that he might not recover his influence. Lennox had still a party, even in the capital, where, at the very moment when he was supposed to be leaving Dumbarton, a man who was known to be a warm supporter of the duke and of the French alliance, was elected to the high office of provost, in opposition to another who favoured the lords now in power, and the excitement on the occasion was so great that it nearly led to an insurrection. At the same time the lords laboured under the old complaint, want of money, and Elizabeth was again applied to for assistance. This time she so far opened her treasury as to entrust to Bowes the sum of a thousand pounds, which was partly to be applied to the payment of troops which were to be levied as a guard on the king's person. On the 9th of October, however, Bowes informed Walsingham that the levying of these troops had been countermanded.

“Upon return of the lords lately absent from court,” says Bowes, “I did acquaint them all with her majesty’s pleasure, granting to them support towards the pay of the five hundred soldiers to be levied and kept about the king for some reasonable time. And because I did, by secret means, understand that they purposed to forbear the acceptance of any money at this time, in respect of the disposition of the king far against it, forbidding the levy of any men of war, and for that I thought it not needful to let them know the special sum that her majesty had appointed for their use, therefore I delivered the report to them in some general terms, expressing at large her majesty’s good resolution and bounty for their own comforts and relief, and to the benefit and security of the common cause; opening also, therewith, that the king, in his last conference with sir George Carey,* had required that her majesty would not grant any aid for the levy and maintenance of men of war, without his privy and consent. And, nevertheless, I offered and referred the matter to their advised consideration and choice, for the most safety of themselves and prosperity of this action. Whereupon they sent afterwards unto me, on Sunday last, at night, the lord Boyd, the master of Glamis, and the provost of Dundee, that had commission to signify to me that all the lords, to their great comforts and encouragement, had perceived, and did see, the great care that her majesty had continued, as well for the preservation of religion, the king, and his estate, with the common quietness of both realms, as also for the relief of themselves, enterprising this action, and the good success of the same. And for her majesty’s great goodness shown and granted to them herein, they yielded most hearty thanks, promising both to proceed in this action faithfully and firmly together, for the advancement and preservation of religion, the king’s good estate, and the happy amity betwixt these two realms, and also to be ready to do all good offices and pleasures for her majesty that may be in their power, and so far as good subjects to their own sovereign may perform. Next, they showed that the king, declaring by his great misliking of the levy of soldiers, did acknowledge this action to be taken in hand and done

* Carey had returned to England, and left Bowes as Elizabeth’s sole ambassador in Scotland.

for his own profit, promising to accept it for his good service, and to procure the rest of the nobility and convention to be next assembled to ratify the same, and to appoint a parliament to confirm it; so as they thought it now not needful to levy and entertain the numbers before appointed, and without apparent necessity they would not put her majesty to any expenses; concluding that they would, for this time, fortify themselves of their own friends and servants, to be kept about them during their attendance with the king, and would forbear to charge her majesty, until further necessity or other accident should fall. Praying, nevertheless, that, because some necessity and occasion of charge, exceeding the compass of their powers, might peradventure suddenly happen, that for the timely relief of the same the money granted by her majesty’s benevolence might be still reserved and kept for the advancement of the cause, and for prevention of all evils found rising to hinder the good end thereof. Besides, it was shown that the captains appointed to have had charge of the five hundred soldiers to have been levied, had put themselves in readiness and furniture, and had provided their numbers, to their great charges, the consideration whereof is left to her majesty’s goodness, with hope that her highness will favourably tender the same. And, because the lords think that, notwithstanding their own discharge and safeties shall be sufficiently provided for by the favour and allowance of the king, the convention, and parliament, yet, that the general cause may also receive good end, they hold it necessary that they should still remain at court about the king, especially the earls of Mar, Gowrie, and Glencairn, until some sound order be taken and established in all things. In the execution whereof they will account themselves burdened with extraordinary charges, and thereon seek perhaps, hereafter, some relief from her majesty, and call on me for the same. It may, therefore, please you to give me direction in all these, and what I shall further do with this thousand pounds, which I have here wholly together, to be employed or returned as order shall be given me.”

“That you may understand,” Bowes continues, “what the king hath promised to the lords presently with him, touching their discharge in this action, I send inclosed to you the copy of the instrument wherunto

he hath subscribed. The king, fully resolving to continue his estate and realm in peace and quietness, to take his pastimes with the greater pleasure, is contented to allow of this action, and procure the same to be ratified by convention and parliament; and by wise advice may be still kept in good course, and drawn to follow chiefly the counsel of her majesty, as well in the order of his policy and government, as also in all other more weighty causes. The most part of the nobility have appointed to come to this convention appointed to begin to-morrow. But they will not meet in council before Thursday next. Then the causes of the enterprise of this action shall be laid before them, with the proofs verifying the same; wherein, in case the same proofs shall be found sufficient and sound, then that assembly will both verify the action by their general act of council, and also subscribe particularly with these lords to their bond; and many absent from this convention will be easily persuaded to subscribe likewise. Albeit this convention shall ratify this action by their act of council, yet these lords intend to take their hands and subscription to the bond with them, to the intent that in the further execution and maintenance of the true cause of this said action, they may have the more force and assistance." This information from Bowes reveals to us the same selfish disposition which was characteristic of James in all the transactions of his after-life. At the end of his despatch, Bowes adds:—"At the closing up of these letters I was given to understand that the king was suddenly perplexed this day, doubting that the lords should deal hardly with him. Besides he took knowledge that the duke was returned, and would not depart before he saw the uttermost of the matter; and it appeared that sundry sent from the duke had talked with the king this day." On the 11th, Bowes wrote privately to sir Francis Walsingham—"Upon information given me that the king was so inwardly grieved with some doings of the lords, as he hath let fall some tears, and also shown great fear to be hardly dealt withall, I took occasion yesterday to have some quiet conference with him, letting him know that I had gotten understanding that he was thus greatly moved and put in fear, and offering immediate and sure remedy of the same by means of her majesty, who had sent and employed me to seek chiefly the preservation of him and his good estate. He took this in very thankful part,

saying that he had now well digested that passion that had indeed oppressed him yesterday, and promised both to let me know the cause of his griefs, upon better time to be had for the quiet discourse of the same, and also to inform me of his whole mind in all things. And upon this, after his riding abroad or hunting, he sent to me the prior of Blantyre, who hath reported to me the full effects of my speech and offer made yesterday to the king, acknowledging the dangers of his perilous course past, and the perils of his troublesome and confused estate presently standing, hath determinately resolved to depend wholly on her majesty's goodness and support, and in all his weighty affairs to seek and follow her majesty's advice and counsel; trusting by her favour and help to be enabled to stand with surety and govern with justice. And that he may both make known to her majesty his resolution herein, and also thereon obtain and keep her majesty's good opinion, love, and support towards him, he will send shortly to her majesty a gentleman of good quality, and known to be devoted to her highness and the common causes of both realms. In all which he hath willed the prior to let me know that he will confer quietly and at length with me; and chiefly for the substance of this negotiation, and for the choice of all ministers to be employed in the same. And his meaning is, to begin and entertain an especial intelligence betwixt her majesty and himself, intending to commend these and others to her majesty by letters of his own hand and device. Moreover, where he hath heard that it hath been given her majesty to understand that he was of nature and disposition inconstant and dissembling, whereby her majesty might distrust the honourable performance of his promises to her, now therefore he offereth so faithfully to stand to and accomplish all duties appertaining to him, as shall remove all distrust, and approve his thankful and constant mind, to her majesty's good contentment and long continuance of the loving kindness betwixt them."

Next day, the 12th of October, Bowes had another interview with the king, of which he gives the following account:—"Being with the king this day at Holyrood-house, he entered with me in the effects imparted to me by the prior of Blantyre, and yesterday signified to you by my letters of the 11th hereof. He accounteth his own estate to be such, as without her majesty's especial

favour and friendly support he cannot live in surety nor govern in quietness, neither yet be able to make that thankful recompence to her majesty for her highness's great benefits bestowed on him that the greatness of the same worthily deserveth, and as his own heart earnestly desireth to yield. He hath resolved, therefore, as he saith, both to depend on and also to seek for her majesty's said favour and support, together with her highness's good advice and counsel, pretending to be determined to receive and follow the same, and by it to be directed in all his affairs. And he continueth in mind to send the gentleman to her majesty, in such sort as by former aforesaid I have certified unto you; purposing, as verily seemeth to me, to have an inward and secret intelligence to be had and continued betwixt her majesty and himself only. Willing me to keep this secret and unknown to any in this realm, other than to the prior of Blantyre, to whom he will have me to give credit, and whom he will use to send to me to let me know all such things as he will commit to me to be commended to her majesty's knowledge or done in this realm."

Among the chief matters now in agitation were a proposal for the king's marriage, which seems to have been moved slightly—the pardon and recall of the Hamiltons, to which, though pressed upon him, he showed himself greatly opposed—and the restoration of the earl of Angus, to which, as it was moved chiefly by the English ambassador, he expressed his readiness to accede. The convention was sitting in Edinburgh, but the lords found much difficulty in persuading the king to agree to the form of justification which they demanded. On the 11th of October, Bowes wrote—"Albeit the king be pleased to accept this action of the lords to be done for his good service, yet he liketh not that the causes moving the lords to enterprise the same, and alleged in their declaration, should be examined and tried by this convention, because he thinketh that himself and his honour are interested and touched thereby. And when the earls of Gowrie and Mar, with Dunfermline, moved him the other night to agree and suffer the said declaration to be approved by the convention, he was greatly grieved therewith, and could not be brought to consent to the allowance thereof. Afterwards finding the book of the declaration aforesaid in the hands of Mr. Gilbert Monereith, and reading the same, he entered into a great passion

and sorrow to behold himself and his honour, as he thought, so greatly wounded thereby. But herein he is now better satisfied. And yet the same book might have been in some part more favourably penned for him and his honour, as it should indeed have been done, if the perusing thereof, as once was promised, had been given to sir George Carey and me." On the 12th, Bowes reports the further efforts to persuade the king to agree to the declaration of the lords. "Upon conference had this day with the earl of Gowrie and the abbot of Dunfermline, they showed me that they found the king desirous to pass over this matter quietly, without touching any particular persons charged with the advice expressed in the declaration set forth by the lords, or to examine and try the causes and ground of the said action. And because they think that the wrapping up of the matter in such manner and in silence, shall be to the condemnation and prejudice both of them and also of the general cause, and work the justification and discharge of the duke, Arran, and others; therefore they labour much to persuade the king to be pleased that this convention may examine and try the said causes and matters objected against the duke, Arran, and others, and thereon to give their censure and judgment. But finding great difficulty to satisfy the king herein, and thinking that by her majesty's means, and advice to be known to come from her highness, he will be the rather induced to admit this examination and trial of the said causes to be had before this convention; therefore they have moved me to write with speed to you, requiring that her majesty's advice in this part may be sent hither, and made known to the king, in such wise as shall best please her majesty. And persuading him in general terms only to examine and try by himself and his nobility presently convened, all the causes and matters touching as well the ground of the late action enterprised for the reformation of the state here, as also the objections laid against any person accused or charged with any crimes by the lords and other entering the action aforesaid."

Meanwhile, the duke of Lennox continued to linger on the scene of his recent greatness. In the latter part of September, he had embarked in a ship which was supposed to be bound for France, but it was soon known that, under pretence of being driven thither by force of weather, he had landed

in the isle of Bute, and had taken up his residence in Rose castle. His abode here excited some suspicion, as it was known to be conveniently situated for communicating privately with some of the northern lords who were least favourable to the present state of things, and it was near enough to Dumbarton to enable him to keep up his communication with that fortress. During the time he was here, he made several attempts to open a private correspondence with the king, but this was discouraged by James himself, who anticipated from such a step no other result than inconvenience to himself from the anger of the lords when they discovered it. The king stated his conviction that Lennox would not leave the kingdom until after the conclusion of the convention, and it was complained bitterly that his presence in Scotland caused many of the lords, who still thought that a counter-revolution might take place, to hold aloof and keep away from the convention. The Ruthven lords, suspicious of designs against them, collected their forces, and remained about the king in sufficient strength to resist any attempt at taking him out of their hands. They were thus led into heavy expenses, and they applied, through Bowes, for pecuniary assistance from Elizabeth. This, however, the parsimonious princess refused, to the great disappointment of her ambassador. "I lament much," Bowes writes on the 17th of October, "to behold such untimely sparing in causes, and when most bounty ought to be employed to purchase the fruit that might yield best surety for her majesty's estate, and avoid excess of expenses in time coming. I am inwardly afraid that God's determinate judgment will not suffer us to repair the ruins in our house before it fall upon our heads, and that this present husbandry shall at length be found like the huswifery of Calais. My late letters will let you see the towardness of the king, easily to be now carried into any such course as by her majesty and wise council shall be found best. The lords with him, and all the religious and good sort earnestly press the same. If the work be at this time stayed, or fall, the building, I think, will never after prosper; for our credit broken so far shall be unable to repair the breach, and the loss of the good instrument to be now cast away by our default, will not suddenly be recovered, nor be found sufficient to remove the possession taken by

their adversaries, that are warned either to take away, or else to keep the instruments so weak, as they shall have no power hereafter to hurt them. Because I perceive that my labour herein shall bring both greater discomfort to good men, that in the end are like to be abandoned, and also more disgrace to myself, that hath no power to perform the effects meet to be promised, than it may do any good office to the contentment or profit of her majesty, for whom I am ready to lay down my life; therefore I see it high time to stay my further progress in these matters, and right humbly to pray you that I may be speedily called away, to live at my charge in such poor estate as shall please God and her majesty to appoint me. The thousand pounds received for these services remaineth entirely with me, ready to be returned or bestowed as shall best content her majesty to direct me. I beseech you also to procure me direction that I may know what to do therewith, being loath to touch the same, or hereafter to persuade the opening of her majesty's purse, but rather to choose for the present to bear a heavy burden on my weak back, and to answer all things for her majesty's service in my charge, and in time to steal away with burnt hand, that shall from henceforth beware of the fire."

Bowes was now informed that Lennox had returned to Dumbarton, and that he had sent a messenger with letters to the king and some of his friends, representing that he had been driven back, not only by the weather, but by fear of some English pirates, which he said were on the look-out to intercept him. New reports now went abroad of the duke's intentions, and it was rumoured that his friends were ready to take up arms, and that he was determined to try his fortune against his enemies. These fears were not calmed by the young king's pertinacious objection to the levying of men by the lords for his guard. This provoked new expostulations from both the Scottish lords and the English ambassador, who were equally anxious that he should compel the duke to depart, and that he should allow of the guard. James promised Bowes that he would do the former, but he persisted in his refusal to authorise the levying of the soldiers. Bowes tells us how, on the 17th of October, "coming in the evening to the convention then sitting in council, the matter for the levy of soldiers was proposed; whereupon it was voted by all that assembly,

except the earls of Eglington and Morton, the lord Herries, and the abbot of Newbottle, that still did withstand it, that forces for the king's guard should be listed; nevertheless, the king referred the resolution thereof until the next morning. Whereupon, after my report made to him yesterday of the contents of your last letter, I moved him earnestly to agree to the levy of soldiers, laying before him many arguments persuading the necessity of the same; and being better satisfied therewith, he entered immediately the council-house amongst the lords, where it was fully voted by all that convention, except the earls of March and Morton, the lord Herries, and Newbottle, that forces should be levied; and now two hundred horsemen and two hundred footmen shall be this day taken up and kept in pay about the king, so long as the duke shall abide in this realm."

The king's reluctance to agree to the declaration of the Ruthven lords had been now at last overcome, and on the 19th of October, he made a public declaration before the convention of his entire approval of the "raid." "The king," we are informed in Bowes's dispatch, "by long and pithy oration, declared to the convention there assembled, the manner and effects of the beginning of this action at Ruthven, and of all other acts done by himself and the lords at Stirling, and since his coming hither [to Edinburgh], approving all the same to be taken in hand and done for the benefit of religion, himself, estate, and common weal of this realm. He acknowledged great errors to have been committed by himself and others, that were abused and deceived by subtle instruments about him; he persuaded that peace might be preserved in his realm, concord amongst the nobility, and all particulars set aside; and lastly, remembered how he had stayed the levy of soldiers for guard to himself and surety to the lords. Whereupon he had promised to the lords *in verbo principis*, and by instrument subscribed by him to witness the same, that he would allow this action to be enterprised and done for his good service, and that this convention should both ratify the same, and also appoint a parliament to perform it; and therefore he prayed that court to have consideration thereof. Hereupon the lord Herries moved that the earls of Mar, Gowrie, and Glencairn, being parties in this cause, might be removed, according to the ancient order in like cases; and albeit some arguments were made to the

contrary, yet, at the request of the earls themselves, they removed from the council during the debate on that matter. At last, by general vote, without any contradiction, the action was both approved and ratified. After this, it was also concluded by the council that fifteen persons should name and appoint a sufficient number and meet persons to be of the king's secret council, and these commissioners, upon their conference on Saturday last, had agreed to establish a council of thirty-two persons, whereof there should be eight earls, eight lords, eight of the church, and eight ordinary officers; and that eight of them should be altered quarterly by turn, and be always resident with the king. But upon new agreements, this advice is to be altered, and hitherto it remaineth without resolution, and to be again debated."

The act of indemnity to which the king had now given his approval was a complete justification of all that the Ruthven lords had done. It began by stating that abuses of various kinds had been introduced into the government during the king's minority, which had reached such a head that the true religion as well as the king's person and the state were in danger of ruin, and that it was absolutely necessary to provide some immediate remedy. Thereupon, moved by this necessity, the earls of Gowrie, Mar, and Glencairn had laid aside all other feelings but that of duty to their country, and presented themselves before the king to lay before him the grievances of the kingdom and petition for their redress. The king, on due consideration, had granted their demand, and had by his own mouth absolved them from all unworthy motives in the course they had pursued. The whole matter having since been brought before the king and his council, and there fully debated, "his majesty, with the uniform advice and council of the said estates, finds and declares that the said earls of Gowrie, Mar, and Glencairn, in addressing his majesty on the said twenty-second day of August, and for the service which they have since done near his person, and all they did during that time, and all that has hitherto followed from it or that may follow or depend upon it hereafter, have not ceased and will not cease in all time to come, as his majesty, his council and estates allow, hold, esteem, and repute, to have been and to be good, loyal, and necessary servants to his majesty, and profitable for his kingdom, especially touching the preservation of religion in its integrity, the

assurance of his majesty's very noble person, his crown and estate, and for the reformation and redress of the said abuses, which could not support longer delay. And moreover our said sovereign, by the advice of the said nobility, council, and estates, has declared and by the present declares that all the takings of arms, all the convocations, conflicts, and damages which followed therefrom, all the apprehensions and detentions of persons in captivity, all other courses of hostility and open force, and all the leagues, plots, and contracts which have been formed and signed among them for that effect, and all other their actions and deeds whatever, being in truth or having the appearance of being contrary to his authority and laws, as not having the consent of his majesty, which could not well be sought or obtained at that time without great danger and inconvenience, and all they have done to procure the advancement of their said enterprise since the — day of —, to the present day, by the said earls of Gowrie, Mar, and Glencairn, their kinsmen, friends, and servants, adherents, and associates, of whatever pre-eminence or degree they may be, and all that has followed from it or shall follow hereafter, has been and at all times to come shall be reported, held, and esteemed as well done, and as a loyal and profitable service to his majesty, and to the good of his kingdom, tending to the prosecution of religion, the preservation of his royal person and crown, and the reformation of the said abuses and enormities, and that the said earls, their kinsmen, friends, and servants and vassals, or those who have lent them assistance, of whatever quality, pre-eminence, or degree they be, shall not be prosecuted or injured for this cause in their persons, lands, or goods, or shall be summoned or accused of the said enterprise criminally or civilly in time to come, exempting and discharging the said persons and each of them from all action civil or criminal, of whatever quality or importance it may be, which it shall be competent to his majesty or to his successors or to any one of his subjects for their particular, to bring against them for the said occasion." This decree was to be published through the kingdom, and all subjects who did or said anything contrary to it were to be punished as sowers of sedition and trouble between the king and his people. Further, the king forbade all advocates to enter upon any proceedings against the persons men-

tioned on this account, and to all judges and ministers of justice to take cognisance of them. This act was also to include and protect all friends of the earls not mentioned in it who had given aid and assistance in the enterprise, as though they were named in it. And if any doubt or question should ever arise with regard to this act, it was to be decided by the king and the estates assembled in parliament. Finally, James promised on the word of a king to cause this act to be ratified and approved in the next parliament.

During the events we have just been relating, Scotland lost one of her great and celebrated men. On the 28th of September, 1582, died George Buchanan, a man now best known by his writings, but who had mixed in most of the stirring events of Scottish history during many years. At the time of his death, which occurred in Edinburgh, he was in his seventy-fifth year, but, during the closing period of his life, his strong political feelings had been softened down, and he had withdrawn himself so entirely from the turmoil of public affairs, that he passed out of the world almost unobserved; and so poor, that he left not money enough to defray the expenses of his humble interment. It is known that he was buried in the cemetery of the Grey Friars, but the site of his grave is forgotten.

The king, having granted so full a remission to the lords who had so unceremoniously deposed his favourites, seems to have thought it a favourable opportunity to press for the liberation of the earl of Arran, who was still a close prisoner in Ruthven castle, but in this he met the most resolute opposition from the lords. After much discussion, and some anger on more than one occasion, it was finally insisted that it would be unsafe to allow the earl to go at large until the duke of Lennox had departed for France, and with this decision James was obliged to remain satisfied. The king, on his part, granted a full pardon to the earl of Angus, and that nobleman, with such of his friends as returned with him from England, were received at court with great show of favour, towards the end of October. About this time, some signs of disagreement among the lords began again to show themselves, accompanied with a degree of remissness which they had not shown before. Many important questions which had been brought before the convention were left undecided, while measures which had been

determined upon were not carried into effect. Even the soldiers for the king's guard were never raised. "Albeit," says Bowes, in a dispatch written on the 29th of October, "it was agreed by the king and convention that two hundred horsemen and two hundred footmen should be levied for a guard to the king and cause in hand, yet, upon the misliking of the officers of the same, the matter hath been so long deferred as now it is clean given over and thought needless, except the lords shall be constrained by the disobedience of the duke to enter into arms against him. And because I doubted to have been called on for relief of some part of the pay to have been made to those soldiers to have been listed, therefore, under the colour and the rose, I have hitherto put off the gift of any part of her majesty's treasure with me to be given to any person, saving to some few before named in my former to you, and warranted by your's to me. Thus the portion committed to me resteth still to be employed or returned, as best shall like her majesty to direct me. There are four principal persons looking to be relieved, viz. the earls of Mar, Gowrie, Glencairn, and the master of Glamis, and hardly may any one of those be relieved without the disdain of the others that shall be omitted. Mar and Glamis are steadfast and to be trusted, and run a sound course; Gowrie and Glencairn have been suspected, the first to favour Arran, and the latter to be too far bound to the duke and Arran. Yet they are of great power, and be now joined with the others in promise renewed as before, and the casting off them will endanger perilous division; therefore I leave it to good consideration. These great personages may happily think that the three estates shall not be offered under five hundred French crowns apiece, being a hundred and fifty pounds; which sum I believe shall well please them."

In an interesting despatch of the 2nd of November, Bowes again touches upon this subject, in a manner which shows painfully the uncertain position of things at this moment. "On Wednesday last," he says, "the earl of Mar came to me, letting me know the present condition and state of their cause, and offering himself, his friends, and his whole power, to be employed as her majesty shall direct for the progress and benefit of this action, to the king's profit and welfare, and the preservation of the good amity of these realms. Surely this nobleman is

endowed with noble qualities, being always found so steadfast, as he hath been ever seen mindful and constant in his word and promises, being oftentimes more ready to perform and do good offices than hastily to promise the same. If her majesty please to show any liberality amongst the noblemen, then I think that he hath and shall deserve to be with the first of them. The earls of Glencairn and Gowrie, with the lord Lindsay, came yesterday to me, entering into several discourses and devices for remedies of the apparent evils in this state, with liberal offers of their ready devotion and good offices in this and all other actions for the advancement of the common causes and the amity betwixt the two crowns. I was advised that some of them had another errand; and albeit I have put it over for this time, yet I shall be assailed again, and tried what I will do towards their relief and satisfaction. So as they are either in time to be contented, or at length they will scarcely chere at my empty hand. In this conference I have taken occasion to report to them the slanderous bruits (*rumours*) craftily cast abroad in this town, to persuade men to think that great stir and division was fallen amongst themselves, that sundry of them had adventured great prejudice to this cause by their untimely favours and treaties with the duke and Arran; and under the title of these bruits I left nothing untouched that I knew might rub on their sores. All which they have taken in good part, confessing that like rumours were, indeed, sown abroad, but without any just cause or ground; concluding that these should, nevertheless, be lessons to them to beware, and by their sound actions to approve and always declare that they did and would ever honourably hold on their course with their associates, as for the good progress of the action and to their own honours should appertain. And with such good terms and promises we wrapped up the matter with good contentment. By good intelligence I have learned that the lords here have thought her majesty's purse to have been over long shut and kept from them; and some of them look that a greater portion should be presented and given them than I have written and advised to be sufficient, and that I thought might please them. Nevertheless, I have not heard on that side, neither dare I meddle with her majesty's purse without especial direction, and therefore I still refer this matter to her

highness's good pleasure and wise consideration."

Among the private instructions given to Bowes on this embassy, was one of a rather interesting nature. In the troubled times since the regency of Lennox, the celebrated letters and sonnets from Mary to Bothwell, with the casket that contained them, had disappeared. Elizabeth was anxious to obtain possession of these important documents, and she had directed her ambassador to endeavour to trace them out. At length, in the beginning of November, 1582, Bowes discovered that they were in the possession of the earl of Gowrie. It appears that Bowes, on learning this, tried first to get possession of them by indirect means, but without success. On the 12th of November he wrote to Walsingham—"Because I had both learned that the casket and letters mentioned in my last before these were come to the possession of the earl of Gowrie, and also found that no mean might prevail to win the same out of his hands without his own consent and privity, in which behalf I had employed fit instruments that, nevertheless, profited nothing; therefore I attempted to assay himself, letting him know that the said casket and letters should have been brought to her majesty by the offer and good means of good friends, promising to have delivered them to her majesty before they came into his hands and custody. And knowing that he did bear like affection, and was ready to pleasure her majesty in all things, and chiefly in this that had been thus far tendered to her highness, and which thereby should be well accepted and with princely thanks and gratuity be requited to his comfort and contentment, I moved him that they might be a present to be sent to her majesty from him, and that I might cause the same to be conveyed to her majesty; adding hereunto such words and arguments as might both stir up a hope of liberality, and also best effect the purpose. At the first he was loath to agree that they were in his possession, but I let him plainly know that I was certainly informed that they were delivered to him by Sandie Jerdan. Whereupon he pressed to know who did so inform me, inquiring whether the sons of the earl of Morton had done it or no. I did not otherwise in plain terms deny or answer thereunto, but that he might think that he had told me, as the prior is ready to avouch, and well pleased that I shall give him to be the author

thereof. After he said all these letters were in his keeping (which he would neither grant nor deny), yet he might not deliver them to any person without the consents and privities as well of the king, that had interest therein, as also of the rest of the noblemen enterprisers in the action against the king's mother, and that would have them kept as an evidence to warrant and make good that action. And albeit I replied that their action in that part touching the assignation of the crown to the king by his mother, had received such establishment, confirmation, and strength, by acts of parliaments and other public authority and instruments, as neither should that case be suffered to come in debate or question, nor such scrolls and pages ought to be shown for the strengthening thereof, so as these might well be left and be rendered to the hands of her majesty, to whom they were destined before they fell in his keeping. Yet he would not be moved nor satisfied, concluding, after much reasoning, that the earl of Morton, nor any other that had the charge and keeping thereof, durst at any time make delivery. And because it was the first time that I had moved him therein, and that he would gladly both answer her majesty's good expectations in him, and also perform his duty to his sovereign and associates in the action aforesaid, therefore he would seek out the said casket and letters at his return to his house (which he thought should be within short time), and upon finding of the same, and better advice and consideration had of the cause, he would give me further answer. This resolution I have received as the thing that for the present I could not better, leaving him to give her majesty such testimony of his good will towards her by his frank dealing herein, as she may have cause to confirm her highness's good opinion conceived already of him, and be thereby drawn to greater goodness towards him. I shall still labour him, both by myself and also by all other means; but I greatly distrust the desired success herein." No further allusion to this subject is made in Bowes's despatches until the 24th of November, when the ambassador gives Walsingham the following details. "For the recovery of the letters in the coffer come to the hands of the earl of Gowrie, I have lately moved him earnestly therein; letting him know the purpose of the Scottish queen, both giving out that these letters are counterfeited by her rebels,

and also seeking thereon to have them delivered to her or defaced, and that the means which she will make in this behalf shall be so great and effectual, as these writings cannot be safely kept in that realm without dangerous offence to him that hath the custody thereof; neither shall he that is once known to have them, be suffered to hold them in his hands. Therewith I have at large opened the perils likely to fall to that action and the parties therein, and particularly to himself, that is now openly known to have the possession of these writings; and I have letten him see what surety it shall bring to the said cause, and to all the parties therein, and to himself, that these writings may be with secrecy and good order commit to the keeping of her majesty, that will have them ready whensoever any use shall be for them, and by her highness's countenance defend them and the parties from such wrongful objections as shall be laid against them; offering at length to him, that if he be not fully satisfied herein, or doubt that the rest of the associates shall not like of the delivery of them to her majesty in this good manner, and for the intent rehearsed, that I shall readily, upon meeting and conference with them, procure their consents in this part; a matter more easy to offer than perform; and lastly, moving him that for the secrecy and benefit of the cause, and that her majesty's good opinion towards him might be firmly settled and confirmed by his acceptable forwardness herein, he would, without needless scruple, frankly commit these writings to her majesty's good custody for the good uses recited. After long debate, he resolved and said that he would unfeignedly show and do to her majesty all the pleasure that he might, without offence to the king, his sovereign, and prejudice to the associates in the action; and therefore he would first make search and view the said letters, and thereupon take advice what he might do, and how far he might satisfy and content her majesty; promising thereon to give me more resolute answer. And he concluded flatly, that after he had found and seen the writings, that he might not make delivery of them without the privity of the king; albeit I stood long with him against his resolution in this point to acquaint the king with this matter before the letters were in the hands of her majesty, letting him see that his doings therein should adventure great dangers to the cause; yet I

could not remove him from it. It may be that he meaneth to put over the matter from himself to the king; upon sight whereof I shall travel diligently to obtain the king's consent that the letters may be commit to her majesty's keeping; thinking it more easy to prevail herein with the king in the present tone and affection that he beareth to her highness, than to win anything at the hands of the associates in the action; whereof some principal of them are now come and remain at the devotion of the king's mother. In this I shall still call on Gowrie to search out the coffer, according to his promise; and as I shall find him minded to do therein, so I shall do my best and whole endeavour to effect the success to her majesty's best contentment." In a private letter to Walsingham, written on the 2nd of December, Bowes says,— "Because I saw good opportunity offered to renew the matter to the earl of Gowrie for recovery of the letters in the coffer in his hands, therefore I put him in mind thereof; whereupon he told me that the duke of Lennox had sought earnestly to have had those letters, and that the king did know where they were, so as they could not be delivered to her majesty without the king's privity and consent; and he pretendeth to be still willing to pleasure her highness in the same, as far as he may with his duty to the king and the rest of the associates in that action; but I greatly distrust to effect this to her majesty's pleasure, wherein nevertheless I shall do mine uttermost endeavour." This is the last allusion to these celebrated letters, and it is not known when they passed out of Gowrie's hands, or when and how they were destroyed. It is certain that they were not treated by any one concerned in the matter as though their authenticity could be doubted.

The duke of Lennox still remained in the islands, evidently unwilling to leave Scotland. He pretended that the winds were unfavourable, or that he had received intelligence of English ships sent out to intercept him, and, for the sake of gaining time, he implored the king to obtain from queen Elizabeth a passport, that he might take his way through England; while it was known that several of the lords opposed to the faction now in power, urged him continually to remain, and offered to join with him in an attempt to rescue the king, and there was room enough for suspecting that the latter was insincere in the anxiety he pre-

tended to manifest for his immediate departure. The English ambassador complains repeatedly in his despatches of the difficulty of obtaining any certain information of the duke's movements and proceedings, and the consequence was that the court and capital were filled with rumours of conspiracies and dangerous designs. Meanwhile the earl of Arran, disappointed in his hope of obtaining his liberty by the intervention of the king, now addressed himself to the ministers of the kirk; and, in a letter written early in November, from his prison at Ruthven, he threw himself upon their generosity, and offered to make a confession of the duke's practices to restore Mary and overthrow the protestant religion. The ministers, however, seem to have placed too little value on Arran's words to listen to his offers. Their suspicions were again aroused by letters from their friends in France, assuring them that there was at the French court a general talk of extensive conspiracies for altering the government, which would soon be put into execution, and other accounts led people to believe that the duke counted upon assistance from the French king. About the middle of November, the king informed Bowes in confidence, that he had secretly arranged for the duke's coming privately to Leith, and then embarking for France; and, at the same time, James made a new attempt for the liberation of the earl of Arran. "On Thursday last, in the evening," says Bowes, writing on the 17th of November, "the king, sitting in council, directed Dunfermline, then occupying the place of the lord chancellor, to propound and move that assembly for Arran's liberty; and thereupon it was voted by all the councillors there present, except the abbot of Cambuskenneth, that Arran should be immediately discharged of his imprisonment at Ruthven, and have leave to come and remain at his house at Kinneil, twelve miles from this town, with provision that he should not come near the king by ten miles. The earls of Gowrie and Glencairn had secretly moved the king to this, who perceiving now that the king findeth himself abused, and that also the rest of the associates in this action, and generally the people, are much grieved herewith, have therefore sought to excuse themselves to the earl of Mar, and others absent from the council at the resolution hereof. So soon as this was passed, the king sent the prior

of Blantyre, newly made lord privy seal, and one of the secret council, to give me knowledge hereof, and to feel my liking in the same; whereupon, contrary to the king's expectation, I told the prior that it was strange to me to find such a sudden revolt, and so good a cause to be given over, or rather betrayed, by some of the associates in the enterprise; proving by evident arguments that the untimely (*inopportune*) liberty of Arran should easily kindle such a fire in this realm and near the king's person, as without his peril and great bloodshed could not be quenched. I laid before him the immediate inconveniences manifest to arise by the meeting of the duke and Arran, with Seaton, Fernyhirst, and other malcontents, and standing in desperate state, that readily now might come together, and that, had the earl of Morton with his forces (which after a suspicious convention holden in the west were gathered), and sundry other of their confederates ready to enter into and assist them in any attempt, and seeing the act of council at Stirling commanding the duke's indilate (*immediate*) departure, and the act of the last convention limiting the warding of Arran, could not retain their forces,—it might thereby appear to her majesty that the promises to her highness should be no better kept, and it would be seen to the rest of the associates in the action and other good men in that band, that it was time for them to stand upon their guard and take arms against their enemies, ready to oppress them and to disturb the state likely to recule and fall into the late errors condemned. These and many other mischiefs I recounted to him, with request to acquaint the king therewith. The prior, seeing the apparent evils arising by this resolution, and bearing good affection to the progress of this good action begun, wherein his labours and means have given especial advancement, agreed readily to warn and move the king both to stay the execution of this act, and also to give sufficient assurance to her majesty that the same shall not prejudice any good course intended; which, soon after, he well accomplished, being always very ready to do such good offices as deserve thanks and comfortable consideration. On the next morrow I came to the king, dealing with him in like manner as I had done with the prior. Whereupon I found that the prior had persuaded the king to give order, then already executed, to restrain the act for Arran's

liberty, and to award a new and straight charge by his letters to Arran to continue in ward at Ruthven. And for the better satisfying of her majesty in this behalf, the king said that he would partly touch this matter in his letters to her majesty, willing me to assure her highness that in this, and in all other affairs of importance, he would chiefly follow her majesty's advice and counsel, and so faithfully perform his course and amity with her majesty as should well approve both the inward love and affection towards her highness, and also his steadfast constancy in the same; offering, for witness thereof, to yield her majesty any pleasure or matter in his power. . . . The bruit (*rumour*) of the act passed in council for Arran's liberty suddenly stirred up such murmur and offence amongst the people, as, if the same act had not been quickly stayed, immediate troubles had thereon ensued. And, albeit that the earls of Gowrie and Glencairn have laboured to acquit themselves of any evil intention in that matter, making large protestations that they will stand with their fellows in this action, wherein Gowrie affirmeth that he will continue to the end, notwithstanding he should be left alone without help; yet the rest of the associates and the favourers of the cause have these noblemen in such jealousy, as some division is threatened to follow thereon. And the king, misliking greatly the present condition of this state, doubting that the sequel shall draw some danger to his person, is now better pleased to have some guard of horsemen and footmen about him, more than at this time will be gotten for him; for supply whereof the earls of Angus, Bothwell, and Mar, and the master of Glammis, must call all their friends and attend in court, to their great charges; wherewith the earl of Mar and master of Glammis have been so long burdened, that their estate, and chiefly of Mar, being left in great debts, can hardly sustain."

The continual alarms and jealousies among all parties at this period are so vividly pictured in Bowes's despatches, that we will continue to give them, as much as possible, in his own words. On the 23rd of November he wrote as follows:—"I have been credibly informed that the earl of Morton (Maxwell) came lately to the duke at Largs, with a muffler on his face and one single man; and that he persuaded the duke both to tarry and also to seek the recovery of the king's person; but the duke, having little hope in that enterprise, and accusing

the noblemen of this realm for their inconstancies, had little will to agree thereto. Yet here is a great distrust suddenly entered and commonly reigning with many, that think that the duke will give some attempt within these ten days; and the late coming hither of the earl of Rothes, the lord Ogilby, the provost of Glencowden, and other favourers of the duke, doth increase this suspicion. But I have learned that Rothes and Ogilby, being before this time appointed commissioners for the kirk causes, are called hither for these affairs. Nevertheless, I have warned the lords here, and after long and several conferences with the earls of Glencairn and Gowrie (with whom I have been very plain, signifying to them some way the slanderous troubles and jealousies against them, and chiefly against Glencairn, suspected to have intelligence with the duke by letters and otherwise), I have received very good acquittals and large promises of these two noblemen, well acquitting themselves against all these bruits, and promising to stand fast to this action; and thereon they are all again in good terms united, with good hope to be constant in this cause. And hereon Gowrie hath moved Mar to call his friends to advise to what ward and place Arran shall be committed; offering that after Arran be once delivered from his house and charge, that then he will be as ready to pursue him as any other in all this company. Besides the king is pleased to give his presence to-morrow at the sermon in the High Town, and after to dine with the earl of Angus, who hath invited all these lords and myself. It is thought that this union and good beginning shall bring forth good fruit." On the 26th of November, Bowes gave information of new causes of suspicion. "As by my last and next before these, I signified to you the opinions of many, looking for some sudden attempt for the alteration of this court and state, so the same conceit is greatly increased by sundry circumstances seen of late. For yesternight the earl of Crawford and lord Hume, especial favourites of the duke, came to this town, with pretence of such slender errands, as it is easily perceived that they bring a more secret purpose than they will make known openly. Their companies entering into the city with them were few, but many of their friends and servants are known to be come into the city to attend on them. The earls of Montrose and Morton will be here to-morrow, and the earl of Huntley,

with other of the duke's friends, are looked to come shortly after. Besides the earl of Rothes, the lord Ogilby, the abbot of Newbottle, and such like, do still remain in this town beyond their appointed diet. Sundry other lords absent are seen to lean more to the duke than standeth with their promises; and some of the duke's instruments and other lately drawn aside, do now boldly offer themselves very familiarly to the king's presence. Thus the chief strength and party to the duke are suddenly flocked together; and himself being suspected to be near hand, maketh some think that some hasty enterprise shall be immediately attempted." The suspicions excited by these arrivals were somewhat diminished by the explanations given by the king. "The king appeareth to be thoroughly persuaded that this practice, if any such shall be, is chiefly meant to hinder his course intended to be taken with her majesty; and he thinketh that both these men come lately, and also some others with him before, do not greatly like of the progress of his course with her majesty; wherein he seemeth to be resolute, promising to proceed effectually and perform constantly. Montrose is called hither by the letters of the king, who intendeth to compound the griefs betwixt Angus and Montrose, wherein no little difficulty will be found. Morton is charged to appear to answer for matters in the office. Crawford will depart this night to Leith, and so return home; and Hume will be gone to-morrow, as he hath told the king. The departure of these, and sight of the provision immediately to be made, are like to stay the repair of Huntley and others; so as this storm, generally doubted (*feared*), is likely, by God's grace, to blow over without so sudden inconveniences as were feared. The king was contented to give order and commandment both to the lords lately come, to keep no greater companies than ordinarily they used, and these without armour, and also to the provost of Edinburgh to take and imprison any person found armed."

On the last day of November, Bowes had an audience of the king, to deliver the passport for the duke of Lennox's passage through England. "The king, receiving the passport with great joy and contentment, said openly that now no excuse should serve to delay the duke's departure, commanding the assembly of the council to that day for the execution of the same; wherein he is so earnest, as I needed little to persuade the

expedition. Nevertheless, for the surety and furtherance thereof, I moved the king and council, whereupon Mr. David Collesse is again chosen, and was on Sunday last sent to the duke, with the king's letter and commandment for the duke's immediate departure by land, or by sea, at his own choice. Mr. David hath direction to take order for his indilate passage one way, or otherwise, upon his denial or delay, to let him know that the act made at Stirling shall be put in practice with all possible speed, and that the king will severely punish his contempt and shameful abusing his favour towards him. For the more hastening of his departure, the king, out of his small store, hath sent him five hundred crowns towards the charges in his voyage, knowing that the duke hath little money in his coffers. Mr. David is purposed to return with resolute order, within two or three days at the furthest. And it is now resolved that the duke shall either depart presently without drift or excuse, or else to be pursued and punished with speed for his disobedience; wherein I shall within a few days give you advertisement with more certainty. The king, understanding well the present dangers, both towards his own person, and also for the alteration of this state, and to give the more occasion to hasten the duke's departure, is well pleased and very desirous to have a guard immediately to be levied and planted about him for his safety, and the benefits of these causes remembered. And albeit the earl of Gowrie and others have hitherto stayed the same for especial respect seen to themselves, yet upon the sight of the perils lately passed, and to avoid the inconveniences appearing to be still intended, it is concluded, and that in high time, that a hundred horsemen and a hundred footmen shall be listed and put in pay, under colonel Stuart, to attend on the king's person." Even for these small measures of defence, the English ambassador was obliged to make an advance of money.

Bowes had soon reason to be convinced of the accuracy of his information relating to the new plan of revolution, and it was his watchfulness alone that prevented it. It appears to have been arranged that on pretence of proceeding to Blackness for the purpose of embarking, the duke of Lennox was suddenly to approach the capital, in order to be ready to take advantage of the change which was to be made at court. The day fixed for this attempt was the 4th

of December. On Sunday the 2nd of December, Lennox removed from Arran to Dumbarton, whence, early on the morning of Tuesday, the 4th, he proceeded to the house of the lord Livingston at Callander. The same night he removed from Callander to Blackness, "looking," says Bowes, "to have found the court here to have been otherwise altered that same night than hath taken effect." Bowes goes on to state that, "Being warned of some surprise of the king's person to be intended, I earnestly moved the king, his council, and others, to gather more forces, and keep a strong watch about the king for prevention of danger; which, with great difficulty, was at length performed; and yet not with sufficient provision, for it was persuaded to the king that this suspicion grounded upon vain bruits (*rumours*) ought not to put him in fear or trouble his court. Besides this warning and information given by me, the king's sompter-man had shown Robert Erskine that a servant of young Alexander Stuart, son of the captain of Blackness, had told him for certain that his master and others would shortly welter (*overthrow*) this court; and, by the advice of Robert Erskine, the sompter-man was returned to this servant to learn the manner and time of the enterprise. The sompter-man coming to this servant, his near kinsman and friend, told him that the wages and fees of every officer in court were so retrenched and cut off, as every good man wished a speedy change, praying the servant to let him know whether this matter purposed for the alteration of the court should be speedily attempted, and offering his service with all that he could do for the advancement thereof. Thereupon the servant showed him that it should be done that night, being Monday last, or else on Wednesday at night next following; and that his master, Alexander Stuart, with others, were in readiness, and would first enter themselves into the church whilst the king should be at supper; and next come up the dark stair into the long gallery over the church, where they would remain until they should be advertised that the lords were departed from the king to their own suppers; and then they would enter into the little gallery under the king's lodging; saying they had the keys of the door already delivered to them by John Bogge, the king's porter; and coming to the king, they would put his person in safety. Herewith he said that the earl of Glencairn should have there

in his company, Stuart, captain of the Bute; and these two should come to the king, and persuade him to be contented and to send for the duke. Lastly, he told him that they would there kill the earl of Mar, the abbot of Dunfermline, the prior of Blantyre, the parson of Camsay, and Mr. John Colville. The sompter-man being brought before colonel Stuart, and examined by him, did still stand to this tale, affirming it to be true; whereupon the colonel informed the king, and by his commandment search was made for the said servant, that was then presently attending his master in the town; yet he was so withdrawn as he could not be found, neither is there anything done to his master, but he is left at large and at his own liberty. This enterprise should have been executed on Tuesday last, and that night the duke came in great haste to Blackness. Fernyhirst, accompanied with fourscore horsemen armed was on Leith sands before three of the clock in the morning; and it is found that sundry other troops of horsemen were about the king that night. The earl of Morton had been with the duke very secretly in the evening, and that night he continued in readiness and armed; howbeit I had so provided that such watch was laid about him, Newbottle, Glencowden, and such others of that faction, as they should not have strayed far from their lodgings."

"Yesterday, in the morning," continues Bowes, writing on the 6th of December, "I had long conference with the king, who let me know that he had cause to suspect, not only the lord Scaton's sons and Alexander Stuart to have intended the execution of this enterprise, but also to think that some of his noblemen resident about him and in his house, were both privy and also agreeing to this practise purposed; declaring to me that he should still continue subject to such surprises and dangers, without his good relief from her majesty, in whose help he now reposeth his whole confidence and hope of refuge. Hereupon I persuaded the immediate apprehension of all the persons suspected; the present order for the indilate (*immediate*) departure of the duke, or otherwise to be declared rebel; and to put his own person speedily into safety; letting him see the necessity of all these things. For the performing whereof, I advised him to gather the forces of the assured noblemen about him; offering that, if he thought his power by them not sufficient, that he

should be assisted by her majesty from Berwick, or otherwise; which wrought show of no little comfort in him, a resolution to follow this advice, with determination to put some order for these present troubles, and soon after to retire himself to Stirling, or some other strong place, where he purposeth both to shake off noblemen and others suspected, and also make especial choice of the noblemen and others, meet persons to be continued about him. And being thus with the king, continuing conference, the lords and council came to him, letting him understand further matter, certified by the laird of Cessford (that right timely and with great care had advertised the ministers of the preparation and coming of Fernyhirst), and approving (*proving*) the surprise that should have been executed. Soon after I acquainted the earl of Angus, Dunfermline, and others well affected, of all my doings with the king; moving then that order might be taken by the king and council for the expedition and surety of the same; which, albeit they like very well and promised to perform (saying that they were come to the king for the same causes), yet nothing is done at all by the council or otherwise than is before expressed. And I am in doubt that such as use to draw the king from like resolutions for his benefit and safety, shall prevent the motion of his slow and careless council, that are more careful for their own than ready to offer themselves to any peril for the safety of the king. I am also holden very busy and forward in these matters, and thereby have received sundry warnings and advises of boasts against me; but it is not time to start at shaking shadows. The king hath sent the captain of the Butte to the duke of Blackness, to give him his resolute and direct answer for the time and manner of his departure, and looketh for the return of the said captain to be this day; whereof you shall be shortly advertised. There is a general expectation for the renewing of the attempt of some surprise or hasty running to arms, so as continual watch is kept for the meet prevention of the same. The duke's party is both very strong and also in good readiness, but the other side dwell in such security as I can neither redress nor be out of fear of sudden inconvenience to grow thereby; yet, if the noblemen entering this action shall stand fast (whereof I am in no small jealousy), I hope that out of this confusion and troubles some good effects shall be drawn, the issue of

which will be manifested within very few days. The master of Glammis, persuading Gowrie to continue steadfast in this action, protested with great earnestness that if he saw any of that company betray the cause, he would thrust his dagger in that person, whatsoever should befall to him for it. But Gowrie giveth promises sufficient in words, and he cannot long dissemble his deeds."

Before Bowes had completed his despatches, the officer sent by the king to the duke of Lennox had returned, with a letter from the duke. "In the letter the duke doth lay out his distressed estate (*condition*) in large manner, praying the king to have compassion thereof, and also confesseth that sundry noblemen and others offered to him to attempt the enterprise for recovery of the king's person; and in hope of the execution of the same he hasted unto Blackness, thinking that since the device proceeded not from himself, and that it was not to touch or hurt the king's person, that he might therefore look on and see what should succeed. By credit to the captain it was signified to the king, that if the king would have the duke depart in this unseasonable time, against the advices and requests of the most part of the nobility, then he would obey and perform it with all speed. Secondly, that he had neither money for his expenses, nor furniture meet for his journey; and he trusted the king would not put him away with such shame, and in that bare state; whereupon he prayed some time to make provision to supply these wants. Lastly, he accused the prior of Blantyre to be his enemy without cause; nevertheless he desired to speak with him. But Blantyre did not only deny to repair to him, but also showed such testimonies of his singular devotion to her majesty, and faithful duties to his sovereign, as might worthily deserve especial consideration and comfort. The king, setting down an order for the duke's speedy departure, and pretending to be careful to do the same to her majesty's best satisfaction, addressed Blantyre to me this day to acquaint me with the same. But misliking greatly both the manner, and also the substance thereof, and finding the cause very dangerously incumbered in the form of the king's own dealings, and of others, I resorted to the king, letting him see how dishonourable and perilous it was to use entreaty to his subjects, and how disobedient, wherein he should command and charge with severe penalty. After very sound and plain course

taken with him, he resolved to send the clerk-register and Mr. George Young, clerk of the council, to the duke, to take order for his departure within three days next after the publishing of the king's pleasure to the duke; and upon any excuse used for delay beyond this time, they have commission first to charge him directly, upon pain of treason, to depart out of this realm within the time aforesaid; next to give like charge upon like pain to the duke and captain of Blackness to render to the king's hands that house. And in this meantime, all men are restrained to have any resort or intelligence with him."

The duke's unwillingness to depart, and the reluctance of the king to proceed rigorously against him, became every day more apparent. This last message brought a new and passionate letter to the king, which led to further expostulations on the part of the ambassador. "The duke," says the latter, writing on the 9th of December, "by his letter appeared to think that the king doth not reward his painful service in such wise as he looked for, and as the same deserved; giving him thereby a lesson to beware, from henceforth, to serve him or any other prince in the world. By the same he casteth out his venom against Blantyre, charging him to be corrupted with the English angels, as many more, as he saith without ground, are in the king's court; with much other like matter of greater heat than effect. By credit he directed these two gentlemen to the king, to signify that he would be ready to be tried before the king and the two ambassadors for England and France [the French ambassador was now on his way to Scotland] in all causes whatsoever to be objected against him, praying that he might remain to abide such trial. Secondly, that he wanted money and other furniture for this journey; and that his apparel, stuff, and horses, were still on the west coast, which by any means he could not get conveyed to him within the time prescribed for his departure; and that he had not as yet seen her majesty's passport granted to him. Therefore he prayed, that if the king will needsly command him to depart, that then he may have leave to tarry twenty days, for his provision and furniture in these behalfs; resolving to pass through to England by virtue of his passport. Thirdly, he prayed the king to license him to mortgage such portion of his lands as might furnish and

supply the wants aforesaid. Herewith he travailed much to clear himself against the suspicion conceived of him for the conspiracy of the late surprise intended against the king's person,—alleging that, albeit he had offer made of some noblemen for the recovery of the king's person, yet their meaning was, not to do it by any violence or surprise, neither that he knew anything of that conspiracy. The king readily denied either to allow any trial offered, seeing that matter had received before sufficient order, or yet to licence him to mortgage or wedsett (*pledge*), as they term it, any lands, because that should be to the prejudice of the king, and expended a longer time in the execution than he might be suffered to remain in this realm. But because the considerations alleged for the grant of respite for twenty days were thought to be true, and thereby the more reasonable, therefore it was moved that the said time be given him. Upon knowledge whereof I resorted unto the king yesterday, very early in the morning, putting him in remembrance, with a long discourse of the state and condition of this cause, of the act of council at Stirling, of the often charges given to the duke without effect, of his promise passed to her majesty, his nobility, and subjects, of the good advice given to him by her majesty in her highness's letters and otherwise, of his own dishonour and danger arising thereby, of the inconvenience to the religion, himself, state, and country; with sundry other weighty effects; which I uttered with no little earnestness, warning him in meet manner to beware to be found to dissemble with her majesty, or in any cause where her highness had interest; concluding that, in respect of the proud contempt in the duke against his honour and authority, and against public ordinances, he might not give him one day to respect, but rather commit him to be punished. And at length I required him to show me what he would do herein. To this he answered, that since he gave his promise to her majesty he never failed in performance of the same; and albeit he was very often and earnestly suited unto in the behalf of the duke, and otherwise, yet, after his promise to her majesty he would never agree to anything concerning that cause without my privity; to whom he said he had neither denied anything, nor yet kept hid from me any matter that I desired to know of; opening to me thereon sundry secrets of

importance. He renewed his promise to be found faithful and constant to her majesty, and he agreed to yield to such order to be taken herein, as his council and I should reasonably advise him. Whereupon I had long conference with the lords and his council, who called to their assistance sundry grave gentlemen and ministers there present. At length, after long debate and many circumstances, it was ordered by the king, his nobility, council, gentlemen, and ministers, with myself, sitting altogether at the council table, that it should be resolved and set down by act of council, that the duke should depart from Blackness on Tuesday next to Haddington, and from thence to repair next day to Langton, Dunglass, or Broxmouth (being within twenty miles of Berwick), at the election of the duke; from thence he shall pass to Berwick on Saturday next."

When the messenger commissioned to bear this order to the duke reached Blackness, he found that Lennox was gone to Callander, whither he followed him, and there delivered his message. "At the first, the duke in vehement passion said that he was so persuaded by noblemen and others to remain still, as he might not refuse their advice, and therefore could not depart within the time and in manner prescribed. But, after perceiving by Mr. Young that the king was determinately resolved to have him depart according to this order, or otherwise to alter his mind towards him, and to bend his forces against him, whereupon also Mr. Young let him see that all these counsellors for his abode would soon slide from him, he detracted his former determination and answer, and promised to be in Haddington on Wednesday next, and after in Berwick on Saturday next following, as was appointed; agreeing further to observe all other commands enjoined him." This was written on the 11th of December, and another day produced an entire change of counsel. Bowes writes on the 12th, "Forasmuch as the duke had directly agreed and promised, both by his own letters and also by his several messages returned and sent to the king by Mr. Young and others, that he would certainly obey and keep the appointment prescribed for his departure and journey to Berwick, and that he had yesterday, by his letter, written with his own hand, fully assured the king that he would hold on his journey and diet appointed, and would depart that way, notwithstanding he knew that

twenty thousand men were laid in wait to take away his life, praying thereupon that the king would give some testimonial with him to witness that he departed with the king's favour, and with honour to himself; therefore the king and council were greatly occupied, as well for the grant of any such testimonial, as also for the words and substance of the same to be such as should neither lower the honour of her majesty or the king, nor prejudice this action in hand, and the parties therein; which this day was resolved. And thereon it was looked that the duke should have been in Haddington this night, where his supper and lodging is provided, and many gentlemen attending by appointment to convey him thither. Nevertheless this night, about five of the clock, the king's council were advertised by Mr. John Graham, that the duke is retired to Dumbarton, alleging that, because the king did not, within the time limited by him, return answer and full resolution to his demands sent by Mr. George Young and by his last letters, and that he was threatened and boasted with proud words given by the Colvilles that came from the company of the earl of Mar (who passed by Callander yesterday in his way hither with five hundred horsemen well furnished), and that such gentlemen as were appointed for his convoy to Linlithgow came not to him (a good number indeed did come, and were ready to have attended on him), with other like frivolous picks; therefore he thought good to retire to Dumbarton for his safety, to remain there until he might know whether his requests and other like matter for his honour and surety should be performed to him, minding upon the assurance thereof within four days after to depart and be going. Hereupon I have been with the king and the whole council, whom, after some distrust and consideration of the weight of this cause, I have left resolved to proceed roundly with all expedition against the duke; appointing to assemble the others absent (because it was now very late in the night), and to be all together to-morrow in the morning very timely (*early*) for the execution of the last act of council concluded on Saturday last, and whereof I have given you notice before."

This last step of the duke seems to have given serious offence to the king, who, as far as Bowes could judge, was now resolved to act more rigorously towards him. The ambassador told Walsingham on the 14th of

December, "The king continueth still in no little offence against the duke, condemning him of most shameful ingratitude and falsehood, saying that if he do disobey this charge already sent to him, that he will both punish him with all severity, and also set forth in print all the duke's letters sent to the king, to publish the great deceit and falsehood of the duke; so as it well appeareth, that the late and great affection in the king towards the duke is far shaken and abated indeed, and his love towards her majesty seemeth to be so fervently kindled, as he determineth resolutely to cast himself wholly into the arms of her highness's favour; pretending now to build his state and welfare on her majesty's advice and support towards him, like as by the message of Mr. Colvil will be more fully seen. Yesternight the master of Livingston presumed to write to the king, signifying that he and others with the duke had advised the duke to retire to Dumbarton for safety, thinking therein to have well pleased the king. But the king, willing the messenger to let his master know that as his master had been an instrument of the king's dishonour, so he will sharply chastise all such contempt of him and his authority, both in the duke, and also in Livingston, and in all counsellors and partakers of the duke. So upon the sight of the change of the king's mind towards the duke, sundry do begin to draw in their horns, and many think that it shall cause the duke to obey indeed. And nevertheless I shall see the performance or better signs before I shall agree to that conceit. Albeit it is not expressed in the act of council, yet order is taken, and the officers at arms are appointed, to summon and charge the houses of Dumbarton and Blackness to be delivered to the king upon pain of treason, so as you shall shortly be advertised with certainty of the duke's departure according to this charge sent to him this day, or else of his progress in rebellion; and herein many wise men are persuaded that greater surety of quietness and commodity shall ensue to this state and realm, upon suppression of his rebellion and his complices in the same, than can grow by his departure with hope and practise to recover his former estate."

New doubts now presented themselves to the minds of the king and his council as to the best mode of proceeding against the disobedient duke, but it was at length decided that an officer at arms should be sent with a formal injunction to the duke to depart

from the kingdom within a certain fixed period, on pain of being immediately proclaimed a rebel. This led to new delay, much to the mortification of the English ambassador. "Where," writes the latter on the 14th, "I persuaded the king and council to consult rather for the speedy attachment and due punishment to be with all expedition executed on the duke for his odious contempt and offences, they replied and said they had no other course in their law than this form of proceeding, presently put in practise against him, as the very like was done against the earl of Angus, and always is used in like causes. And where I have found fault with the increase of the days, and time newly given him for his coming to Berwick, they answered that their law and common order alloweth that the party enjoined to pass to any place prescribed, ought to have reasonable time for the performance of that charge, and that no less time than is already limited by the act can be given to the officer at arms to repair to him at Dumbarton, and himself to come to Berwick after the charge. The king appeareth to be much moved with my sharp manner of dealing (which he said was very picand) both with himself and also with the lords here; which lords do surely remain constant and very forward in this matter, especially Gowrie, that now offereth most frankly to enter in action to chastise the pride and contempt of the duke. The king hath shown such manifest signs, witnessing a great change and alteration in his conceit and favour towards the duke, as the lords are highly comforted therewith; for with unaccustomed oath he hath protested to and assured the noblemen, with his colour changed, his hands lifted up, that if the duke shall disobey this charge, then he shall never from henceforth have to do with the duke, nor show favour to him nor to any of his favourers, but to esteem him and them as his enemies, and that he shall do to the duke the thing which he never thought to have done; concluding that he would do this favour to make the duke's fault inexcusable. The king and council sent to me the abbot of Dunfermline, the lord Lindsay, the prior of Blantyre, and Mr. John Colville, to signify unto me their resolution concluded in this last council, and to have my consent to the same. And where I showed myself hardly satisfied therewith, in regard that her majesty my sovereign could not lightly pass over such indignities, the

king thereon replied and sent severally the prior and Mr. Colville, both to satisfy me with contentment, and also to let me know that the king will within twenty days send Mr. John Colville to her majesty with his letters and report of all the progress of these causes. . . . I am informed by intelligence of good credit, that the duke will not obey this charge. It is thought that he will convey himself into Argyle, or some of the isles; and some that have been sometime privy to his purposes think that he will pass into Ireland. But he is so uncertain in himself, as no certainty can yet be had of his full determination in these behalfs. The abbot of Newbottle is suspected to have sent his servant to the duke on Wednesday last, with such advice as chiefly moved the duke to depart so hastily to Dumbarton, contrary to his own promise and the order taken. And it is said that the duke was thereon counselled not to leave in the mire his friends that for his welfare should have attempted the surprise, and were thereby entered into danger; but rather to remain to purchase their remission, with order that all faults bypast should be forgiven. But I have partly prevented this purpose, for the king hath firmly promised me to prosecute the cause with all severity, and he hath awarded commission to the execution of the same."

Thus matters continued for two or three days in doubt and uncertainty, and Bowes, with all his shrewdness, began to suspect the king of dissimulation. "It may appear to you by these," he writes on the 16th of December, "that the duke will disobey the charge, and remain still in the realm against the king's commandment; and it is likely that he doth presume and taketh boldness to adventure the same upon some secret assurance or hope of the king's favour towards him and to the rest of the nobility ready to assist and take open part with him. And albeit that the king pretendeth to be very earnest against him and their actions, promising and protesting earnestly to her majesty, and to myself for her highness, that he will continue constant in this profession and mind, adding many arguments to approve the same, yet being thus often warned, and seeing such signs and circumstances, I dare not lean more on his promises and fair words than the necessity of the time and cause moveth me thereunto, and therefore I have thought it my duty timely to open and signify thus much to you, to the intent I may

not be holden to be further abused or deceived with his finesse upon any success ensuing in these causes than worthily I may be charged withal. And for the better prevention of the evil, and to direct my course to be most agreeable to her majesty's pleasure and service, I do right humbly pray you that with good speed I may be directed both what to do in all these matters likely to descend into troubles, how to deal with the king, and how to trust him, and what surety I shall seek for performance of his promises given to me; which order and direction I shall duly observe and put in execution. And in the mean time I shall still entertain and continue the king and these lords in the best course I can, seeking to keep them together in the maintenance of this action; which, upon sight of the king's starting aside from it, will be in danger of overthrow. And finding, notwithstanding, that sundry noblemen, barons, boroughs, and ministers, being a good party, will still maintain and defend this cause for the preservation of religion, the king, and public weal, I would be glad and do likewise pray to be also directed what I shall do touching both the comforting of them in their purposes, and also any direct promise of aid and support to be ministered therein by her majesty to them." In a private letter of the same date, the 16th, Bowes recurs to the same subject. "Considering," says he, "the wise and friendly warnings given to me by yourself and others in the court in England, as also the strange circumstances appearing daily here, and giving good cause of suspicion of the king's steadfast and plain dealings in this action; therefore, that I be not found to be overtaken with the crowing of this chicken, nor that the cause be not any way prejudiced by my oversight, I have prayed direction and order to be speedily sent to me for my better instructions and warrant in all the same, and to the intent I may discharge myself against any hard or evil success that shall fall out in these causes; wherein, if I saw surety of backing with us, I durst promise more largely; and whereunto, if strong hand be not still holden, both by her majesty and also by the king, this small company will soon be overthrown, with the ruin of the action, and all the well-devoted to religion, her majesty, and the amity."

Things, however, were at this moment taking a different course to that which was expected, although we are, at the present time, almost as doubtful as Bowes as to the

degree of sincerity with which James was acting. Lennox, at all events, believed now that the king's reproaches were sincere, and he wrote from Dumbarton, on the 16th of December, a letter indignantly repelling the charge of inconstancy and disloyalty. "It is," says the duke, in concluding this letter (which is written in French), "a sorrowful consolation to me at my departure, that, after receiving the hard treatment which I have received, and endured the pains, torments, and vexations that I have endured these three years, for my attachment to your service, in serving you faithfully (as I have done), to see your majesty angry against me, for only having avoided the danger which threatened me, and which, perhaps, had been contrived without your knowledge, under pretence that the earls of Angus and Mar had not signed the assurance, of the procuration of which the said Mar can give sufficient testimony. And I think that, if everything were well examined, you will find that as he was between Falkirk and Callander, there were some of his troop who gave him advice to shut me up in the said Callander, and to send for the said Angus, which having understood, seeing that on Tuesday, at six o'clock in the evening, there was not one of the lords or gentlemen arrived at Linlithgow, except the laird of Washton, and the servants and friends of M. de Livingston, for the surety of my life, which I know to be sought by them, I retired to this place only to wait till your majesty give order that I may pass safely, and the reason I asked permission of you to pass by Carlisle was that that road is much more safe for me than that of Berwick. But since it is your will that I take this road, I shall obey, and, according to your commandment, I shall depart on Tuesday from this place, and go to sleep at Glasgow, the Wednesday at Callander, Thursday at Dalkeith, and Friday at Dunbar; and if my goods, which I am obliged to have made at Edinburgh, are brought to me on that day, I will not fail to be on the morrow at Berwick, where they cannot be brought to me. I therefore implore of you very humbly to permit me to wait for them at Dunbar, and to cause to be sent to me at Dalkeith all that you have promised me by master George Young." This is said to be the last letter that the duke of Lennox wrote to the king in Scotland.

According to the account given by Bowes, this sudden change in the duke's resolution

gave great offence to the lords of his party, who now looked upon him as their main support, and had not given up their hopes of still effecting a counter-revolution. But Lennox persisted in his determination to obey the king's order to depart, and, on the day appointed, he proceeded on his journey. "On Tuesday last," Bowes writes on the 22nd, "he departed from Dumbarton to Glasgow, where the earl of Crawford, accompanied only with two men, came hastily to him, exhorting him earnestly to stay and remain, and offering largely as well on his own behalf as also in the names of other noblemen. But the duke came forwards on Wednesday to Callander, where another onset was given him for his stay. At that time the king had written to him a short and earnest letter, persuading him to beware to hearken to the counsel of such as sought their own desires with his destruction. And to put him out of fear of any hurt or violence to be offered to his person in his passage (whereof he was in very great doubt), the king assured him that he had taken good order for his surety, willing him not to depend or stay for the coming of the barons and gentlemen commanded to convoy him, but to come with his own company, boldly and without fear. Whereupon he came forwards on Thursday last to Dalkeith, with a small number, for none of the gentlemen of Lothian appointed for his convoy met him, having only the lord of Brade and Mark Carr, eldest son to the abbot of Newbattle. At his being at Dalkeith, the king sent him a thousand crowns, with promise to send another thousand to Dunbar, with his testimonial, and with letters to her majesty and others in his behalf. And albeit great suit was made for the king's respite of eight days, yet the king would not hear thereof. Amongst others, Mr. John Grayme (the special friend for the earls of Argyle and Montrose) did press the king importunately for twenty days; but the king hath still shaken them all off with this answer and resolution, that he will not violate his promise to the queen of England; and he hath shown himself to have been so much encumbered with their importunate boldness, as it hath greatly disquieted him. Nevertheless, he pricketh the duke still forwards in his journey. Yesterday he passed away from Dalkeith to Haddington, where the lords of Yester and Borthwick, with the master of Livingston, came to him; and this day he shall be at Dunbar.

where the Lord Hume will come to him. There he looketh to receive his apparel newly-made for him at Edinburgh, and which the king hath commanded to be carried to him this day, together with the rest of the money, and all other things necessary for his despatch; so as it is now verily looked that he shall be in Berwick on Monday next at the furthest."

The duke this time fulfilled his promise, and Scotland was relieved at length from one whose continuance there exercised a fatal effect on its tranquillity. The condition of the country at the close of the year 1582 is well described in one of Bowes's dispatches, written on the 29th of December. "You do now," he tells Walsingham, "sufficiently understand both the cause and the effect of the alteration of the duke's mind, suddenly turned from his former intention, and against the advice and request of his friends and general expectation of the most; and also the change following thereon in this state; which state, by the duke's departure, and by the good mind in the king well discovered in these affairs, and far beyond the opinions of many, is now so altered and quieted, as the danger of the troubles threatened by the duke's abode is well overblown, and it is not needful to put in execution the contents of your last, so as the preparations intended and to have been offered by her majesty for the support of these parties and of their cause, and the great charges of the same, may be safely spared for this time; or rather some part thereof to be timely employed for the prevention of like or greater charges hereafter, and to bind and hold this nation to be devoted to her majesty and in her highness's course; wherein the good disposition presently reigning in the king, and in the noblemen and all others entered into this action, promiseth such advantage and surety to her majesty, as this king and realm may at this time be thus entertained with some charge to her majesty, if the profit arising by having them bound to her majesty's devotion and course may be found worthy of and answerable to the price and expense to be sustained for the same; which matter I leave to the wise consideration and judgment of her majesty and her highness's privy council. Albeit the duke be departed in person, yet he hath left behind him a strong party, willing to welter the court for his benefit, if there may opportunity serve thereunto; and the sparks of the affectionate love in the king towards the

duke be not so fully quenched but that they appear still, and are perceived; the sight whereof may be some encouragement to his party to attempt to kindle the fire again upon any opportunity offered. Sundry of his greatest friends have been together since his departure, resolving to keep out for a while, and to attend (*wait*) the receipt of some comfort to be sent from him after he hath had presence with her majesty, whereof they make no great question; for, being persuaded that great provision is made for his honourable entertainment to be given him in his passage, they distrust not that he shall find the like at the court, with which conceit many good men in this town have lately been put in fear. And coming to me for their comfort, I have let them understand that, seeing the hope of their adversaries hangeth upon the good deed of her majesty towards the duke, whose actions passed and course directed, her highness sufficiently seeth there is no danger nor cause of fear, and therewith they departed satisfied; affirming that, as his departure was procured with great difficulty, so they should do their endeavours that his return should be gotten with greater, and for the same they persuaded that his feathers might be so pulled in this seasonable time, as he should not fly hither again. To this intent the earl of Angus is advised, and is pleased to send to Argyle with offer of good-will; and by the recovery of Argyle, sundry other noblemen and persons of estimation shall be won and joined to the lords with the king, and to this fellowship."

Lennox seems to have taken his banishment to heart, and to have been fast sinking under the mortification of defeated ambition. In London, he was admitted to the presence of Elizabeth, who reproached him sharply with his misgovernment. While he remained there, he lived on intimate terms with the French ambassador, M. de la Mauvissière, and with a Scot named Fowler, who was at this time a spy in the pay of the English government. The master of Livingston, who had accompanied the duke from Scotland, told Fowler that Lennox was perfectly well aware of the strength of his party in Scotland, and of the king's secret good-will to him, but he said that the king was compelled to send him out of the kingdom against his will by the threats of the lords of the opposite party. M. de Mauvissière

was anxious to ascertain the real state of James's religious sentiments, but Lennox assured him that the young king was firmly attached to the protestant faith; when pressed further on the subject he declared that he himself had embraced the faith from conviction, and that he was sincerely attached to it. From England the duke proceeded to France, where, now in an ill-state of health, he lived in retirement; perhaps, still

looking forward in hopes of a restoration to his place in the favour of the young Scottish king. But for Lennox this change never came; for, after lingering a short time, he died in the summer of 1583, at the very moment when a new revolution in Scotland restored the king to liberty of action. With his last words Lennox asserted his constancy in the protestant faith, and his loyalty to the king of Scots.

CHAPTER XV.

A FRENCH EMBASSY, AND ITS RESULTS; JAMES ESCAPES FROM THE HANDS OF THE RUTHVEN LORDS, AND ARRAN RECOVERS HIS POWER.

THERE was a cause, which we have not yet stated, for the unwillingness of the duke of Lennox to leave Scotland, and for the earnest anxiety of Elizabeth's ambassador to hasten his departure. The king of France had seen in the success of the "Raid of Ruthven" the entire defeat of his own plans with regard to that country, and he now determined to send an ambassador thither to counteract and undermine the English influence and labour to effect a counter-revolution. He chose for this mission Monsieur de la Mothe Fénelon, a diplomatist of great distinction, who had been for several years resident ambassador in England, and was intimately acquainted with Scottish affairs. This ambassador was secretly instructed to rescue the king, if possible, out of the hands of the Ruthven lords, to restore the influence of Lennox, and ultimately to promote the project for associating James with his mother in the government of the kingdom. Elizabeth was soon informed of the real object of this mission, and she determined not only, under pretence of aiding him in his avowed design of promoting peace and conciliation between James and his nobles, to give him a companion who should watch and counteract his intrigues, but to throw hindrances in the way of his journey until she was assured that the duke of Lennox was no longer in Scotland. She accordingly appointed as her extraordinary ambassador to Scotland, William Davison, who afterwards became her secretary, and has obtained celebrity from his connection

with the closing scene of the life of Mary; and she detained La Mothe Fénelon until her own ambassador was ready to set out in his company. She was, however, embarrassed by the delay in Lennox's departure, and she was at last obliged to let the two ambassadors proceed on their journey before she had any assurance that they would not find the duke in Scotland.

Bowes, on his part, had done his utmost to retard the delivery of a passport for the French ambassador to enter Scotland, alleging, among other reasons, that he was instructed not to acknowledge James's title as king. He had obtained information of an active correspondence carried on between La Mothe Fénelon and Lennox, and he was anxious above all things that they should not meet. In the letter, written on the 16th of December, in which Bowes informed Walsingham of Lennox's retreat to Dumbarton and disobedience of the king's order to depart into England, he also intimated to him that he had persuaded the king to send an officer to Berwick to stay the further progress of the French ambassador when he arrived there, until he was more particularly informed of the objects of his mission. But Bowes's anxiety in this respect was in some degree relieved by the duke's sudden resolution to obey the king's injunctions, and it now seemed hardly probable that La Mothe Fénelon would reach Berwick on his way to the Scottish court, before Lennox had passed the frontier. On the 22nd of December, Bowes announced that he was

"looking now daily for the coming of La Mothe to Berwick, where he shall be stayed (according to my former) until it shall be known in what sort he shall be addressed hither. If his address be not simply to the king, as to an absolute king, he shall be then denied to enter into this realm; but if he be sent to the king absolutely, from the French king, then the king here is advised to grant him presenee (seeing that the duke shall be departed before his coming), and therewith to give him his answer and despatch with speed. The king did earnestly wish La Mothe to meet with the gout or other like disease, that might prolong his repair to Berwick, until the duke should be come thither, and be entered in England; which now is like to take effect in some part, according to the king's wish and desire."

The French ambassador was now on his way to Scotland accompanied by Davison. He met Lennox on the road, but Davison took care that the interview between them should be a brief one. At Newcastle, he had a conference with Mr. John Colville, who was proceeding to London as James's ambassador to queen Elizabeth, and he assured him that the only object of his mission was to offer the French kings' mediation to appease the troubles which had so long prevailed in Scotland. At Berwick, he found Mr. Alexander Hume, who was waiting his arrival with directions to stay his further progress until he had communicated the object of his mission to the Scottish court. It was now determined that M. de la Mothe Fénelon should be received without delay, and that the king should give him his audience, and hasten his departure as much as he could. In spite, however, of De la Mothe Fénelon's declaration of the object of his embassy, it was suspected that this was a mere cover for his real designs, and his arrival was looked upon with considerable alarm; and this alarm was not lessened when it was observed that the friends of Lennox became busier, and some of them began to assume a bolder air even at court, when his approach was known. James, meanwhile, professed a firm resolution to maintain the recent "action," to continue steady in his attachment to Elizabeth, and to repose entirely in her protection. He made direct application to Bowes for pecuniary assistance, and assured him that he would be on his guard against the intrigues of

the French. Bowes told Walsingham, in a dispatch written on the 7th of January, 1583,—“the king and this state depend now upon her majesty's good resolution to agree to receive them with some charge for the king's support, or otherwise to shake them off and leave them to their own provisions. And, albeit, it is persuaded by some subtle heads, that it shall be good for the king to keep the French king in store, and to entertain well his ambassador, until it may be seen what the queen of England will do for them, yet the king falleth daily to more full determination to settle and repose himself and state wholly upon her majesty's friendship; and he is now so entered into the same, as he listeth not either to hear of any doubt in the matter, or yet take in hand any matter of importance without her majesty's advice and privity, seeking to do all things as near as he can to her highness's contentment. He is of late occupied with a very great desire to visit and see her majesty, and the same is so fervent in him as I thought good to signify it by mine other [*i.e.*, the public despatch]; yet I find the matter to be so holy as I dare not touch it without more clean hands and better warrant. It may please you, therefore, to labour my direction herein as you shall think good.”

Davison, the English ambassador, and M. de la Mothe Fénelon, left Berwick on the 6th of January, and they were escorted to Edinburgh by the deputy warden of the marches. At Douglas they were met by the lord Hume, who accompanied the French ambassador part of the way to Dunbar, where they passed that night, and towards the evening of the following day, the 7th of January, they entered the capital. “And,” says Davison, in a long and interesting despatch to sir Francis Walsingham, “after that I had communicated mine instructions and charge with Mr. Bowes, and finding by La Mothe, that he meant to procure his audience of the king as soon as he might, I thought good the next morning to signify mine arrival to his majesty, and to understand whether it should be his good pleasure to give me audience that day, which he graciously accorded me. Whereupon, Mr. Bowes and I, repairing immediately to court, finding his majesty newly returned from seeing his hounds, wherein he taketh singular delight, we were admitted into his presence; to whom, after I had presented her

majesty's heartiest commendations and delivered my letters, I declared how the French king, having signified to my sovereign his determination to send le sieur de la Mothe, one of his privy council, into this realm, to no other end than to visit his highness here, and in case he found the state troubled at his arrival, to interpose his travail and mediation to quiet and compound the same, requesting her majesty to grant him her safe conduct to pass through her country, and offering that his said ambassador, in the execution of his charge here, should do nothing without the privity of such of her majesty's own ministers as he should either find here or her majesty should be pleased to send with him; my sovereign, hereupon, considering the amity she had with the said king, her good brother, the equity of his request, the scope of his sending, being none other than he pretended, and the person employed in this service, one of whose inclination to do good offices in maintenance of good friendship with the prince, the king, his master, neighbours, and confederates, her highness had made some proof during his residence in her country, did the more willingly incline to his request, albeit the condition of the time, compared with some other circumstances which did greatly affect and move many of the wisest and best sort here, as her highness was informed, to suspect some sinister purpose in this negotiation, besides her natural jealousy of his highness surety and the quietness of his estate, which she had ever embraced with a singular care and affection, might have moved her majesty to have refused the same, had she not reposed herself upon the sincerity and good meaning of the said king, her good brother, which, in this behalf, she measured with her own, and so much the rather in that she was borne in hand that this ambassador had not only charge not to do anything here that might tend to the prejudice of that amity which remaineth betwixt the queen, my sovereign, and his highness and both their kingdoms, but rather on the contrary, to further and recommend unto them the effectual preservation and continuance thereof. And because Mr. Bowes, her majesty's ambassador here, was not furnished with foreign languages to treat with him, upon such occasion as might happen during his abode in these parts, I told the king that the queen my sovereign's good pleasure

was, to command me in this journey to join with Mr. Bowes here in her service, to the end we might, if need were, the better concur together with La Mothe in all good offices that might tend to the quieting and settling of this state, in case we should find it troubled at our coming hither. Whereas, otherwise being in good peace and quiet (as, thanks be to God, we find it), her majesty's special charge unto me was to recommend unto his majesty, by all means possible, the continuance of the present government, the alteration whereof could not, in her opinion, but breed some new change in the common weal, whereof his highness, now taught by his own experience, she doubted not, would have good care and consideration. Lastly, having been informed by Mr. Bowes that it should be convenient to say something both touching the sifting out and prosecuting of the late intended surprise upon the king's person, and in urging the bad offices done by Arran, making them as odious to the king as I might, I did accordingly give his highness to understand, touching the first point, how much her majesty had been grieved with the tidings thereof, and how convenient it was, in her opinion, that a matter of so dangerous example and consequence should not be so lightly overblown. And for the other, touching Arran, because it was not unknown to his highness how openly he had discovered himself against the common peace and amities of both the countries, and how dangerous an instrument he had been otherwise in troubling and confounding the state of things here at home, her majesty doubted not but that his highness, having made trial of the one and the other, could, from henceforth, be advised how he gave ear to any such as, to satisfy their own ambition and malice, eareth not what slander they bring upon his highness's government, or into what peril they throw the common weal, wherein the queen my sovereign, as a prince most careful over his person and state, could not but advise his majesty to have regard and consideration; which was in substance, as I told him, that which at this time I had on the part of my sovereign to deliver unto his highness; and thereupon paused awhile to see what answer his majesty would make me unto these particulars. Which in sum was this.

"First, touching the French ambassador, that he could have been contented at this

time to have spared his company, and did presume that Mr. Colville, whom he had sent toward her majesty, might have found means by the way to have saved him some labour. But since he was come through, he was glad it was Mr. Bowes' and my good hap to be here to testify what should pass betwixt them, having, as he affirmed, nothing more at the heart, than in all his actions to make known to her majesty the affection wherewith he embraced her love and amity, as the princess in the world that had most deserved both of him and of his state. And therefore he would assure her majesty that, whatsoever this ambassador's errand was, it should be utterly against his will if anything succeeded of his dealings here that might give her majesty the least cause of mislike or discontentment. As for the pretended causes of his coming, he knew well it did not satisfy the common opinion and judgments of men, neither did himself think but that he came from home with an imagination to find things in other terms here than (thanks be to God) they are. The very time and state of things then sufficiently bewraying some other purpose in his journey than he hath yet discovered, the French king, his master, never once offering till now to use him with any of those compliments and ceremonies. Wherefore, as he acknowledged her majesty's disposition to like of or assent to his coming (in the respect aforesaid) to have proceeded from the same care and affection she had ever hitherto borne and expressed towards his welfare and good of his state; so did he assure me he would be as loath to entertain him long here, intending to follow that principle which I had remembered unto him, to give the ministers of such suspected neighbours as quick dispatch as he might. As for the matter of the surprise, he thanked her majesty for her good care and counsel in that behalf, and prayed me to assure her highness, that if there were no other cause than his own honour (which, by this fact, is brought into question), he would not overpass, nor neglect it, though for some reasons he forbore for a time the further inquiry and prosecution thereof. And as touching Arran, though he seemed at the first as if he thought him somewhat wronged, yet made he his answer, that neither he could, nor he would, like of him, or any other whatsoever, that should do any office tending to the hurt of the common amity betwixt their countries, or the particular

obligations of love and kindness between themselves; wherein he likewise prayed me to give her majesty, on his behalf, all assurance and contentment. Lastly, having again acquainted him with the French king's offers to my sovereign, that his ambassador should not treat of anything here but in the presence of her ministers, to avoid all occasions of jealousy and suspicion that might otherwise be conceived of his proceedings, I desired to know whether it were his majesty's pleasure that I should, according to the promise, assist at the ambassador's audience with his highness, or no; which he prayed me, in any wise, to do, according to my charge, that I might yield my testimony thereof to her majesty, without whose advice and privy he meant not to do anything in these matters that might either concern their mutual amity, or his own particular; wherein he hath hitherto found her good counsel and advice to stand him in good stead. So with some other particular communication to and fro, containing none other in substance than matter of compliment, I took my leave of his majesty for that time; being given to understand by himself that he meant to give audience the next day to the French ambassador, whereat he looked I should be present, according to the charge I had from my sovereign.

"The next day, in the morning, we thought good to attend on his majesty to the sermon, and being received in his bed-chamber, spent the time in purpose of hunting till his going to the chapel, and, after the sermon, waiting on him back to his chamber, left his highness till the afternoon, and then returning thither, somewhat before the coming of the French ambassador, and spending the mean time with his highness in sundry discourses, divers gentlemen were in that meanwhile sent to wait on him, and some of the lords to receive and entertain him in the great chamber till his majesty came forth, which was very soon after his arrival in court. Where, having delivered the commendations of the French king, his master, in many words of affection, used some other ordinary compliments, and delivered his majesty's letters, he began at the sorrow which the king his master had, as he said, conceived upon bruits (*rumours*) and reports brought unto him of the late troubles and alterations in this state, proceeding from ill-affected instruments; who making themselves strong about his majesty's person, and usurping the government of the

state, removed from his highness's presence others of his faithful subjects and hindered the free access of the rest that were not of their humour; keeping, as it were, captive to their associations the person of the king's majesty, to the offence of many others of his good subjects; which being a matter for the example such as did generally touch all princes, and had particularly affected his master no less than if it had concerned his own person and crown, as well in respect of the ancient amity and alliance between their two kingdoms and nations, the long continuance thereof, with many mutual profits and advantages, he set forth and amplified with many circumstances, as also the particular and straight conjunctions in nature and kindred between their persons, all which could not but work a mutual and extraordinary sense and feeling in the one of the griefs of the other. Whereupon the king his master had thought good to dispatch him hither, not only to do that wonted office of love and kindness, which had so many years been straightly entertained between their ancestors, which was to visit his highness on the behalf of his master, but also to inform himself truly in these particularities touching his person and government; and if there were cause to interpose his travail in any good office that might tend either to the quieting of things in general, or the weal, surety, and liberty of his highness' person in particular; offering with many words, in the king his master's name, to this end, all that his amity, his greatness, his services, his credit, generally whatsoever his person or crown could afford in the establishing and procuring of his surety, authority, liberty, and princely majesty, against any that should attempt to abridge or violate the one or the other. Adding that, if there were cause, he should find no prince under heaven readier to take his person, his authority, and state, in protection, than the king his master; who, besides the aforesaid general respects of amity, alliance, and kindred, was led with the love of his virtues to embrace him with the greater care and affection. And here he took occasion to excuse the king, his master, deferring (*delaying*) till now to visit his majesty; which purpose, notwithstanding he had long held it, was put off from time to time by sundry occasions, and now lastly performed by him, the rather in regard of the time and condition of the state, which appeared at the time of his despatch to require the

counsel and help of his best friends—the king, his master, thought he could not more seasonably than at such an instance express his good will and affection towards his welfare. And herewith passing awhile, he delivered like letters to the former of the king's from the queen-mother, with the like compliments and offers on her behalf, of all that herself or her credit might do, either with the king her son or otherwise, for his establishing in that state and condition in which he ought to be; for in the same terms both the king's and her general letters concluded. And besides which, he had delivered their particular letters written with their own hands, and also the like from the dukes of Guise and Maine, all tending to that which had been propounded by La Mothe; on whose credit they reposed the rest, which the king's majesty gave order to be communicated with Mr. Bowes and me, which hath been since accordingly performed. After this he used some speech of her majesty's jealousy of his coming hither, and how, having been satisfied in that behalf, she granted him her safe-conduct, of the proposition made to him at Newcastle by Mr. Colville; and lastly of his stay at Berwick, wherein he urged the breach of an express article in the treaties betwixt them, which he desired might be better observed from henceforth to their nation; which the king excused in very good terms, as he had before answered generally to the rest of his speech, acknowledging himself beholden to the king his good brother for the care he had of his person, and the affection he had to continue the amity to his kingdom, both which he took in very good part. As for the other things, touching the liberty of his person and quietness of his state, he could himself be witness to the king how he found them, one and the other, speaking somewhat generally of the late alterations, which, proceeding from some faults and oversight in the duke, was now repaired by his absence; whereat La Mothe took occasion to tell his highness where he met him, and what charge he had laid upon us by him, by entreaty to recommend unto his majesty his justification, his innocency, and his loyalty, wherein he would continue constant as became him until the death, notwithstanding the uttermost malice and spite of his adversaries, which purpose La Mothe forgot not to beautify and set forth with the best colours he had. At length, signifying to his majesty that he had letters of address likewise to his whole nobility and

council, and requiring that it would please him to send for those that were absent, that he might declare and fortify the affection of the king his master, both to entertain the ancient amity with this crown, and to seek the particular reconilement of all differences amongst themselves, that they might the better concur together in their duties to the common weal and service of the king, their master and sovereign; his majesty answered that he had sent for such as might conveniently be seen, excusing the rest by their absence far off and season of the year, offering him in the mean time to be heard by those that be here of his council, and to hasten the rest, which he accepted; and so for that time took his leave."

Thus passed La Mothe Fénelon's first audience of the Scottish king, as it is described by his English colleague, Davison. There was probably a concealed object in demanding that the absent lords and councillors should be called to court, as the Ruthven lords would then have been in a decided minority, and their power would have been in the utmost danger. Although it was certainly an unusual proceeding, the ambassador pressed it rather pertinaciously, but without success. Davison goes on to tell us that, "The Thursday his majesty bestowed in hunting till it was night, and on Friday spending the forenoon at a sermon and the afternoon in council, he deferred the audience of La Mothe before his council until the next day after dinner. But he, desiring to see the king at his meat, came down before his majesty was set, and stood by till he had almost dined, entertaining him with sundry purposes. After we had dined (being both for that guests to the earl of Bothwell), we were brought up again into the king's presence, who entertaining us a while, as soon as his council were come together, left us, and being all set in his presence, sent for us both thither, being placed over against each other near to his highness. La Mothe, having repeated the same he had before delivered to the king himself, touching the end and occasion of his coming hither, with some reason of his particular address also unto them, he fell into a long and tedious discourse of the amity of so many hundred years continued between these two nations; the commodities which thereto redounded to each other, especially to these people, whose privileges, freedom, and advantages in France he set forth with many circumstances; the affection and good

disposition of his master to continue the same, and to deliver it no less stable to his posterity than it had been left unto him by his ancestors; his offers to continue all such free traffic, rights, privileges, or advantages, either general or particular, as they presently have, or at any time had, within his dominions; with many like words to the same purpose. He descended at length into some other particular matter, directing his speech one while to the king, with advice how to govern his subjects, and by what manner he might best assure unto himself their duties and affection, commending highly the virtue of clemency, and urging thereupon a forgetfulness and remission of all offences past. Wherein he especially insisted, underhand, in favour and behalf of those who (charged with the late conspiracy for seizing upon the king's person) do fear to be called to a reckoning for the same; and another while turning his speech to the lords, whom he admonished of the duties and obedience of subjects, wherein he let fall very bitter speeches, as he had before to the king himself in that point, against such as, to fortify their usurped authority, had seized upon the king's person, environing the same with guards and forces, tending to the restraint of his liberty, and violation of the majesty and authority of a prince; directing all this speech openly enough against those which had dealt in the removing of Lennox; concluding that the king his master could not but think himself touched in the example, besides the interest he had in the amity with this king and crown, to defend the one and the other; and would therefore to the uttermost of his means make them feel how much it displeased them, if they did not, as became them in duty, seek to repair it. All which discourse the king reduced into two heads of amity and advice, both to himself and his subjects; and answered with general thanks, and acknowledged therein the good will and affection of the king his good brother, which he would be ready in all good friendship to requite and deserve. Here La Mothe began again to speak of the charge he had to the whole nobility and principal burgesses of the realm, and according to his former request to the king, desired *eftsoons* (*immediately*) his majesty to grant him that commodity to acquaint himself of the same; to which the king replied none otherwise than that he had sent for such as might conveniently be here, whom he attended (*expected*) very shortly, and because he did in the mean

time desire to have certain of his council deputed to treat more particularly with him, he answered that he would not fail to take order therein to his contentment. After all this he took occasion to say something to the lords, for their satisfying, touching my presence at this audience of the ambassador, letting them understand the same, in the substance which I had delivered to his majesty. And because thereby it appeared the ambassador's whole negotiation here tended but to these two heads of visiting his majesty and mediation of their quiet, if he should chance to find them in trouble, I prayed them to examine his propositions and overtures according to that rule, and finding him to swerve from that rule in any matter of importance, they would forbear to determine aught without her majesty's knowledge and advice; who having hitherto given best testimony of any prince in the world of her integrity and sincere affection to the welfare of his majesty and their whole common weal, will not, they may be sure, advise or counsel them to anything, as near as she may, that shall not directly tend to the one and the other, which, delivered in French, for La Mothe's contentment, gave him occasion to use some little speeches of the jealousies that might be conceived of his intent to injure the amity betwixt my sovereign and them, which he protested he was so far from, as on the contrary, it was a thing his master had given him special charge to recommend unto them. And last of all, finding himself grieved with some speeches uttered by the ministers in touch of his master's honour, and beseeching his majesty to take order for the redress thereof, which his highness promised to do, we departed, leaving the king and council together as we found them; which was the substance of that day's negotiation." Davison concludes his despatch with a reflection on what had just occurred—"In the meantime, I find the king as willing to be quit of him as he is to remain the coming of the nobility, under which pretext he seems to determine some stay, wishing to be lodged nearer the court that he might more often and more freely visit his majesty. All which confirmeth the suspicion that he hath not opened that he came for, which I trust we shall be able to sound a little deeper ere it be long."

Suspicious and intrigues soon followed the arrival of the French ambassador. On the

15th of January, Bowes wrote—"The continuance of the French ambassador in this realm doth greatly stay the progress and execution of sundry causes tending to the good settling of this state; therefore, the king and this council are determined to hasten his dispatch as much as they can; for they live in great fear that his abode shall hazard to kindle some troublesome fire, seeing that not only many of good quality stand dangerously affected at this time, but also that the burgesses of this town and others begin to draw to parties and conventions, the one for England, the other for France. As time and diligence shall bring forth further success, you shall be timely advertised."

On the evening of the 15th of January, M. de la Mothe Fénelon obtained a third audience of the young Scottish king, at which the English ambassadors were not present. He then seems to have recapitulated most of what he had said before about being sent first to visit the king, and, secondly, to mediate between his subjects; and he again pressed that the absent nobles should be called to court, that he might deliver his letter addressed to them all collectively. He touched again upon the restraint which the lords had placed upon the king's liberty, and the guard with which they had surrounded him; said that he had a message for the burgesses as well as for the nobles, and complained of the dismissal of the duke. Nothing could be more satisfactory to the English ambassador, and to the Ruthven lords, and the protestant party in general, than James's reply, as it is reported by Bowes and Davison. "Touching the first point of visiting his majesty on the king, his master's behalf, it was performed and needed no further ceremony; for the second, of mediation, he found things, thanks be to God, in so good peace and quiet as required neither his labour nor stay to better them: as for the pretended malcontents amongst the nobility, he knew well enough there was no state without particular differences, but that there were such as neither the ambassador's mediation nor the king's authority might determine, being subject to law and ordinary course of justice. For the general, he might very well perceive them all to agree and concur for his service; that to convene them, therefore, for no other cause than this, should be as needless as injurious to them, considering how far they

were off, and how unseasonable this time was for their purpose. On the other side, if he had any other cause to desire their presence, it was fit himself, being their prince, and these particular dealings with his nobility otherwise suspicious, should be made acquainted with all, that he might accordingly advise thereof. As for receiving the knowledge and testimony of this from themselves, it needed not; his majesty having already assured them, which he offered for his discharge to signify to the king his master under his own hand, and a testimony of his whole nobility and council here; and further, if that sufficed not, undertook the lords, whom he had named, should do the like; which he thought might fully satisfy him. As for the delivery of his particular letters to themselves, besides it was no cause in reason sufficient to draw them hither, the contrary state of things here to what was supposed at the date thereof did make them now somewhat unseasonable, and their delivery the less material, unless he had a stamp for new, a thing he plainly confessed; whereof must needs follow, that he took his directions and instructions here, which was a matter of jealousy and suspicion. Whereas he had urged the restraint of his liberty, no man here had more cause to be moved therewith, if it were true, than himself, whom it principally touched; but the contrary thereof the ambassador saw in his own experience, which yet, if the king his master doubted of his highness, he offered to testify the same with his own letters, which might best in that point satisfy him. As touching his guard, there was no novelty therein, other than proceeded of his own direction upon discovery of a surprise intended against his person. And for the persons now commanding the same, every man knew they were of his own choice, and such as against whom there need be no exception. Touching the burgesses (if his request were general), he would not yield unto it, unless he saw some weighty occasion to convene them, which himself and his council had first to advise upon. If he desired some three or four of the principal, he saw not whereto it might serve him; the rather since he could not be ignorant, by that he found here since his coming, how little affection they had to deal with him, of whose person and doings here they had already conceived some great prejudice; and therefore, unless he had other matter than had been yet opened,

there was no cause to put either the lords or them to the trouble of coming hither, or himself of staying to any such purpose. Lastly, touching Lennox, towards whom he had prayed for continuance of his majesty's affection, and maintenance of him in his rights and possessions here (not without some note, by the way, how much his highness was blemished in the manner of his departure), his majesty, first answering to the last point clearing his own honour, and showing how it was the duke's own offer and request, he gave him for the rest such answer as contented him." In the end, the ambassador departed, "rather driven to the wall by the king's answers, than satisfied in his own desire." If indeed, M. de la Mothe Fénelon took the king's answers to be sincere, he must have been singularly embarrassed by them; and he may have been himself sincere when he endeavoured to persuade the two English ambassadors to approve and support his demand, that the absent nobles might be called to court. But Bowes and Davison more than suspected the real objects of his mission, and were on their guard. "Since," Bowes writes, "finding the difficulties increase unless he might make his way easy and remove them by our means, he hath assayed, as under hand, specially me, Bowes, by Newbottle (a fit instrument for him), who in generality and by circumstances hath laboured to make me like of the motion for calling hither the lords, to whom I made the same answer in substance we had before given the ambassador; which I find doth not content him. This Newbottle, David Macgill, and others of that sort, have yet in ordinary some secret access unto him, and serve as instruments to work the rest, which breedeth some fear of a new weltering (*overturning*) of the court, if this course hold on awhile. The ambassador, to make their haunt and others more free and less suspicious, hath found fault with the little resort to him of men of quality, and desired that some of the lords of sessions (of which these are) might be appointed to come unto him, wherein the fault hath hitherto been repaired by those men and others of their sort (only under hand), and the provost and some merchants of this town, who, for the desire they have to content him, have entered into so dislike and quarrel with the ministers for crying out against the treasons and murders hatched by the late king [of France], and executed against the servants

of God; a matter which also much stirreth the patience of La Mothe." The two English ambassadors conclude on these facts and suspicions—"Thus much, in our opinions, we may safely suspect by the course holden hitherto, that La Mothe, having compassion on the poverty of such and others as may do them pleasure, is willing of his charity to distribute some alms among them, which, notwithstanding he would do in secret, according to the rule of the evangelist, that he might not be seen of men; and in the mean time hath been prodigal of fair words and letters, which are flown abroad into many parts amongst his master's friends."

At this time another French ambassador was approaching the Scottish capital, to co-operate with La Mothe Fénelon. When the latter was sent to pass through England to Scotland, the king of France had resolved to send M. de Meyneville (who was to be left in Scotland as his resident ambassador at the Scottish court), thither by sea, so that they might arrive about the same time; but hearing that Elizabeth was likely to conceive some suspicions of this double mission, he found it necessary to adjourn M. de Meyneville's departure until he received intelligence of M. de Fénelon's arrival, lest the latter might be arrested in England. It was, accordingly, not till the month of January that M. de Meyneville set out on his journey, though he had received his instructions long before. These instructions began with an expression of regret on the part of the king of France at hearing of the captivity of the king of Scots, that is, of the success of the raid of Ruthven, and his consequent determination to send an ambassador into Scotland, to labour to set James at liberty, and re-establish peace in that country. M. de Meyneville, chosen for this mission, was to communicate these sentiments to the king of Scots, and consult with him on the means of deliverance. He was to urge upon James the advantage of clemency, and to advise him to forgive his subjects the violence they had used towards him; on condition, however, that they should acknowledge their fault, and promise obedience and fidelity for the future. He was also to address himself to the Scottish lords, admonish them sharply of their rebellious conduct, which, he said, was condemned by all Christendom, and of the necessity of returning to their obedience, and making full reparation for the past. To this end M. de Meyneville was to

labour diligently, and he was not to quit Scotland until the king was restored to complete liberty of action. With regard to the duke of Lennox, who was detested by a part of the Scottish nobility, and who had been commanded to leave Scotland and surrender the two fortresses of Blackness and Dumbarton at the instigation of his enemies, M. de Meyneville was to ascertain if his continuance in Scotland could be made consistent with the tranquillity of the kingdom; in which case the ambassador was to employ "all good offices" to keep him there, as a person who was well liked of the Scottish king, and who had always laboured to support the French interest in Scotland. In case Lennox could not advantageously remain in Scotland, the ambassador was to do all he could to secure his departure in safety. M. de Meyneville was next directed to place himself in communication with the lords of Lennox's party, whom he was to encourage in their devotion to the king, and for this purpose he was entrusted with blank letters, to use as he might find advisable. The ambassador was also to place himself in communication with Archibald Douglas, who had been gained over to the French interest by M. de Mauvissière; and he was to make all the use he could of this man's zeal and intelligence. If he found any ambassadors from Elizabeth at the Scottish court, he was to declare to them the object of his mission, namely, the restoration of the king to liberty, and of the nation to tranquillity, and assure them of his willingness to co-operate with them for the attainment of that object.

These instructions, it will be seen, were substantially the same as the explanations given by M. de la Mothe Fénelon in his audience at the Scottish court. Affairs had, however, undergone a considerable change since they were drawn up. Archibald Douglas had been placed under arrest in England; the duke of Lennox was no longer in Scotland; and James, though at first unwilling to submit to the restraint placed upon him by his subjects, dissimulated his discontent, and he appears to have thought at this time that he should gain no personal advantage from the interference of France.

M. de Meyneville landed at Leith on the evening of Sunday, the 20th of January, and it immediately became a matter of public scandal, that, in his train, he had brought a "mass-priest," the intelligence of which "greatly moved the patience of the people, whose fury it will be hard for him to escape,

if it be taken abroad; which his highness understanding, hath sent to La Mothe to forewarn both him and Meyneville thereof, as a thing very hard for his highness otherwise to remedy or provide for; which hath made them stand upon their guard all this day, with as much fear as discontentment." According to the report of Davison and Bowes, La Mothe Fénelon began to assume a higher tone after the arrival of M. de Meyneville. On the morning following, which was the 21st of January, "he delivered in a new article in writing, touching this king's mother's consent that his highness should be called by the name and title of king during her lifetime, and associate with her in the government; requiring it may be proclaimed throughout the realm, according to the form of the declaration (which declaration is not yet come to our sight), for avoiding the inconveniences that might otherwise happen." The same day, as we are informed by the English ambassadors, "La Mothe followed his highness ridden forth on hunting, and in the fields had large conference with him of many things; where pressing his highness to deal frankly and plainly with him, touching his present estate and liberty, he let fall many speeches, both of his council and of his guard, as if he were tied up too short by the one and the other; showing him specially what he heard and understood touching his guard; as, namely, that it should be entertained at the charges of the queen our sovereign, which (being a thing of rare example) did make him the more suspicious that his highness was not in that free condition and liberty which should become the state of a king; assuring him that, if he misliked these things (carried in sort as they are), there was remedy enough for his relief. Which the king answering as he had done before, denying utterly to suspect any cause (either in his council or guard) of any indirect dealing against the liberty of his person or government, he told him for the point concerning her majesty, how he was therein abused; the matter, in truth, being none other than that his treasurer, being destitute of money upon a sudden occasion, assayed to take up so much of credit in this town as might serve that present necessity; but finding in that way some difficulty, and being pressed with the time and occasion, he was driven to make trial of me, Bowes (who he knew had money lying by me) for the loan of some little matter upon credit, which he obtained, giving me

his own bond only for the repayment thereof; which his majesty (being since made acquainted with the matter importing his service) had taken order for Gowrie's indemnity and discharge in that behalf; so as the charge was his own, and not her majesty's, as he was informed. Many other things passed between them, wherein La Mothe by degrees plucked down his vizard, discovering enough to increase the suspicions of a long projected mischief here."

M. De Meyneville's first audience at court, took place on the 23rd of January, and his public message was much the same as that of M. de la Mothe Fénelon, except that he spoke with less reserve, and his complaint of the banishment of Lennox and the conduct of the Scottish lords who had been opposed to him was delivered in a tone that almost amounted to rudeness. Meyneville also openly declared that one part of his mission was to promote the project of the "association," that is, the joint government of James and his mother; but, when he broke this matter to the council, "finding it to be of very hard digestion to the most part of that company, he did afterwards endeavour to qualify it in the best manner he could; pretending that the king his master had no other meaning therein than to congratulate with this king the voluntary consent of the queen his mother to ratify and strengthen his authority by an open declaration of her consent and will in that behalf." This ambassador appears, indeed, to have commenced his mission indiscreetly, and to have acted in a manner which could leave little doubts in people's minds that his arrival was the signal for new and formidable intrigues. His open bringing of a popish priest, and some other circumstances attending his arrival, had effectually stirred up the spirit of the preachers and of the more zealous portion of their hearers; and the pulpits immediately resounded with invectives against the French king for his bloody persecutions past and for his dangerous designs for the future. The ministers met, and proceeded to debate the question whether it were lawful in a christian state to receive the ambassador of an idolatrous prince, and this question being decided in the affirmative, a committee was appointed to wait on the king and admonish him on the behaviour which he ought to adopt in face of these dangerous emissaries. This committee consisted of four very celebrated preachers, Davison, Lawson, Lindsay, and

Pont, who were introduced to the king in his private cabinet in presence of Gowrie, the justice-clerk, and some other members of the council. The king thanked them for their advice, but he told them that the law of nations compelled him to receive with courtesy the ambassadors of foreign princes, whatever might be their religion, even if the envoy came from the pope himself, or from the grand Turk. This doctrine was at once controverted by Lawson, one of the most violent of the preachers; but James sustained that it was correct, and he retaliated upon Lawson by complaining of his abusive sermons against the king of France. "As for that," said the ministers, "the priests speak much worse of your grace in France, than we speak of the king of France in Scotland." The king replied that they should not imitate their enemies in evil. "We imitate them not in evil," they retorted, "but in liberty of speech. It is as fair for us to speak the truth boldly, as that they should boldly speak lies, and if we were silent, the chroniclers would speak and reprove it." The king observed that preachers were not writers of chronicles, on which Davison whispered in Lawson's ear, loud enough to be heard, that preachers had more authority to declare the truth in their sermons, than all the historiographers in the world. Thus the interview closed, the earl of Gowrie having assured the ministers that the two ambassadors should be sent home as soon as possible. We are told that Davison remained a moment behind his brethren, and craving permission to whisper a word of counsel in the king's ear, said, "Sir, I thought good to advertise you, but not before the rest, that ye swore and took God's name in vain too often in your speeches." The king smiled, and accompanying Davison to the door of his cabinet, thanked him for his reproof and for the gentle manner in which it was given.

M. de Meyneville had no sooner entered the capital than he was informed of the attack made by the preachers upon the French monarch, and having further learnt that the question had been debated by the kirk whether, under any circumstances, private mass could be allowed, he determined to assert his right at once. In his first audience, before he had fully stated his message to the king, he said in a bold and almost indignant tone, "I am come, sire, from the most christian king of France, my sovereign, to offer all aid to the establishing

of quietness; being an ambassador, and not your subject, I crave to be treated as such; and as I have food allotted for my body, so do I require to be allowed the food of my soul, I mean the mass; which, if it is denied me, I may not stay and suffer a christian prince's authority and embassy to be violated in my person." "Which speech," we are told in the despatch from Bowes and Davison to Walsingham, "accompanied with a gesture no less insolent, did so much move and offend the king, as, besides the refusal of his request (which he will by no means yield unto), hath brought him into an utter dislike of the man and prejudice of his judgment and discretion; which La Mothe perceiving both by his majesty's countenance and answer, did afterwards seek to excuse it in the best manner he could, confessing the oversight of his colleague, and entreating his highness to take it in the best part." We are informed on the same authority that Meyneville himself afterwards denied that he had asked for liberty to celebrate mass, but that he wished merely to enjoy the simple liberty of his own conscience.

Meyneville's bold demand had, however, caused a great sensation in the kirk, and on the sabbath day following, Lawson, from his pulpit, expounded the mission of the king of Babylon in the scripture in application to the present embassy from France, denouncing M. de Meyneville as the counterpart of the blasphemous Rabshakeh. The ambassador's demand to be allowed to perform mass in Scotland, was followed by a new cause of grief. M. de la Mothe Fénelon was preparing for his departure, and the king, as was usual in such cases, directed the magistrates of the capital to treat him with a farewell dinner. The ministers protested violently against the respect shown to an envoy of Satan, who carried openly on his breast the "badge of antichrist," as they termed the cross which he wore as a knight of the order of the holy spirit; and, finding they could not hinder the feast, they actually proclaimed a public fast to be held the same day during the hours which the entertainment of the ambassador was to last. Thus, while the latter was feasting on civic hospitality, the churches of Edinburgh resounded with the bitterest invectives against France. This indiscreet violence of the preachers alarmed the subtle diplomatists whom Elizabeth had sent to oppose the French intrigues, and Bowes, writing to secretary Walsingham on the last

day of January, informed him that he had found it necessary to expostulate with them, "seeking by friendly advice to persuade sundry of the principal preachers here in these dangerous times, to carry themselves discreetly in their public exhortations and reproofs against any defaults or errors found in the king or others of quality, rather by private admonition timely to be given to the party offending, than by public reprehension unseasonably to be made in the pulpit, and in such bitter manner as shall threaten to exasperate the mind of any person so dealt withal. They have well allowed and received my council therein, but affirming the same both to stand with their duties, and also to agree with their ordinary course and order established and holden amongst them. And they have shown me that to avoid the dangers of the common practises of the French ambassadors presently resident here (and who, they say, are sent to undermine the religion and good state in this realm), they have been driven of duty and conscience to be so vehement in their admonitions in this part, as thereby the said ambassadors have made complaints to the king; and the king, for satisfying the ambassador, hath prescribed to them some strait bounds, which the duty of their charge and condition of the present causes might not well suffer. Nevertheless, they have been careful to obey the king's will and pleasure, using such temperance herein as they could, until the necessity of the common cause falling into extreme peril, and the prick of their own conscience calling on them to perform their office and commission, did oblige them again to warn the king, nobles, and people in such earnest manner as the king hath conceived some offence thereby."

Before his departure from Scotland, M. de la Mothe Fénelon had an audience of the king, in which he delivered another long address, repeating much which he had said before of the anxiety of the king of France to restore him to his liberty and to promote the tranquillity of the country. He expressed some regret that his efforts had not always been successful, referring especially to the case of the absent lords whom James had not called to court at his request, but he said that he felt satisfaction in leaving behind him M. de Meyneville, a man of great talent and integrity, who would no doubt perfect the good work which he had only begun, for which purpose he had been instructed to prolong his residence in Scotland.

Among the documents lately published by M. Teulet, is a paper containing requests to be presented to the French king by M. de la Mothe Fénelon on his return, on the part of the king of Scots, his mother, and the nobles of the party which supported the French interest. The demands of the nobles are curious. They "humbly implore his majesty to propose to the young king of Scots the restitution of the lord of Arbroath, who was in France, and of his brother the lord Claude Hamilton, who was in England, that they might be restored to their estates by the king in his name; the queen of England having already made great instance for them, in order to strengthen by their means the party she had in the kingdom, if they be restored through her intercession." These nobles further wished the king of France to obtain from James the appointment of gentleman of the bedchamber for the lord of Arbroath, the master of Livingston, and the master of Gray, all of whom would be staunch supporters of the French influence and two of them zealous catholics; to send back as soon as possible the duke of Lennox, who, when in power, was always a warm partisan of France; and to write a letter to the earl of Gowrie in acknowledgment of the good will he had now manifested to his service.

The preachers had, as usual, been correct in their informations, and it was soon generally known that M. de Meyneville was labouring actively and successfully to form a coalition among the lords who were friends to Lennox and France. "The fickle state in this realm," says Bowes, writing to Walsingham on the 6th of February, 1583, "subject to change, and labouring like a working sea in the storm, to alter this government, will sufficiently appear to you by the joint letter from Mr. Davison and myself. And by the same you shall perceive how busily the French travel (*labour*) to make a party for the French king, in the person and by the countenance of Lennox, and under pretext of assistance to be given to restore the king to his liberty from his captive state, to draw in secret into this realm, and that for the advancement hereof they have not only laboured to bind together the favourites of the king's mother, the friends of Lennox, the papists and malcontents in this realm, but also sought to corrupt sundry others of the best about the king, and to entertain such as they shall find distrusting to depend on the support of her majesty, a

disease infecting many at this present, and giving great advantage to the French, who, knowing that the people of this nation will not be long fed with fair words or empty lure, do now show forth and offer to them the quick prey, like enough to allure many to taste of the bait that shall draw their devotion to the French, and peradventure give entrance to French forces into Scotland. These matters I thought good to present unto your knowledge and good consideration, to the intent that timely regard may be had to prevent the evils by seasonable and most fit remedy for her majesty's best service and for mine own discharge against the sequel of any hard success falling hereon; wherein, if the will and power of the French king (better known to yourself than to me) shall concur with the offers of his ambassadors, then the more speedy provision ought to be made, like as your wisdom can sufficiently foresee. Besides, I am newly advised at the writing hereof, that the French party are making (as the term is) a pye or practise to welter this court, and I see many suspected faces, as well in this court as town, in like manner as was done before the late surprise of the king's person intended to have been attempted; but warning is given, and such order taken as I trust shall suffice to prevent the evil."

On the seventh of February, the day after the foregoing was written, Davison and Bowes obtained an audience of the king, to present to him a letter from Elizabeth, who was offended that the French ambassadors should have entered upon the subject of the association without first consulting with her. Her ambassadors had themselves first learnt it from private information, and it appears to have been only after their despatch on the subject had been sent that it was mentioned to them by the king. When they read the queen's letter to him, James, finding himself at the first a little touched, in that her majesty charged him with concealing from us the overture and proposition of La Mothe touching the point of association, took occasion to challenge us for the same, in that we being (as in truth we were) made acquainted with the whole circumstances thereof by himself, had not (as it seemed) accordingly testified unto her majesty his plainness with us in that behalf; which we excused, assuring him of the contrary, and laying the blame upon the posts, by whose negligence it grew (as we pretended), that our letters were not come to her highness's hands at the time of

this despatch. And, because by the process of that letter he perceived her majesty was jealous both of the end and the effect of that proposition, as a matter which she suspected he might be drawn to mislike of, he told us that she might fully assure herself, whatsoever scope and end they had in propounding thereof, which in the mean time La Mothe pretended to grow only from the instance of the king his master, for the better removing of those scruples which had hitherto restrained him from acknowledging his highness here as king without the good liking and consent of his mother (whose interest he was loath otherwise to prejudice), that he was, for his own part, ready to shut his ears against that or any like motion whatsoever, which should tend to the impairing of his authority, peril of his estate, and his own dishonour; all which he confessed to be in hazard, if, from a sole king (as he had hitherto continued from his cradle) he should now fall to divide and communicate his authority to others." James continued to profess his attachment and obligations to Elizabeth, "acknowledging her manifold deservings at his hands to be worthy of an extraordinary love and thankfulness towards her above all the princes of the earth; who, he protested, had won such especial interest in him, as she might no less account and dispose of him than of herself, as his actions and deeds should give good testimony."

Bowes and Davison had obtained information of La Mothe Fénélon's secret intrigues before he left Edinburgh, and in their last interview with him he made a direct allusion to them, in reply to which the French diplomatist denied that he had done anything contrary to his promise to Elizabeth. "And thereupon he fell into larger protestations of the sincere meaning of his master and upright dealing of himself, confirmed (how truly shall appear hereafter) with his ordinary oath, *devant Dieu!* praying us to believe and think of him, &c.; whereupon we thought to have entered into a more particular charge of him, with such things as we knew directly contrary to that he protested, but the day spending, and he making some haste, we were forced to break off, and so took our leaves. In the mean time her majesty may see how little conscience these men do make of oaths and protestations. Thus much we can assure your honour, upon very credible information, that himself, not two days before his departure hence, dealt

very instantly with the earl of Huntley to continue his affection to the duke, and to join his favour with the rest of his friends against those lords about the king, who (as he pretended) do still detain the king in captivity, and run a course dangerous both to his person and state. And hereupon (to move him the rather) hath not only assured the restitution of his near kinsmen, the Hamiltons, within six months, but also proceeded so far as to assure the return of Lennox within six or seven months at the highest, and the assistance of five thousand men, which he undertook should be here before the end of three months; besides many other traffics and practises underhand with others, as well by himself as Meyneville, who left, as it seems, behind to finish that the other had begun, doth seek by all means to increase their party, both by persuasions, promises, and plain corruption, as may sufficiently appear by the confession both of colonel Stuart and David Colesse, to whom, amongst others, he hath offered liberal sums to do good offices for his master about the king, and would have made them present delivery thereof, if they had been as ready to receive as he to distribute. By which proceedings your honour may plainly see what course they run, and what is like to be the success, if his majesty do not all the sooner look to it." The ambassadors proceed, in the subsequent part of the letter, to complain of the parsimony which hindered them from buying over those who preferred English gold to French.

M. de la Mothe Fénelon passed through London, on his return to France, about the 20th of February, and he there entered into confidential communication, not only with M. de Mauvissière, but with Fowler, the agent we have before mentioned. He incautiously told Fowler of a great coalition which he had been instrumental in forming among the lords in Scotland against the Ruthven lords, and informed him that he had in his pocket, to carry to the French king, a list of the names of the principal lords who had joined it. These were the earls of Huntley, Arran, Athol, Montrose, Rothes, Morton, Eglinton, Bothwell, Glencairn, and Crawford; and the lords Hume and Seaton. He told him further, that the king himself had recently assured him that his heart was entirely French. Fowler immediately repeated what he had heard to Walsingham, and thus the English ministers received full confirmation of all their suspicions.

There can be no doubt that James was all this time acting with the deepest dissimulation. He saw that the Ruthven lords were still too strong and watchful to promise him an easy chance of success in the attempt to escape from their hands, and he preferred waiting patiently for the moment when he could, with security, seize upon the power they now held, and take ample vengeance for the past. He continued, therefore, to talk of his attachment to Elizabeth, to express his satisfaction at the existing state of things, and to speak outwardly with contempt of the French ambassador, of whom he professed himself very anxious to rid himself. But Bowes and Davison began now to have their eyes open, and to believe him no longer. "Albeit," they wrote on the 21st of February, "that the king hath lately declared himself to be at liberty, and to be offended that Meyneville, or any other, should minister occasion to any to think the contrary; and that Meyneville, thereon, hath testified to the king, that he seeth him at his own liberty and will; yet it is greatly feared that the king hath secretly signified to La Mothe and Meyneville that his person and state be not free nor standing with his contentment. Against which the king hath assured us, by all the words that can be given, both to approve his liberty and full power to do all things to his best liking, and also that he will constantly continue in that mind; nevertheless, many be fed with a contrary opinion, hoping (*expecting*) that when the noblemen absent shall be come together, and be in force about the king, which matter is like to take effect within these fourteen days, that then the king shall be drawn to acknowledge and publish his detention and captivity, with desire that the chief authors thereof may be removed from him."

The rumours and suspicions thickened as the time approached for the convention of the nobles, which was looked forwards to with so much alarm; and the English ambassadors were somewhat reassured when they saw the convention pass over without any troubles, and when the king gave Meyneville his despatches, and pressed his departure, and appointed colonel Stuart and John Colville to proceed, as his ambassadors, to London. But Meyneville still lingered in Edinburgh, and James's ambassadors retarded their journey, as it was said, till his departure. In the midst of these uncertain-

ties, new discoveries were accidentally made by the indefatigable Bowes. M. de Meyneville had entrusted one of his confidential servants, an Italian named Rocco Bandelli, to conduct his private correspondence with M. de Mauvissière, and this man, through one of his fellow-servants, who was already corrupted, sold himself to the English ambassador, and furnished him with copies of two letters, which M. de Meyneville had just written to M. de Mauvissière. These copies were immediately dispatched to secretary Walsingham, and they are still preserved in the state-paper office. We learn from them that the young king was fully cognisant of the conspiracy for the overthrow of the Ruthven lords, and that he was urged to let it be carried into immediate execution; but that it was his will to continue dissembling until the return of colonel Stuart and Colville from England. He was fearful of breaking with Elizabeth, and, at the same time, he believed that a too hasty explosion would ruin the whole design. It appears, also, from these letters that colonel Stuart had been gained over by French money, but that M. de Mauvissière was of opinion that he was not to be trusted.

Both Meyneville and the two ambassadors designed for England still remained in Scotland, and the continued residence of the former with his "mass priest," joined with the constant alarm of an impending revolution in favour of France and popery, increased the violence of the preachers. It seems to have entered into the king's scheme of dissimulation, to overlook their intemperance; and such was the irritation of the populace, that the French ambassador himself lived in a state of continual alarm. "Upon untrue report," Bowes writes on the 6th of April, "brought to Meyneville, on Wednesday last, that John Durie, in his sermon that day in the high town, had exhorted his audience to join with him to pull Meyneville and his high-priest out of his house, he took such fear as he had fortified his house very strongly, and also is still accompanied with sundry servants of Seaton and St. Combe, that watch nightly with him in armour; and sending his complaint and information hereof to the king in writing, it was thereon found before the king that John Durie, hearing the people to be entered in fury against Meyneville and his mass-priest, and were ready to assail his house, persuaded the people in no wise to make any tumult,

or attempt any such outrage, to the dishonour of the king and realm. Nevertheless, Meyneville continueth a good part of his guard, attending on him in his house and abroad, with harquebusses for his defence against the violence of this town, that rage to see both his priests kept amongst them, and (as they think) saying mass, and also himself keeping his maundy solemnity like a king, and passing to holy saints and wells on pilgrimage; which thing they think to be done in such contempt against the religion of their laws, as the king is busily occupied to suppress their passions." On a subsequent occasion, Bowes mentions a rumour that De Meyneville had threatened the turbulent citizens of Edinburgh that the French king would retaliate upon the Scottish protestants in France.

Although Elizabeth had been offended when the question of the "Association" was mooted in Scotland, by the French ambassador, she soon afterwards lent her ear, though perhaps not sincerely, to a proposal to the same effect from another quarter. Mary, from her prison at Sheffield, had watched with intense anxiety the progress of events in Scotland, and she had kept up secretly a continual and busy correspondence with the agents of France, with her own partisans and friends, and even with the duke of Lennox, from whose continuance in power she expected so confidently her own eventual restoration, that she listened with reluctance even to the French proposal of associating her son with her in the government. She heard of the raid of Ruthven with the utmost grief, and that event seems to have partly opened her eyes to the impolicy of her own pretensions. She now, therefore, pressed the continuance of negotiations which she had before looked upon rather with coldness, and on the 8th of November, she wrote a long appeal to Elizabeth, protesting against her interference in Scottish affairs, and tracing the history of her own misfortunes and Elizabeth's behaviour towards her in such colours as were not calculated to conciliate the favour of that princess. Accordingly, no notice appears to have been taken of it for some weeks, but Mary had, in this letter, claimed Elizabeth's approval of the proposals for the "Association," and circumstances had now made it expedient for Elizabeth to know how far the sentiments of the mother and son coincided on this

subject. Accordingly, in the course of the month of April, she sent one of her confidential servants, Mr. Beale, to Sheffield, to confer with the captive queen on the subject. In a private conversation on the affairs of Scotland, Mary expressed herself as follows on the character of the leading Scottish nobles. "All," she said, "that might hinder it (the association), are already gone. I have offended none of them which are now remaining, and therefore, I doubt not, but they will like thereof. These are principally to be doubted—Lindsay, Gowrie, Lochleven, Mar, and Angus. Lindsay is a hasty man, and was never thought to be of any great conduct or wit; and if he would do anything to the contrary, the way to win him was to suffer him to have a few glorious (*boasting*) words at the beginning, and afterwards he would be wrought well enough." She described Gowrie as a man of no principle, and undeserving of trust, who would be led by his own personal interests, and might therefore easily be managed. "There was no stability or trust in him. Lochleven hath (as she said), made his peace already. Mar was her god-child, and, in her opinion, like to prove a coward and a naughty-natured boy." "Angus had never offended her, and therefore she wished him no evil; but his surname never had been friends to the Stuarts, and she knew the king her son loved him not." Mary made no secret, not only of her belief but of her knowledge of the dissimulation of the young king in all that he had openly said or done since the raid of Ruthven. She even professed to have his own letters to that effect, and she declared that "she was sure of a great party amongst the Scottish nobles, and had a hundred of their bonds (*i.e.*, a bond signed by a hundred of them), to maintain her cause, on the occurring of any good opportunity."

A copy of Mary's proposals was immediately despatched to Bowes, who was directed to communicate them secretly to the Scottish king, and send back an account of the conference with the utmost speed. Bowes's report of this conference, written on the 1st of May, gives us a singular picture of the character of the young prince. "Your last," says Bowes, "of 25th of the last month, I received on Sunday last, at ten in the afternoon, and according to the same I did in the next morning following acquaint the king at great length of all the

contents directed to be signified to him; showing therewith the offers made to her majesty by his mother, with a large discourse as well of his mother's doings in this part, as also of the testimonies of her majesty's especial goodwill and favour to him, in that her majesty would first impart this to him before her highness would resolve in the same. And I prayed him to keep secret this cause, communicating it to none, or to very few, and those of especial trust and secrecy with him. At the opening of the matter he appeared to think the same something strange to him, saying that men finding themselves defeated, and desperate in their intended plots and purposes, used commonly to turn and direct their course to such second way as they think may most advance their desire, resorting oftentimes to the medicines that they did before most condemn; as he thought his mother had done, and that nothing had moved her more to the same than that she saw how matters were like to proceed betwixt her majesty and himself; wherein he thought this bone was cast to stick in their teeth; and thereon he prayed to see the articles, which I presented, and by his direction did read them to him." In his remarks on these articles, James showed little regard for his mother, and a great reluctance to allow of anything which might for a moment intrench on his own authority. In reply to the fourth, relating to some of her friends who were to promote the plan, he observed that "he wished that his mother would not only give over to deal or have any intelligence or trust with the persons and sorts named therein, but also that she would in time turn truly to the true religion received and authorized in these realms." * * * * "By the sixth he perceived, he said, that his mother had gotten understanding of his resolution and intent to be advised by her majesty, and to bind up the bond of amity betwixt her majesty and him, being now likely to be performed with wished effect; whereupon he thought she was now stirred up to seek to be contained in the same for her own benefit, and for such purposes as seemed good for herself. To the seventh, he said little other than that the same concurred with her former mind signified to him. By the eighth he thought he saw, he said, that his mother would bind and join him with herself, for preservation of her own titles and claims in all things; but he thought it necessary

for him to understand how all things should be fully compounded betwixt her and him, before he should be made a party joining with her; and by this manner of joining with his mother, he doubted that some prejudice might come to him, as well at home as otherwise, finding that she would not only be equal with him in authority and power, but also have the chief place before him, a matter dangerous to his state, and tickle to this crown. Besides he noted that sundry obstacles might peradventure be found in the person of his mother, that might injure him no less than herself; for he said his mother was known to embrace papistry, and so entangled with the pope and papist confederates, as she could not deliver herself from just suspicion, neither could she with honour abandon her friends in France, or refuse their advice. And as in the person of queen Mary, he said, it was found and seen to the world that her own mild nature could not suppress the great cruelty of her councillors, but that their counsel and desire prevailed to persecute and torment God's people, to overthrow the whole state and government established by king Edward the Sixth, and to cast down the principal and best members in England, with general subversion of religion and policy in all things, so the protestants and others in England, desiring a peaceable government and state, may both doubt to find the like effects in the person of his mother, and also be afraid to come under the rule of a woman thus qualified; which impediments and dangers he thought should not be feared in his own condition and standing, but much rather that there might be an expectation and hope of other good qualities reigning in him, and that might promise better contentment and satisfaction to the best sort that should be interested in this behalf."

"After this," Bowes continues, "I let him know that, upon the occasion of the motion of this matter in his mother, and in consequence whereof, she had discovered to her majesty the arguments of the association accorded betwixt him and her, noting to him one or two particular articles in the same, with pretence that his mother had already in substance disclosed the substance of the rest in more plain manner than himself had done in his answer to the late articles prescribed to him by Mr. Davison and myself; and after some large discourse herein, I ended with a persuasion to move

him to requite this present favour shown by her majesty to him with good testimony of his thankful acceptance, by his plain manner of dealing with her majesty, who would take the same for the best recompense that he could yield. Hereupon he told me that the matter of the association began first in his mother, and upon an offer made to confirm his state and title to the crown, and voluntarily to ratify her former resignation made thereof to him, a matter very acceptable to himself, and in that part thought meet to divers of his council to be embraced. At the first motion she pretended to desire no more than by his means to purchase her liberty, and to live in an honourable and quiet sort, seeking to come into Scotland to accomplish and execute her offer, and thereon to pass into and remain quietly in France; or otherwise, if her repair and abode in France could not be obtained, then she agreed to continue in England, so that she might be there in honourable manner, and with liberty. The matter being thus entertained, she solicited him oftentimes by her letters, pressing forwards the matter, and he answered likewise by his letters, agreeing in general terms to the effects proponed and demanded; meaning always to show her all the favour and contentment that he could, seeing that he never meant nor agreed that by the association she should have any conjoint authority, power, or interest with him in his government or titles. And to the intent her full meaning might appear in writing, and be certainly known to him, he required her to set down the same particularly in articles, which she did, and after sent the same framed and drawn to him. This draft Lennox received, and, perusing it, he found it so unreasonable, and differing from the king's true meaning, as he hath endorsed thereon, that it was wholly to be rejected; and also by his letters signified to her that he saw the draft so far against reason and good meaning, as he durst not present it to the king; nevertheless, he indeed showed it to the king, who thereon caused it to be copied and written out by a secret clerk; and to every article he put the answer in the margin, which copy thus drawn forth, with the postills of his particular answer, he left with Lennox, to be by him returned, and sent to his mother; to whom Lennox sent the same, reserving in his own hands the double thereof. Since which time, no other draft or instrument hath been shown

to him of this association, other than the said draught devised and sent to him by his mother, and the said copy of the same draught, with the postills of his own answers put thereto. And the matter being never perfectly complete and finished, passed over, and remaineth in sort and condition as before is declared. These writings, left with Lennox, are, as he thinketh, committed by Lennox to the custody of the laird of Minto and William Stuart, captain of Dumharton; and he thinketh that little George Douglas, and the provost of Glencowden, have severally the doubles thereof. Therefore he hath firmly promised both to write and send to them for the said doubles, and also, upon the receipt thereof, to give and send to her majesty a true copy of the same, with all expedition that can be. In the form and draught of this association, devised and sent by his mother, many articles, he said, are contained, whereof a great part are of small importance. Amongst others of weight, as he could call them to memory, he recounted these few following. First, that he should be a suitor and mean to her majesty for his mother's liberty, and that she might either depart into France, or else live in England in honourable sort, and at liberty; whereunto he agreed, by the postills in the margin, to employ himself and power, and to do the same with the advice of his nobility and state, without whom he might not well deal in such an action. Next, that he could not contract any league with any foreign prince without her privy and consent; to which he answered, that leagues and amities with France and England stood in force, and that he had not hitherto greatly dealt in any such thing, neither would hereafter enter into any contract or league with any foreign prince, without the advice and consent of his nobility and states, who had interest therein with him, and whereof she should have knowledge. That he should not marry without the advices of her majesty and herself, for he said that she included her majesty in this article, of purpose to win her majesty's favour by the same. And further touching his marriage, he granted that she dissuaded him to marry with Navarre, because her brother is but a subject to the French king, notwithstanding that he have the title of a king. Likewise she said of the duke of Lorraine's daughter. In this she advised him either to marry with the king of Spain or of Denmark; commending chiefly to him Spain,

as a thing most pleasant to herself, because the king's daughter of Spain was like to prove a catholic, which religion she chiefly embraced; yet she agreed that the king's daughter of Denmark should be meet for him, and well content his subjects, because she might be a protestant, and least suspected of England. He said further, that it was always agreed betwixt them that she should ever travel with her majesty, to persuade him to marry the king's daughter of Denmark; who, he saith, is little above eight years of age, and for whom it shall be very long for him to tarry." After some further conversation on the same subject, of less importance, Bowes retired; but soon afterwards he received a further communication on the same subject. "In the afternoon he sent two gentlemen to me, requiring me to communicate with them the offers of his mother before shown to himself, which I did according to his desire; taking order with them to have his indilate answer, which I looked verily to have received that night. But he was so busily occupied all that evening with the French ambassador, who then took his leave of him, as the said gentlemen, finding no time to speak with him, departed to their lodgings. In the morning the one wrote to me, and I answered him, as by the view of our letters inclosed will appear to you. After they came severally to me, promising to hasten the king's resolution and answer all that they might; nevertheless I could not receive the same before this day, causing to defer these thus long. At length he resolved, and this day signified to me by his own mouth, that forasmuch as he seeth by his mother's offers that she seeketh to have a quality and joint interest with him in those weighty matters, and preferreth herself before him in the same, with such prejudice and danger to him and his estate as he cannot agree to join with her therein, before he shall both understand the bottom and particularities of her true meaning in these offers to be performed on his behalf, and also be satisfied by the advice of his council that his agreement to the said offers in form as they stand, shall not hurt nor prejudice him, his estate, or subjects, and that in the accomplishment of her majesty's request to keep this matter secret, he cannot as yet communicate the same to his council or state, to have their counsels and consents for his best resolution to be determined in the same; therefore he heartily prayeth her majesty as his most especial

friend, and whose advice herein he will chiefly seek and follow, to do him the favour to search out and understand his mother's true meaning and intention in these offers made by her, and touching his person, or any act to be done by him. Next, that it may please her majesty to give him her good advice herein, which, he saith, he will gladly receive and put in execution; and lastly, to advertise him whether he may, with her good liking and pleasure, communicate this matter to his nobility and council, or to such number thereof as to her majesty shall be seen to be most convenient."

From this time Elizabeth could have little doubt that the plan of "association" would fail. The conduct of the young king of Scots was selfish in the extreme; and his unwillingness to yield anything to his mother coincided perfectly with the wishes of the queen of England, while it relieved her from the odium of directly opposing the scheme of association herself. Elizabeth, satisfied with the knowledge she had thus obtained of James's sentiments in this regard, seems to have been led into a feeling of security with regard to Scottish affairs, which made her more parsimonious than ever; and her unwillingness to send more money to Scotland weakened the friends of the English interest, and encouraged its enemies. James was acting with the deepest dissimulation. He professed to Bowes the utmost respect and attachment for Elizabeth, and declared his intention of acting by her councils, professing great dislike to the French ambassador, and an anxious wish to be relieved from his presence. Bowes's efforts were at this moment directed especially to two points; the restoration of the Hamiltons, and the hinderance of any steps towards the return of Arran to the royal favour. James professed his willingness to restore the Hamiltons; but he made deceitful and evasive promises with regard to Arran, who was secretly in communication with the king, and was already recovering the influence in his councils of which he had been deprived by the raid of Ruthven. James professed entire satisfaction with the government of the lords who now held him in their power, and declared that his only desire was to promote a general reconciliation of the nobility; although at this time he was fully cognizant and approving of the secret conspiracy which was organizing by the French ambassador for the over-

throw and destruction of the Ruthven lords. Meyneville's intrigues had indeed been carried on so actively and extensively, that the court and capital were filled with rumours of secret designs and anticipations of new revolutions; and Bowes confidently assured the English ministers, that the month of August would not pass without some great change in the government. The king was known to be secretly in correspondence with the banished duke of Lennox, and the recall of that nobleman was no doubt contemplated as a part of the design; when, early in June, the news of that nobleman's death arrived in Scotland; and, although James was long unwilling to believe it, this intelligence was at length confirmed beyond any possibility of doubt. But for this event, the contemplated revolution in Scotland would probably have been attempted before the time at which it took place. Monsieur de Meyneville, having laid the last hand to this plot, embarked at Leith at the beginning of May, to return to his own country and give an account of his mission to the French monarch.

The correspondence of the French ambassador in England is very interesting at this moment. The king of France, however desirous he might be of recovering his influence in Scotland, was anxious to keep on good terms with Elizabeth, lest she should be gained over by Spain. On the 5th of May, he directed M. de Mauvissière to assure the English queen that the missions of M. de Meyneville and De la Mothe Fénelon had no concealed object whatever, and on the 17th of the same month he recommended him to be cautious in his intercessions for the queen of Scots, and to do or say nothing which might be disagreeable to Elizabeth. About this time the two Scottish ambassadors, so long promised, arrived in London. This mission was entrusted to colonel Stuart and Mr. John Colville, who were accompanied by David Lindsay, one of the Edinburgh preachers. Their object was to renew the league with England, and especially to obtain pecuniary assistance from Elizabeth; and the distinguished manner in which that princess received them, excited the jealousy of the ambassador of France, who, in a despatch written on the 24th of May, complained that Stuart was received at court in as much style as if he had been "some great prince." But Elizabeth could not be

prevailed upon to relax her strict and parsimonious economy, and M. de Mauvissière concluded his despatch with stating his belief that a judicious application of money by the French king would still gain the Scots over to his wishes. The latter showed at this moment a resolution to do his utmost to overthrow the English influence in Scotland; and, in a letter written on the 29th of May, he directed his ambassador to expostulate with Elizabeth on the new league between England and Scotland, which was understood to be in agitation. M. de Meyneville had now returned to the French court, and the king's letter to his ambassador leaves no doubt as to the real object of De Meyneville's mission. After recommending him to watch carefully the proceedings of colonel Stuart, the king proceeds—"At all events do what you can and dexterously (of which I know well your capability), to make them understand the error which would be committed by the said queen and those of her council, and still more so by the Scots, to break down such ancient leagues, alliances, and confederations as those between me and Scotland; from whence the sieur de Meyneville is returned, who has made me a very particular report of all things that have passed there during his journey and residence, of the estate in which things are there at present, and of the resolution which the king of Scotland has in his heart never to abandon my friendship and the great affection which his predecessors have always born to my predecessors and to me, which he knows well to be to himself and his state the most salutary course he could possibly follow; being resolved and determined (as the said sieur de Meyneville has confidently assured me on his part) not to lose the occasion of very soon again placing himself in the hands of those lords of his kingdom who are most attached to me, and whom he knows well to be better subjects and servants to him than those who now have him in their power, and favour the other party."

Elizabeth's parsimony had, meanwhile, given secret disgust to the Scottish nobles, who, though still influenced by some feelings of principle and of personal danger, which could only be averted by their union, began to act more than ever in their individual interests. Gowrie and others sought to pave a way by which they might be able to conciliate whatever party should gain the upper hand, and the natural consequence

was, that their party became further weakened by mutual distrust. The youth of the king seems to have made people less suspicious of the profound dissimulation with which he was acting. He was at this time holding his court at Falkland, where the English ambassador was received on repeated occasions with the utmost cordiality; and he went away assured of James's attachment to England and of his resolution to be guided by Elizabeth's councils. The English princess had chosen this moment for another attempt to renew the negociation for the liberation of queen Mary, on which subject Bowes held a secret conference with the Scottish king at Falkland in the latter part of June, which only tended to show more than ever James's selfishness and his disregard for his mother's interests. Bowes gave an account of this interview in a long despatch to Walsingham, written on the 29th of June. James flatly refused his consent to the plan of association, "to which, he saith, he never agreed in form and substance as it was drawn and tendered to him; affirming that upon the view of the draft thereof sent to Lennox, and to be presented to him, it was found to carry matters very unreasonable and clean differing from his meaning and from her own pretence and desire uttered to him. Whereupon it was for these causes rejected, and returned to be reformed and reduced to their place and true meaning, which never reached anything that might impeach or destroy the force or validity of things done by him, his state, or parliament, since the beginning of his reign; or yet to draw him to yield to such actions as now she chargeth him by his covenant and promise expressed in the association, like as by sundry treaties passed betwixt him and her, and by other evident means; yet peradventure, by her own letters, to be produced in case of necessity, he can make manifest, and by the which he thinketh easily and with honour to answer and avoid the setting to of his hand to the draft, which always he avoweth was never yet perfected. In this part he was very warm, resolving to shake off the burthen that hitherto had lain on his back, and to cast it to such as had dealt indirectly thereon; who, upon the further progress of this matter, are like to see their hidden errors to be disclosed. And he concludeth not to allow the association in form as his mother pretendeth."

James seemed, indeed, to have no real desire to effect his mother's liberation on

any terms, and his council and people in general appear to have been decidedly opposed to it. "It was said," Bowes continues, "that during all the time of her restraint she hath found such friends in this realm as have been a strong party against them, on the other sort loving religion and the amity with her majesty, and that in this time prevailed both to draw the king and this state into dangerous course, and also to remove the chief instruments, notwithstanding their devices. And albeit Lennox, the chief of this party, be cut off, yet the rest cease not to strive to recover their former possession; and they have such interest in the king, such intelligence and favour with foreign princes, willing to aid them, and thereby to alter this state to their courses, and such force of their own in this realm, as hardly can they be brought under or kept from the mark that they have long aimed at; wherein, if they shall receive any comfort or be encouraged by the sight of her majesty's favour to be shown either to the queen or them, or for her liberty, they shall doubtless win such courage thereby as shall hazard the suppression of the well-affected, and bring all things here to their government. And how they shall then carry themselves towards her majesty and her surety, it may be known by the experience of later times and actions of that party. The good manner of her keeping in safety hath been some bridle and stay to her favourites, either to manifest their favour towards her, or yet to attempt the execution of their devised plots. And the continuance of the same hath in sundry of quality abated the expectation of her sudden return and greatness, causing many thereby to seek second ways for their most benefit, and encouraging others to go forwards in these good actions; so her liberty granted will stir her friends to contend to declare their best services, and to hasten to any enterprise promising her advancement and their own profits. It shall feed many with hope of her prosperity, with possibility of such power as may promote her friends and work revenge on her enemies, and such as have offended her without reconciliation; wherein her friends will greedily hunt for their prey, and the other will fawn upon them to avoid the revenge. And hereby many may be drawn from good actions, that shall be left destitute of supporters. It is said to be seen here that the king's favour to her friends giveth them this strength to

encumber the state, and to press to rule above others; from which they are kept back partly by the king, that will not now cast himself wholly into their hands, and partly by the good noblemen that still stand in their way. But her liberty, getting power to play upon the gentle nature of the king, ready to be ruled after her affection, will easily remove these impediments, and lay the ball at the feet of her friends, to be cast as she shall direct. Many here, having experience of her natural, as they term it, say that she hath a deeper meaning to obtain her desires than sound care to perform the accords; wherein they think no condition or limitation can be a sufficient obligation against the testimonies of her former life and actions—and behaviour hitherto passed. And therein they concluded that her liberty will, in the condition of this time, both increase and encourage her party here, and also give the greater power to herself and them to put in practice their devices."

This interview took place on the 24th of June, and Bowes immediately returned from the court at Falkland to Edinburgh, in total ignorance of the plot which was at that moment on the point of being carried into execution. It is evident that James had been long brooding over the means of liberating himself from the restraint under which he was held by the Ruthven lords; but he seems to have been suspicious, also, of the lords of the other party, and to have wished as far as possible to manage the enterprise for himself. Singularly enough, the first person to whom we know that the young king opened his mind on this subject, was the master of Glamis, one of the Ruthven conspirators, and the one who had given him such deep offence on that occasion. Fowler, one of Walsingham's correspondents in Scotland, sent that minister secret information of a conversation between the king and the master of Glamis, which occurred in the month just mentioned. James entered upon the subject by stating the object of the progress he was just about to undertake. "I intend," said he, "to go in progress; and first to Falkland, and thereafter to Glamis. What think you, master? Shall I be welcome?" The master, taken rather by surprise, replied that the welcome should be better than the entertainment, inasmuch as his ability was then less than it had been five years before, alluding to the loss he had sustained by a

fine of twenty thousand pounds, "which he paid, by the duke of Lennox's means, for the killing of the earl of Crawford's man." The king answered, "Master, are you not yet contented and sufficiently revenged? If you had not turned that night to Ruthven, these things, which were then devised, would never have taken effect. Well, master, I will forgive you; and if you will conform yourself to my request, your losses shall be faithfully repaired you hereafter." "Sir," said Glammis, "what is your will? Command me in anything; your majesty shall be obeyed, yea, were it in the killing of the best that are about your majesty." The king then said, "Master, I mean not so; but because I think it stands not with my honour to be guided by other men's will, I would things were changed, which you only may perform, if you follow my device. None mistrusteth you, and therefore I will come to the Glammis, where you may have such power for that effect, that I will remain your prisoner, so that you debar these from me who have me at their devotion." The master of Glammis, we are told, gave his consent to this proposal; but nothing further seems to have been done in it. Perhaps, after all, it was a mere wile of the king's to blind the eyes of the lords who held him in their power to the real plot in agitation for his escape from them.

On the afternoon of Thursday, the 27th of June, James was riding in his park at Falkland, when he received a letter from the earl of March, who was at St. Andrew's, and who informed him that every thing was ready there for his reception. The king made immediate preparations for his departure from Falkland; and, taking horse in company with the earl of Mar, colonel Stuart,

and a few others who then formed his court, the same evening he was safely lodged in the castle of St. Andrew's, the gates of which were guarded by colonel Stuart, against the approach of any but the king's friends. The king was soon joined by the earls of Crawford, Huntley, Argyle, and Marshal; and it was understood that Arran himself would immediately repair to court. Angus, Gowrie, and the master of Glammis, were all absent on their private affairs; and Mar seems to have been taken by surprise. But when he recovered from it, and saw the peril into which he and his friends had fallen, he dispatched messengers in haste to Gowrie and Angus, informing them of what had occurred, and urging them to hurry to court with all speed possible. Gowrie obeyed; but, instead of making any attempt to recover the ground which was lost, he tried to secure his own safety by making his peace with the lords who were now in the ascendant. Angus was prepared to act with more energy; he sent a hasty message to the earl of Bothwell, who raised his men and joined him, and the two earls with their forces marched towards St. Andrew's. But when they were within six miles of that city, they were met by a herald, who enjoined them, in the king's name, to dismiss their men, and approach the court only with their usual retinues. They both yielded obedience to the king's orders, who received them at St. Andrew's, and then directed them to repair to their own houses and remain quiet there, until they received his commands to show themselves at court. Thus, by another bloodless revolution, the party of Lennox and France was again restored to power.

CHAPTER XVI.

IMMEDIATE RESULTS OF THE KING'S LIBERATION; EMBASSY OF SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM; AN UNSUCCESSFUL CONSPIRACY; ARREST AND EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF GOWRIE.

At first it was believed that the king intended to pursue a moderate course, and that he would show no outward resentment towards the lords from whose influence he had escaped; but these hopes were soon dis-

pelled. One of James's first acts was to publish a proclamation, declaring the raid of Ruthven to have been an act of high treason, and threatening to proceed vigorously against those who had been concerned

in it. This and other proceedings of the court caused a general alarm, and the English ambassador, Bowes, hurried to St. Andrew's to ascertain the real state of things at court. He found, as he tells us, ready access to the king; "and thereon I entered to let the king understand how greatly the sight and hearing of these novelties stirred his subjects, that were all afraid of the sequel thereof; secondly, how strange the same should be to her majesty, that had no foreknowledge given of the matter; seeing that long before this I had both shown to him that her majesty never sought to bind him to any particular counsel, party, or person, contrary to his own affection; and also offered that if any of the lords, or any of the noblemen, councillors, or company then about him were offensive to him, or that he desired to have others with him for his better contentment, her majesty would agree and do good will that such should be removed and others received to him, such as might with honour and profit best please him, to declare that he was not detained, nor anything done against his will, and that he had then plainly signified to me that he liked well the company and course wherein he was then, promising that he would not alter the same without her majesty's privity and advice; for the credit whereof I had so far affirmed and engaged myself to her majesty, as upon the sight of this change I ought to seek her majesty's pardon for my default herein. And, thirdly, that above twenty days past it had been bruited (*rumoured*) in divers places, that not only the same effects that are now seen put in practice at this time should be attempted, but also that other matter should be enterprised and followed thereon, as should in time do great prejudice to the common causes of religion, the amity with her majesty, and quietness of both the realms; so as it was generally feared that this action in hand was the beginning of the execution of that dangerous practice, and that the first act in the play being done, the second must soon begin. To this the king answered, that coming to St. Andrew's, where he had appointed the convention of his council for the deliberation of the resolutions to be made upon her majesty's answers delivered to the ambassadors, and minding to have procured the approbation of the same, he was advertised that the earls of Angus and Arran, and some other noblemen, had gathered their forces and appointed to come

to this town, with many other such rumours, as threatened great concourse of the nobility and people to be both assembled here, and also with such passionned minds as it was doubted that some sudden trouble might fall thereon. Whereupon he was advised by his council then present to enter then into this castle for his safety, and to remain there until he might understand the truth in all these bruits, and give such order for the redress of any disordered action or person, as should be found convenient; and having long desired to draw the nobility unto unity and concord, and to be known to be (as he termed it) an universal king, indifferent to them all, and not led by nor addicted to any three earls or other number of persons; therefore his meaning was only to seek the accomplishment of his desire in these two points remembered, without any intention to alter or innovate anything contrary to his promise made to her majesty, which he protesteth shall be inviolably kept, or to withdraw his good countenance, or shake from him any of the noblemen or others lately serving about him, or to call others to him, otherwise than shall be for the advancement of his said intention, neither doth he purpose to prejudice any of them in any manner, or to do anything that may yield any just cause of misliking to her majesty or offence to his good subjects; concluding that in this action no alteration shall be found in his course, otherwise than that it may be made manifest that he will show himself indifferent to all his nobility, councillors, and others, that thereby he may be the better able to knit them together in love and concord for his service and common quietness, and to perform all things promised to her majesty. Herein he oftentimes promised very solemn protestations. After I had let him see as well the danger following the evil offices done by the untrue suggestions against the noblemen, that neither gathered any forces nor prepared to resort to him any otherwise than he himself directed, as also the subtlety of the intention of the informers, and that this manner of proceeding promises not the surest success of his said desires, wherein he had sundry and long arguments, I persuaded him to call to memory her majesty's late advice given him to beware of violent courses, and at this time to use the most peaceable means; praying him not to suffer any of his nobility to depart hastily from him, but rather to entertain them some little time

together, giving them equally presence to his council and person, after such wonted manner as they might think themselves to be continued in his good grace and favour, and the people may see such familiarity and agreement amongst them as might quench the flame raised by these rumours, and settle all things in quietness. Moreover I prayed that by his majesty's own letter might be signified to her majesty the manner, intention, and cause of these doings, and to forbear to dissent from anything in his former course, promised to her majesty to be continued, before he did first acquaint her majesty with his purpose in the same, and had return of her advice and good liking therein. To all which he readily agreed; saving that he said that his council now convened must needs proceed in the affairs at present, and could not be long kept together, and that such as had any especial particulars should in convenient time and best manner depart, and afterwards return to him again at their own pleasure; in which resolution I then left him."

The news of this revolution was received in France with the utmost joy, and it was openly asserted that the English interest in Scotland was entirely overthrown. Elizabeth, on the other hand, looked on these proceedings with great alarm, and, knowing that France had been active in them, she ordered her forces on the border and on the eastern coasts of England to be vigilant lest foreign troops should be carried into Scotland, to the assistance of the faction which was now in power. She had resolved now to give the king of Scots a pension, as next heir to her throne; but James and his new friends, relying on their promoters in France, held their heads higher than before, and spoke contemptuously of the smallness of the sum (ten thousand crowns) which the queen of England had allotted to him. On the 9th of July, Bowes gave an account of his conversation with the Scottish king on this subject. James, he tells us, "did declare to me that albeit his council, deliberating upon the only point of the quality of this pension, did think the portion to be esteemed so small as it might not with honour be publicly received by him, with the advices and consents of them as councillors; who, in open council and actions, ought to have chief regard to the conditions of honour, leaving, thereby, the matter to his own choice and private dealing with her majesty; yet he found her majesty's kind

offer to be accompanied with such signs of her loving affection towards him (chiefly in that he should be no less dear to her than she had been to her father, that gave the like proportion to her majesty,) as thereon he resolved to accept this, or any less sum, in as good part as if it had been a matter of most high value; agreeing that as and when his need should press him, so he will then call on her majesty for it; and in the meantime he acknowledged himself bound in most strict obligation to her majesty for her highness's bounty and continual goodness to him. I found by him that both his present need was great for payment of his debts, and chiefly for the earl of Gowrie, furniture of his house, storing of his grounds, and such like requisite uses; and also that the speedy delivery of her majesty's said gift should double the thanks, and come in best season to him. And I felt that, seeing he had refused and would refuse much and far greater profit tendered by others, and that the necessity of his estate being made truly known to her majesty, would move her to greater liberality, and to be given in most acceptable time, therefore he trusteth verily that her majesty will vouchsafe to increase well her gratuity to be granted to him, and favourably to tender the hard condition of his estate, overcharged and rent in pieces with the burden of civil distraction, and wasting of his commodities with evil husbanding of his revenues during the long time of his minority, wherein most things appertaining to him, and wherein his profits should have arisen, have rather been subject to spoil than preserved for his use; which considerations he hath left to me to be commended to her majesty, always hoping that her majesty will, with especial favour and accustomed love, tender the same; in which hope I have left him, and likewise leave these to her majesty's gracious acceptance." Notwithstanding James's eagerness for the queen's "bounty," his councillors still spoke disparagingly of it, and, in a subsequent conversation with colonel Stuart, the latter spoke of it to Bowes in a tone that was new to the English ambassador. "In my late conference with colonel Stuart in the field," Bowes writes on the 13th of July, "he showed me plainly that the lords and council, with the king, did esteem the portion granted by her majesty to the king to be so small, as they thought he might not with honour receive it; offering that, rather than he should take such a trifle, they

would, of their own charges, provide double as much for him. He said, further, that this sum granted was looked to have been sent and presented to the king before this time, and if the same should be now tendered, he thought the king should be advised to refuse it. Therefore he persuaded much that her majesty would have due regard herein; and he concluded with his accustomed protestations to continue faithful in his course professed. But hearing it spoken before that the king might no longer be entertained with shadows and sentences, and finding this humour and opinion reigning in them, I can see no other intention in them than either to draw her majesty to increase the said portion, or otherwise that the same may be left for a pick to such as purpose to fish for a quarrel against her majesty."

In the midst of these proceedings, the ministers of the kirk were not inactive, and they gave great offence to the king by the freedom of their public remarks on the character of the deceased duke of Lennox; in consequence of which James, immediately after his flight to St. Andrew's, issued a proclamation, declaring the holiness of Lennox's death, in the true christian faith, and forbidding, under severe penalties, any one pretending to be ignorant of this fact or casting any suspicions on its truth. Lawson, who had been particularly distinguished by the severity of his remarks on this occasion, was summoned to appear at the court at Dunfermline; and, accompanied with some of his clerical colleagues, he was ushered into the presence chamber. The interview, as described by an old recorder of these events, appears to have been singularly droll. When the preachers rose and made their obeisance on the king's entry into the presence chamber, he took no notice of them; but, passing by the throne which it was expected he would have occupied, seated himself contemptuously on a coffer which stood near, and eyed them askance and sullenly for a quarter of an hour, during which no one uttered a word. He then rose on his legs, looked at them frowningly, and walked out of the room. He had no sooner reached his cabinet, however, than he suddenly ordered the ministers to be brought in to him. Pont then stood forth and said that they were come to warn his majesty against alterations; to which the king replied that he knew of no alteration except that which had occurred twelve months before at Ruthven, when they had not been so ready with

their warnings. Pont, in reply, reminded him of their admonitions at Perth, and another minister, Mr. David Ferguson, made an allusion to their discourses from the pulpit, which made James bite his lips with anger. Ferguson thereupon tried to avert the storm by some touches of wit, that were certainly not of the most respectful description. He said that as Ferguson, or the son of Fergus (the first Scottish king), he had waived his own right to the throne in favour of James, whom he found to be an honest man and in possession; and he therefore, before any body else, had a claim to be heard. The king seems to have been a little mollified by this "merry speech"—"Well," said he, "no other king in Europe would have borne so much at your hands as I have." Pont replied that James was not like other European kings, who were murderers of God's saints—"but you have had another sort of up-bringing; beware, therefore, whom you choose to be about you, for you are now in deeper danger than you were when you were in your cradle." James, in reply, made use of an unlucky word, declaring that he was a "catholic" king, and was at liberty to choose his own counsellors. But Ferguson, very adroitly, turned off at the same time both the king's wrath and the anger of the preachers, by a piece of flattery of that description which was peculiarly acceptable to James, who had lately translated the hundred-and-first psalm into English verse. "Yes, brethren," said he, turning to his colleagues, "his majesty is a catholic, or, as that word means, a universal king, and he may choose his company as king David did in the hundred-and-first psalm;" and he went on to praise the king's versification. The conversation now assumed a more friendly tone, though the ministers left him with a solemn denunciation of the men who now ruled his councils. As they departed, James laid his hand familiarly on each, and colonel Stuart made them a drink.

Although the earl of Arran had not yet been received at court, it was generally understood that he had a hand in all that was going on, and every day some new step was made towards his restoration to favour. While the king was covering his designs with his usual professions of amity and appeals to Elizabeth for advice, he was gradually removing from about his person those who were favourable to the Ruthven lords, and preparing to wreak his resent-

ment on those from whose power he had just withdrawn himself. These beginnings, and the rumours of French and popish influence, alarmed the presbyterian preachers, who determined to visit the king with new expostulations. Bowes wrote from Edinburgh, on the 16th of July—"At the assembly of the presbytery in this town this day, they have resolved to send four discreet persons to the king, to inform him privately (according to his desire and order used in the like causes) what great suspicions and rumours are among the people; that seeing the best affected removed from his presence, and others suspected to be drawn about him, do therefore look for troublesome effects to grow by this late alteration; secondly, that by untrue surmises of sudden violence to be intended against him by some of his nobility, that are faithful and obedient subjects, his mind is oftentimes put in fear without cause, and drawn thereby into many inconveniences; thirdly, that sundry of his noblemen do presently live in great fear of unlawful hurt to be done unto them; and lastly, that no such consideration is had for the surety of the amity betwixt these two crowns as are convenient. These commissioners intend to sue earnestly to the king to stay the violence of this present course, and I shall labour likewise with him for the same; but I see such resolution set down to the contrary, as I am in little hope to prevail." In another letter, written on the same day, Bowes gives the following characteristic account of the designs of the people now about the king. "I have found," he says, "many ready to shrink upon the sight and passions of the lords now in court, both pressing to remove all that may be impediments to the progress of their purpose, and also seeking afterwards to execute their revenge with the uttermost extremities against the principals of the other parties. In some others I have seen a far contrary mind; thinking that the loss of time was the loss of their safety, and yet their haste to redress matters over-hastily threatened the overthrow of themselves. At length I have so far prevailed with these and the rest, as they are well contented and agree to stand fast to their good cause, and to attend (*wait*) what shall further proceed in court, to the intent all things may be handled in most peaceable manner (as best appertaineth in matters betwixt the sovereign and the subject), and that all their actions may be laid and begun upon a sure

foundation; always holding this resolution, that they shall not abandon the good and the common causes. Against this, sundry of the lords have concluded that if in the entry of their action they shall once let slip the occasion of their advantage offered, then they shall little prosper afterwards in their course; and therefore they have been right earnest to remove all impediments in their way, complaining that whatsoever they build in a day, the king's servants and instruments for England do destroy in an hour: for which cause, and for the benefit of themselves and their friends, they have earnestly travailed with the king to put away the suspected; and that all their councils may be kept close, they have been curious to put out the clerks, and to admit no persons to be present at the debate of their secrets, other than such a chosen number as was thought convenient. They espy well enough that their contrary parties (*their opponents*) be not yet so broken as they may hitherto safely put in practice any violence against the principal persons thereof, or hastily enter into any innovation of the state, or shake off the amity with her majesty, who at this present hath power to cast the balance. The right and consideration whereof hath chiefly stayed at this time the execution of their intentions for the changes in the court and other enterprises abroad, and moved them to make choice of a fit person to be employed and sent to her majesty from the king, and thereon to compass such things as they desire, or at least to win time."

All these suspicions were not without ground; and, in spite of the king's declarations and promises, it was evident that measures of vengeance were in contemplation. The men who were in power wished to secure themselves by destroying their opponents, and James himself was not unwilling to join in any measure to indulge his resentment against men who were the object of hatred long concealed. The objects of this resentment were not blind to their position; and, at the end of July, the earl of Gowrie so far stooped to circumstances as to acknowledge that the raid of Ruthven was an offence against the royal person, and to accept a formal remission of it. This proceeding increased the general alarm, and made people look forwards to some immediate prosecutions. An attempt was made to induce the earl of Mar to make a submission similar to that of the earl of

Gowrie, but in vain. At the beginning of August, Douglas of Lochleven was committed to ward, and the master of Glamis, threatened with a similar fate, obtained permission to travel abroad. About the same time, a new proclamation appeared in condemnation of the action at Ruthven, and on the same day the earl of Arran returned to court, which was then held at Falkland. The effect of these proceedings is forcibly described by Bowes, in a despatch of the 8th of August. "The proclamation published in Edinburgh on Monday last," he says, "and the coming of Arran to the king the same day at Falkland, with other like effects seen and increasing these suspicions, have entered so very deeply into the conceits of very many, as they are persuaded to think that in short time and upon apt opportunity some hard course shall be taken and put in practice against Angus, Mar, and all such as have either enterprised the act of Ruthven, or yet subscribed the general bond for that cause; seeing the king, by the said proclamation and his open deeds, hath thus publicly condemned that action and all things succeeding thereon contrary his former declarations, and the act of the convention of the states standing still in force, notwithstanding the proclamation aforesaid. The sight of these things worketh so mightily with many, as it is now holden full of peril to give credit to fair words after the experience of such evident effects, plainly declaring, as they think, extreme inconveniences hastily to come to the king, the state, and the persons of good men; looking for nothing more than that a right dangerous fire shall be suddenly kindled, except immediate remedy shall be immediately applied; wherein many wise and well affected wish that it may please her majesty speedily to employ and send hither some persons of honour and well qualified to prevent the evils in all the common causes, and provide safely for good men by such means and assurance as shall be found most expedient."

Arran had now entirely regained his former favour, and from this moment he was the chief director of the government. Rumours were first circulated of treasonable designs meditated by the Ruthven lords, and of preparations for insurrection, and these rumours were subsequently seized upon as pretences for hostile measures. Mar was summoned to present himself at court on the 15th of August, and he was

given to understand that he would be expected then to make a full submission, and confess his criminality in the successful treason at Ruthven. "The king," says Bowes on the 12th, "continueth very earnest to constrain sundry to take their remission, and make repentance, and some few have in slender sort obeyed; but the ministry and chieffer sort of the barons are generally determined to stand to that action, which the king himself hath approved, and the convention of the three estates have declared to be done for the king's good service; wherein John Durie, after the publication of the proclamation, inveighed against such as presently be in court, and in this course seek the prejudice of the evangile, and the furtherance of the association betwixt the king and his mother; approving the act at Ruthven so far as now it is too late to be called back, and wherein the rest are like to join with him; like as by their doing upon their appearance before this convention will be further seen." Elizabeth wrote a letter to the king, in her own hand, expostulating on the violent course he was pursuing, and representing especially the injustice and danger of forcing men whom he had before declared innocent to confess themselves guilty and receive pardon. This letter was presented by Bowes, but James only returned fair words, and went on as before. On the 17th of August, Bowes wrote to sir Francis Walsingham as follows:—"By mine other two letters inclosed, you will understand how violently this course runneth, and what small regard is given to any advice or other coming from her majesty, who, at your coming hither, you will perceive is not so well esteemed of in this court and time as lately she was, and as her bounty, large benefits, and power to do the king good, do justly and very greatly deserve. I pray God give you might to work some miracle and wonder to alter and assuage this rage, that undoubtedly passeth mine ability and remedy; neither can I of myself, or by the help of any others that hitherto I can meet withall, find out any mean that safely may promise surety of any good recovery and continuance in sound estate." Elizabeth had been much offended and embarrassed by the sudden escape of the king from the Ruthven lords to those in the French interest, and she had determined at once to send one of her ablest diplomatists to the spot; as the affair looked graver and graver,

she hesitated in the choice of her agent, until at last she fixed upon her secretary of state, sir Francis Walsingham, who was now preparing for his journey. In a despatch of the 20th of August, Bowes told him that he would, on his arrival, "no doubt receive good language, as they term it;" but he adds, "I wish you chiefly to bring with you resolution how far to credit the same, and what surety you will look for the performance; for upon these fair speeches I stoop not over fast to take hold thereon, but keeping them in good terms, do reserve the matter to your handling and coming."

"Upon several conferences with the king," Bowes goes on to say, "and of occasion offered to speak of his stay in this course until the coming of such as her majesty will send, he seemeth very unwilling to make any stay; alleging that the same shall be dangerous to his person and estate, and he holdeth it strange that her majesty would move him as well therein as also in sundry other effects prejudicial to him and the noblemen about him, especially in the reduction of Morton's forfeiture, that should be a dishonour to him, and a discredit to all the nobility of that assise. And at this time he hath plainly declared himself to have been detained a long time against his will, and therein to have done many things that pleased him not; adding, that if her majesty had been so dealt withal by her subjects, that she would not stay at the request of any prince; and he said that he would set forth a book in print subscribed with his hands, justifying that he was thus detained." It was not concealed that the object of the convention of the nobility now meeting at St. Andrew's, was to complete the work which the king had begun, and Mar, Angus, and their friends, looked to it with no little apprehension. The king found his chief obstacle in the ministers of the kirk, who refused their approval to the proclamation against the raid of Ruthven. "On Tuesday and Wednesday last," Bowes writes on the 22nd of August, "the king and this convention have been chiefly occupied with the hearing and debate of the matters with the eight ministers appointed to appear here before the king, as before is signified. These ministers are much pressed to allow of the late proclamation and to condemn the act at Ruthven, but hitherto they cannot be brought to satisfy the appetites of the king and those lords in that behalf. For they say that the king and

convention of the states have declared the act of Ruthven to have been done for the king's good service, and they have seen the religion, the king, and common weal to have been delivered thereby from great and evident perils; whereupon, by the warrant of the same, they have, with the rest of the whole church in Scotland in general assembly, approved that act at Ruthven; and therefore they, a few particular persons, cannot disprove it against the decrees of the said act of the king, the convention, and general assembly aforesaid. They are now appointed to put in their resolute answer; wherein they are in conference this day to frame such as shall be found convenient for themselves particularly; intending for the present to leave the full answer to the further resolution of the general assembly of the church. It is meant that they shall not be greatly urged in this matter, so that they would be silent and forbear to deal against the proclamation."

The king's behaviour towards the Ruthven lords was, like his other actions, marked by great dissimulation, and they were kept in total suspense with regard to the degree of vengeance which was to fall upon them. "The earl of Mar," says Bowes, in a letter just quoted (August 22nd), "came yesternight hither, and this day he hath been with the king in the company of Argyle. The king hath received him favourably at the motion of Argyle, yet he is advised by the king to depart with Argyle to-morrow, and so pass into Argyle, tarrying there this month to hunt with the earl there. No word is spoken of any ward; so as Mar is well pleased to obey the king's motion and desire in that part. The king besides persuaded him to take licence to travel into other realms for some time, but Mar excused himself to be both unfit and also unable so to do, and thereby passed the matter over. Albeit the king spake nothing of the remission, yet afterwards he dealt with Argyle to press Mar therein, wherein Argyle wished that the remission should be made and sent to him, and he would so travail with Mar as the king should be satisfied. The remission was made up, signed by the king, and after brought to Mar by the clerk register; but Mar hath willed the clerk register to keep it to himself if it will do him any good. The matter betwixt Mar and Arran is committed to the mediation of four friends of either party, and thus Mar purposeth to pass his way to-morrow into Argyle with

the earl, in case he shall not receive further let (*hindrance*.) Gowrie is come hither, and is fully reconciled with Arran; and Alexander Ruthven, his brother, offered to be a mean to compound the griefs betwixt Arran and Mar, without any difficulty, and to Mar's best contentment. Arran hath offered himself to me with many good words, wherein I look that he shall take occasion to proceed further therein."

In the same letter, Bowes describes the eagerness with which James's lords were disputing the spoils of the defeated party, and the gifts which had fallen into the king's hands by the death of the duke of Lennox; who, as we have before seen, had received the abbey of Arbroath on the forfeiture of the Hamiltons. "For parting of the spoil and other particularities, some strife beginneth in court, and the king espieth well the humours of those men that most busily seek the same. It is said that Crawford would both have Arbroath to himself, and the duke's children should be recompensed with the abbacy of Paisley, now in the hands of Mar; and also take advantage in this time against the master of Glamis. In this the king is not well pleased. Glencairn would have Paisley aforesaid, or the collectry, now in the possession of Cambuskenneth; but Down gapeth for the collectry, and will be crabbed if he shall miss it. Argyle would have Dunfermline for his younger son, and he looketh to come the rather by it by the means of Arran; but Dunfermline creepeth under the wings of colonel Stuart, offering him the assistance of friends to stand with him. Many other suits are made for other rooms and offices, so far as it is both doubted who shall be preferred, and also what shall be further done in the alteration intended."

On the 24th of August, the last day of the convention, the ministers delivered in their final answer, which Bowes tells us, they "presented in writing, according to the order prescribed to them; and by the same they declared themselves to be no authors of sedition, but labourers for peace; and that they would not speak rashly nor unadvisedly of the last proclamation published, or of any others hereafter to come forth, but to contain themselves within the bounds of their calling. And touching the approbation of the effects following the act of Ruthven, as also this late proclamation set forth by the king and this council, they stood to their answer put in to the king before, and

certified in my former; praying that the same should not prejudice the resolution to be taken in these parts by the general assembly of the church, to whose judgment they referred the full answer to be made herein. And lastly, they prayed that the king would not credit reports made against them without trial; offering themselves ready there to answer all that could be objected against them. Sundry barons there joined with them; and it was sufficiently perceived that the chief barons and boroughs consented to their course; whereupon the king did readily pass them over with all fair words and large promises." There was, however, no want of intimations of hostility towards the kirk; and Arran, who was now in full power, was made the mouth-piece of the king's designs. "After this," Bowes continues, "Arran, by a long oration, declared that the king, lords, and council had oftentimes promised to have duly protected the church and the affairs thereof, nevertheless they negligently regarded the same; and therefore he persuaded the king and them all to take better care; promising that his hand, his sword, his heart, and all that he had, should defend and maintain them to the uttermost that he could; with all other protestations that could be offered. Upon the end of this exhortation, order is taken that conference shall be had for the policy of the church at Edinburgh, the 20th of October next; and therewith the king promised that the parliament should hold for that purpose at the day limited, since which time he called into his cabinet some of the ministers, protesting by solemn oaths before them to preserve religion and common quietness; adding, that notwithstanding the bruits (*rumours*) give out of him, that he had not touched the life of any person, nor changed the officers. And touching the change of the officers and his household servants, together with other like effects to have been executed at this last convention, it is seen that the knowledge of your (Walsingham's) coming hither, and the persuasion and stout standing of the ministers, did chiefly stay the same. Besides the conference with the ministers, which chiefly hath occupied this convention at this time, the king and council resolved to publish another proclamation, declaring the king's unnatural and treasonable surprise at Ruthven, with his constrained captivity and detention by the conspirators thereof. In the same, mention is made of

the general bond made for the maintenance of that act, and matters following thereon; and by it remission is given to all the subscribers of that bond, so that they behave themselves well hereafter. But the first draught thereof, which I have seen, is thought to be so sharp, especially to Gowrie, as labour is made to qualify it; and therein it is either to be mitigated or otherwise wholly stayed."

Meanwhile, the lairds of Drumquhassel and Cleish, and Mr. John Colville, all active agents of the late government, had been committed to ward and subjected to searching examinations; and it was said that revelations had been extorted from them which compromised others in treasonable practices. Thereupon the commendator of Dunfermline was arrested and committed to ward. Mar was deprived of the command of Stirling castle, and treated in other respects with more rigour, while his kinsmen, the abbots of Cambuskenneth and Paisley, were both committed to ward. Several other persons of distinction shared the same fate; while others, such as the young laird of Lochleven, avoided it by retiring into England. Angus was already banished to the other side of the Spey; and the open persecution of Arran's opponents having once commenced, scarcely a day now passed that did not witness some new case of proscription.

Such was the state of things, when at last Walsingham arrived in Scotland as ambassador from queen Elizabeth. Walsingham entered Edinburgh on the 1st of September, but he met with so little cordiality of reception, that nearly a week was allowed to pass before he was admitted to an audience. James coldly defended his proceedings against the Ruthven lords, and, in reply to the ambassador's expostulations, he told him that he was an absolute king, and, as such, was able to manage his kingdom according to his own liking; adding, that the queen of England had no more claim to interfere in the selection of his council than he had to dictate in the choice of hers. Walsingham replied that, in consideration of the king's youth, Elizabeth had generously given him her counsel; that he did not come to supplicate for the Scottish alliance, which England could well do without, and might without hurt to herself leave him to his own courses; but that he came to expostulate on his unkindly behaviour, and to require the redress of some outrages

which had been committed by the Scottish borderers. James promised that inquiry should be made into the causes of complaint against the borderers, and invited Walsingham to a private audience. But this audience never took place, in consequence as it is supposed, of the intrigues of the earl of Arran, who took no pains to conceal his hostility to the English ambassador. Walsingham left Scotland fully convinced that there was no present hope of turning the young Scottish king from the course upon which he had now entered, and that any further interference would only tend to raise enmity between the two crowns. He recommended, therefore, a bye-course, which consisted in making use of the two chiefs of the house of Hamilton, the lords John and Claude, who were then living in exile in England, as a set-off against Arran's party, and a plot was actually laid for overthrowing the Scottish government. But it was defeated by Arran's vigilance; and Elizabeth, disgusted at the turn which things had taken, recalled Bowes, and determined to cease all further open interference in Scottish affairs.

Arran had now no obstacle to his ambition. He engrossed the entire favour of the king, whom he persuaded to take up his residence in Stirling castle, of which he was made governor. His opponents were effectually driven from court, and to the alarm excited by the proceedings of their enemies at home was now added the mortification caused by Elizabeth's coldness. A meeting of the estates—the Scottish parliament—had been summoned for the 17th of December; and it was determined then to complete the measure of condemnation of the enterprise of Ruthven. It was said that, in effecting this object, Arran went beyond the directions of his royal master. He took aside the principal nobles and others who attended the parliament, as they arrived, and by artful representations gained them over to his purposes; and the consequence was that the estates passed an act, declaring the seizure of the king's person at Ruthven to have been an act of high treason, and ordering the act of council approving of it to be erased from the council book. It also recommended a rigorous prosecution of all those concerned in it who had not already secured the king's pardon. Nearly all the chiefs of the Ruthven faction became involved in this prosecution, for they had mostly either held aloof, or submitted but



Engraved by H. R. H. H. H.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

OB. 1590.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF DORSET.

imperfectly, and they were now driven to provide hastily for their safety. Angus remained in retirement in the north, while the earl of Mar, the master of Glamis, and the abbots or commendators of Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth fled to Ireland, lord Boyd and the lairds of Lochleven and Easter Wemyss passed into France, and John Colville, who was an object of Arran's especial animosity, took refuge in Berwick. Gowrie showed as yet sufficient submission to be allowed to remain at court.

It was from the kirk that James and Arran experienced the greatest opposition. The ministers had been repeatedly called upon to join in the condemnation of the enterprise of the lords at Ruthven, but they sheltered themselves under the cautious declaration that, as individuals, they could only act in accordance with the general assembly, which had passed an act approving of the enterprise at Ruthven, and they referred the king to that body, alleging that it was not their province to interfere in political matters. In the pulpit, however, they were less prudent; and John Durie fell under serious displeasure for preaching in favour of the Ruthven lords. A still greater sensation was produced by the proceedings against Andrew Melvil, the principal of the college of St. Andrew's, and in whom, as its virtual head, the Scottish kirk itself was understood to be aimed at. At a fast in the month of January, 1584, Melvil had preached a sermon in the church of St. Andrew's, taking for his text the speech of Daniel to Belshazzar before he explained the handwriting on the wall. He asserted that it was the duty of preachers to apply examples of divine mercy and judgments from past ages to the princes of their own times; and taught that, as kings were all made by God, the preachers were God's special instruments for conveying to them his reproofs and admonitions. He concluded his discourse with a prayer that it would please the Lord of his mercy never to suffer king James to forget the goodness of that God who had raised him to the throne while yet an infant, and his mother still alive, and in opposition to the greater part of the nobility, and who had preserved him hitherto since the weighty burden of government was laid upon his shoulders. Information of this sermon was immediately carried to the court, and Melvil was accused of having stated that the king had been unlawfully promoted to the crown and that their

Nebuchadnezzar, meaning Mary, had been twice seven years banished and would be restored again. The preacher was summoned to appear before the council, where he absolutely denied the offensive expressions ascribed to him, and brought forward the testimony of the university that he had neither said nor taught anything deserving of blame.

The king and the favourite were resolved to terrify the kirk by the example of Melvil, and the council therefore decided that his explanation was not satisfactory, and that he should be put upon his trial. Melvil thereupon demanded—first, that, according to custom, since his accusation related to expressions used in preaching and prayer, his trial should be remitted to the ecclesiastical court; second, that he should be tried at St. Andrew's, where the offence was represented to have been committed; third, that, if these first requests were not granted, he might enjoy the special privilege lately confirmed by the king to the university of St. Andrew's, of having his case submitted first to the rector and his assessors; fourth, that he should be allowed the benefit of the apostolic canon, that an accusation should not be received against an elder; and, fifth, that he should be made acquainted with his accuser, who, if the charge proved to be false, should be proceeded against under the law against those who went about to alienate the king from his faithful subjects. Aware that the informer really was William Stuart, a personal enemy, he declared that he excepted against his evidence, as that of one who bore him deadly malice, and had frequently threatened him with bodily injury. The council, however, paid no attention to his protest, and on the following day (it was the beginning of February) he was again brought before the council for examination and trial. Commissioners now presented themselves on the part of the presbytery of St. Andrews to protest for the liberty of the church; and others for the university to repledge Melvil to the court of the rector. They were, however, refused admittance, and the court was about to proceed, when Melvil gave in a protest declining its jurisdiction, and demanding that his cause should be remitted to the proper and legal judges. The king and Arran were violently enraged at this bold proceeding, and they employed both threats and persuasions to induce the preacher to withdraw his "declinature," but in vain.

The king thereupon overruled his protest, William Stuart was brought forward as the accuser, and witnesses were adduced to support the charge, but to so little purpose, that the accusation broke down for want of evidence. Arran, however, was not thus to be cheated of his vengeance, for a new charge was brought against Melvil of declining the judgment of the council, and behaving himself disrespectfully before the king, and he was condemned to be imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, and to be further punished in body and goods at the king's pleasure. The place of imprisonment was subsequently changed to the castle of Blackness, a damp and unwholesome place; but the preacher, aware of the personal danger he ran if once in the hands of his enemies, made his escape to Berwick. Enraged that Melvil should thus have slipped from their hands, the king and his favourite caused an act to be passed by which ministers accused of seditious preaching or teaching might in future be placed under arrest without the formality of a legal charge, and it was declared treason to hold any communication with those who had left the kingdom.

The proceedings against Melvil had produced the intended effect of intimidating the ecclesiastical body, and all opposition to the court was now so far curbed, that the country appeared to be in a state of perfect tranquillity. At this moment a young nobleman made his appearance upon the scene, who was destined soon to act a very prominent part in this eventful drama. This was the master of Gray, a person of prepossessing appearance and manners, and of great talent, but bold, intriguing, and treacherous. Soon after James's escape from the power of the Ruthven lords, the master of Gray had been sent to France to bring to Scotland the young duke of Lennox; and on their arrival at Leith they were met by the earls of Arran and Huntley, who conveyed them to the court at Kinneil. The king received the young duke with great affection, restored him to his estates and honours, and gave him in ward to the earl of Montrose. The young master of Gray remained at court, where he obtained the favour and confidence of Arran, and he became, in appearance, one of the most devoted of that nobleman's followers.

The flight of Melvil was soon followed by a succession of plots, the course of which has been successfully traced by Mr. Tytler,

from the documents which have been preserved in the English state-paper office. As might be expected, the principal agents in these conspiracies were the banished noblemen, with John Colville, the brother of the laird of Cleish, whose position at Berwick was particularly convenient for carrying on a project which had the approbation and assistance of Bowes and Walsingham. Now, for the first time, the two banished chiefs of the house of Hamilton, the lords John and Claude, joined in the design, and they were allowed to proceed to Berwick to be ready to cross the border. Gowrie, either as a cover to other designs, or because he saw that the peace he had obtained at court was a hollow and precarious one, had obtained the king's licence to travel on the continent, and he remained at Dundee, under pretence of preparing for his voyage, but secretly communicating with the other conspirators, though it is said that he hesitated long before joining them. Some of those who had retired into Ireland, returned secretly to Scotland, and a meeting of the discontented nobles was held at Perth at the end of March; but some of their party, especially the earls of Glencairn and Athol, on whom much of the success of the enterprise depended, proved traitors to their friends, and by their means, aware of all their movements, Arran was enabled to disconcert them. The consequence was that their appeal to the people was without effect, and the design failed before it was put into execution. Arran now attempted to detach Elizabeth from the cause of his opponents, by offers of friendship and alliance, which appears to have thrown some hesitation into her counsels, though she was not yet willing to desert the Ruthven lords, while their friends in Scotland were still ready to co-operate with them. But they now sought to make it a condition of any new attempt that the queen of England should give them a written assurance of her interest and support. This, of course, she was too prudent to do; and some further time was lost before this question was settled. Not many days, however, had passed over since the failure at Perth, when the insurgent lords were absolutely in the field. Arran, however, had again received full intelligence of what was going on, and knowing the part acted by Gowrie, he determined to wreak his vengeance upon him. He dispatched colonel Stuart, with a strong body of troopers, to arrest him in the castle of Dundee, while

they surrounded before sunrise, expecting to have taken him by surprise. But Gowrie made a resolute defence of twelve hours before he surrendered; and in the meanwhile his confederates, Mar, Angus, and the master of Glamis, with the few forces they had assembled, had marched boldly to Stirling, and obtained possession of the castle. Arran, however, had prepared for this emergency also, and the king was soon on his way to Stirling at the head of an army of twelve thousand men. The insurgent lords were totally unable to resist such a force, and leaving a small garrison in the castle, they made their retreat through Tiviotdale into England. The castle of Stirling was summoned and surrendered, and four of the garrison, with their commander, a Douglas, were hanged. In their flight to England, the lords held a secret consultation by night with the earl of Bothwell, one of their friends who had not yet openly joined with them, and who, to conceal his sympathy with them, next morning collected his followers, and pursued them hotly to the border.

The failure of this plot was followed by more arrests and prosecutions; and several more of the preachers and others fled to England; but the only one of the chiefs that had fallen into the king's hands was the earl of Gowrie. It was determined that he should be sacrificed; but, though there was no doubt of his complicity in the rebellion, no direct evidence of this could be procured. A snare was therefore laid for him by Arran, who, in company with sir Robert Melvil and one or two privy councillors, visited him in prison. Arran told him that the king was highly incensed against him, and determined to be revenged; but he professed to be himself actuated by an anxious desire to serve him. Gowrie asserted his innocence of any design against the king, and implored his visitors to intercede in his favour. This they said would be useless; but they recommended him to write a general letter to the king, confessing his knowledge of a design against the king's person, and promise to reveal the particulars if admitted to an audience. Gowrie said that this would be a perilous expedient.

"I never," he said, "entertained a thought against the king; but this is to frame my own act of accusation, and may involve me in utter ruin." They assured him that it was his only chance of safety; that his death was determined upon, unless he made a confession. Gowrie then requested some assurance of his safety, and Arran distinctly pledged his honour that his life should be in no danger, and that no advantage should be taken of his pretended confession. Thus assured, Gowrie wrote a letter in the terms they dictated to him, and it was sent to the king.

Gowrie was now immediately brought to trial, but there was such a total want of evidence that the jury would have acquitted him, when the earl of Arran, who was one of them, produced the letter, and showed the prisoner's own acknowledgment of his guilt. Gowrie confessed that it was his handwriting, but he earnestly protested against its being used as evidence, and described the manner in which it was wrung from him, declaring at the same time that it was a false confession, made under promise of his life. But the lord advocate said that the lords who visited him in prison had no power to make such a promise, and they themselves denied it, whereupon the jury was sent out to consider their verdict. As they departed, Gowrie made a last, but vain, appeal to Arran, and then he calmly submitted to his fate, sending by one of his friends who were present a touching message to his wife. The jury soon returned, and declared him guilty; and then, as he was endeavouring to speak, the judge told him he must be brief, as the king had already sent down the order for his execution. After uttering a few words of justification, and making an appeal in favour of his children, the earl was allowed to step aside a few minutes with a minister to assist him in his prayers, and he was then taken forth to the scaffold. He there addressed a few words to the people assembled, declared his innocence of any design against the king, and described to them the base artifice to which he had fallen a sacrifice; and, laying his head upon the block, it was by one blow of the axe severed from his body.

CHAPTER XVII.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE KIRK; DAVIDSON'S EMBASSY; RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES;
INTERVIEW BETWEEN ARRAN AND LORD HUNSDON AT FOULDEN KIRK.

THE result of the conspiracy related in the last chapter was thus to strengthen Arran's government instead of destroying it; and James and his favourite, relieved from all further fears, proceeded to acts of the most arbitrary description. The kirk first came under their resentment. James immediately summoned a parliament to meet him at Edinburgh, and, as might be expected, it was composed entirely of Arran's friends, who were ready to agree to any measures he might choose to dictate. As a precaution against any interruption from without, the lords of the articles were sworn to secrecy, and the business of parliament was carried on with closed doors. Nor was this all; for when the ministers of the kirk, receiving private intimation that some acts very injurious to their interests had been laid before the parliament, sent Mr. David Lindsay, a preacher who enjoyed great respect for his moderation and piety, to expostulate with the king on the subject, Arran caused him to be arrested in the palace-yard on his way to the royal presence, trumped up a charge of corresponding with the fugitives, and sent him next morning as a close prisoner to the castle of Blackness. The preachers were alarmed at these violent proceedings, and they sent a deputation to the parliament-house to protest, in the name of the kirk, against any encroachment on its liberties, but the ministers employed in this mission were refused admission. The acts which were thus hurried through parliament broke down all the safeguards of the presbyterian church in Scotland; they established the supremacy of the king in council, restored the bishops, destroyed the independence of the ecclesiastical courts, and prevented all political discussion by the clergy. It was made treason to decline the judgment of the king or his council, in whatever clauses, ecclesiastical or civil; and the ministers were forbidden to presume, privately or publicly, either in sermons or in familiar conferences, to utter any false, untrue, or scandalous speeches, to the reproach or contempt of his majesty or his council, or of his acts or proceedings; or to meddle in affairs of state. Orders were sent to the magistrates not only to enforce these new statutes vigorously, but to silence or drag from the pulpit any preacher who should dare to censure them or make any observations upon them. The ministers, however, were beforehand with the magistrates; and, having gained intelligence of the nature of the new acts of parliament before they were actually published, the next Sabbath-day the pulpits resounded with bold declamations on this attack upon the liberties of the church. Next day, being Monday, when the acts were proclaimed according to custom at the Market Cross in Edinburgh, Lawson, Balcanquhall and Pont—the latter of whom was one of the lords of session—made a public and solemn protest against them in the name of the kirk. Arran was rendered furious by this act of defiance, and would have taken summary vengeance on all concerned in it, if they had not escaped from his power by flying to Berwick. Many others of the clergy followed their example, and those who remained were subjected to vexatious persecutions. One of them, a very learned and distinguished preacher, named Nicol Dalgliesh, was chosen for an example of the severity with which they were all threatened. He was placed on his trial for having prayed for his persecuted brethren, and, the jury having acquitted him for want of evidence, he was immediately put on his trial again on the new charge of corresponding with the fugitives. It was proved that he had read a letter which one of the fugitive preachers had written to his wife in Edinburgh, and for this trifling offence he was condemned to death; and, although the sentence was not carried into execution, a scaffold was erected before the window of his prison, *in terrorem*, and kept standing there several weeks.

The quarrel between the crown and the kirk did not stop here; for the king not only demanded the general assent of the clergy, but he required the ministers individually to subscribe a bond, by which they bound themselves to obey the acts of parliament

and acknowledge the authority of bishops, under pain of immediate deprivation. The opposition to this arbitrary measure was general, and numbers of preachers followed their brethren into exile; but many yielded, partly forced by necessity, and partly seduced into compliance by some specious pretences which seemed to save their consciences. Among those who thus bent to the storm were Durie, Craig, and Erskine of Dun. The universities were visited with especial rigour, and several of the colleges were shut up, and their professors dispersed or thrown into prison. These violent proceedings naturally threw the country into a state of great agitation; bitter libels were circulated against Arran, and the king was accused of aiming directly at the restoration of popery. As a reply to these reports, the king published a proclamation in explanation of the acts of parliament, declaring that their only object was to strengthen the protestant church by settling its form and polity. This proclamation was met by a host of writings of every description, and James was nettled at finding that he had only roused a warfare in which he was not likely to be the victor. Another circumstance occurred at this time in which the king was guilty of a mean attempt at coercion. When the ministers of Edinburgh reached Berwick, they wrote an admonitory epistle to their flocks, explaining to them the causes which had induced them to absent themselves for a season, and affectionately exhorting them to constancy and patience. They represented how by the late acts they had been deprived of their ecclesiastical authority, and threatened with personal violence. This letter was sent to the town council of Edinburgh, who, fearful that it might afterwards be made a ground of proceedings against them, immediately communicated it to the king. James caused a reply to be drawn up, in which the exiled ministers were reproached with having, contemptuously, irreverently, and contrary to their own conscience, slandered the king's laws, and attempted to excite sedition in the realm; and with having at length discovered themselves by deserting their flocks and proclaiming themselves fugitive rebels. The citizens of Edinburgh were made further to accuse them of an attempt to bring them also under the royal displeasure by entering into correspondence with them, and they thanked God that they had been manifested to their own shame, and to the happiness of the church, which had thus been relieved from

wolves instead of pastors, and they hoped that the king would provide them with good and quiet teachers. In committing the exiles to God's protection, they exhorted them to repent of their offences. James insisted that this letter should be signed by all the principal citizens of Edinburgh; but with all his efforts he could only obtain sixteen signatures, though several of these were those of men formerly zealous combatants for the kirk, who had evidently subscribed only to avert the king's displeasure, and might have made their former opposition an excuse for severe persecution.

Recent events had shown Elizabeth the necessity of greater caution than ever. She was to a certain degree pledged at least to protect the banished lords; she was now solicited by Arran; and she was apprehensive that if she rejected his advances, he might be driven to courses still more opposed to the interests of England; while she perceived that her information with regard to Scottish affairs was at this moment partial. Davison had already been sent on a mission to Scotland, and he had reached Berwick when he received intelligence of the breaking out of the conspiracy. He therefore remained there till he received further orders, and he was now directed to proceed on his journey; and, when James was informed of these orders, he sent sir James Melvil to meet him on the border and conduct him to court. Melvil was commissioned to sound the intentions of the ambassador on his way; and their conversation, as related by the Scot, displays a singular contest of diplomatic finesse. Davison learnt thus much, that the king bore great animosity to the fugitive ministers; and that he was bent resolutely upon obtaining their expulsion from England. It was the beginning of June, when Davison reached Falkland, where James was then holding his court, and he was admitted to an audience without delay. The king received him with courtesy, but he spoke with great bitterness against the rebel lords, and said that he expected the queen of England should deliver them up to him. Davison replied that the queen felt the tenderest solicitude for the king's estate and safety, but that with regard to the exiles whom he described as rebels, she was herself as yet unacquainted with the true circumstances of the late troubles in Scotland, and that she was justified by his own example in not surrendering men who had thrown themselves upon her protection. The conversation,

which never assumed a very serious aspect, turned soon to hunting and other favourite pastimes of the king, and Davison left the presence to dine with the earl of Montrose. The ambassador soon saw that James was fixed in the course he was now pursuing, and that he was quite as eager as Arran himself to take severe vengeance on his opponents. Every day witnessed new proscriptions, and the nobles about the court were thinking only of confiscations of estates and their shares in the spoils, while people in general were struck dumb by their apprehensions. Davison assured Walsingham that there was a determined plan in agitation for the destruction of the presbyterian kirk, and the establishment of episcopacy. But Elizabeth's fears were excited to a greater degree by the information that James's sentiments with regard to the association with his mother had not only changed, but that he was in secret communication with the captive queen for the purpose of bringing that measure about. Davison ascertained further that French influence was busy at work in the Scottish court, that the counsels of Mary and her friends overruled almost all others, and that James was so far falling off from strict protestantism, that he connived at the presence of Jesuit missionaries in his kingdom.

In the midst of so complicated and embarrassing a state of affairs as was now presented in Scotland, Elizabeth had a choice of courses, which might be followed to her own advantage. The banished lords placed all their hopes in her protection, and were willing to enter upon any enterprise of which they were assured of her approval. The earl of Arran had already made secret overtures to obtain Elizabeth's friendship; he had the foresight to see that the English interest was the one most likely to give permanence to his power, if he embraced it; and he declared his constancy in the religion, as professed by the church of England, and promised to support the English alliance, to be guided by Elizabeth's counsels, and to keep the young king unmarried for three years. This was an important point with the queen of England, who feared lest, under the influence of his mother's friends, James might be led into a matrimonial alliance with the house of Spain, or with some other popish princess. Arran proposed that some English nobleman, who enjoyed the queen's confidence, should meet him on the border, to confer on the mutual interests of the two countries. Mary, also,

at this moment, attempted to gain Elizabeth's favour, declaring that she had laid aside all her ambition, and that her only desire was to live at liberty and in retirement. She not only agreed to give up all her rights to her son, to separate herself from the intrigues of the catholics, to use all her influence in supporting the amity with England, and to labour to reconcile the young king with the exiled lords, but she offered to reveal to the queen of England secret practices against her, of which she was cognizant, and which would enable her to defeat the plots of her enemies.

Mary's offers and promises appear to have received little consideration, but with regard to the other two parties who were making advances, the opinions of Elizabeth's ministers were divided. Lord Burghley was in favour of listening to the proposals of the earl of Arran through whom he thought that his royal mistress might rule the young king; while Walsingham, who believed that Arran was not to be trusted, recommended the cause of the banished lords, who, he thought, with a little assistance, would be able to overthrow Arran, and restore the English influence to the same position it held before.

Elizabeth, to a certain degree, adopted both these courses, encouraging the exiles on one hand, and on the other, promising to send her kinsman lord Hunsdon to meet Arran on the border, and she even renewed the negotiation with the captive queen. Mary was thus led to second Elizabeth's efforts to induce her son to follow a more temperate course, while Elizabeth kept the other two parties in hand to play against each other; if Arran fulfilled his engagements, she could hold back the lords; if he deceived her, she could let them loose upon him. For this purpose, Davison employed himself actively in Scotland in organizing a faction there, which should join the exiles the moment they crossed the borders; and in England, John Colville was in frequent communication with Elizabeth and her ministers.

It was resolved that the meeting on the borders should be conducted with great ceremony and splendour; and preparations were immediately commenced, that everything might be ready by the 14th of August, the day fixed for the conference, which was to take place at Foulden kirk, a village within the Scottish border, at a little distance from Berwick. On the day appointed,

Arran came to the place of meeting in almost regal state, his company consisting of no less than five thousand horse, and five members of the privy council attending upon him with obsequious reverence. The English appear to have been astonished at the handsome person and princely bearing of the earl of Arran himself, who seems to have gained the confidence of all who saw him. "For the man," says sir Edward Hoby, who was present, in a letter to lord Burghley, "surely he carrieth a princely presence and gait, goodly of personage, representing a brave countenance of a captain of middle age, very resolute, very wise and learned, and one of the best spoken men that ever I heard; a man worthy the queen's favour, if it please her."

The conference between the earl of Arran and lord Hunsdon was held in the church, and was opened by the former, who professed earnest and profound devotion to the service of the queen of England, and spoke with a frankness of manner which at once gained upon lord Hunsdon's confidence. Hunsdon then represented the unkindness of James's late conduct, in throwing aside the alliance of England for that of France, receiving and encouraging Jesuit emissaries, holding intercourse with the pope and the catholic powers, negotiating secretly with his mother, and treating with contempt the English ambassadors sent to expostulate with him and give him counsel. The anger of his royal mistress, he said, had been partially appeased by the desire of reconciliation which the king had more recently shown, and she now hoped that Arran would use his influence with him to restore the old amity between the two kingdoms, and obtain the forgiveness of the exiled nobles. Arran, in reply, justified James's severity by the rebellious conduct of his nobles, and declared his knowledge of the intrigues of the English ambassadors. He stated that James had no intention of carrying out the plan of an association with his mother; that he had held no communication with the pope, and that he had no knowledge of the presence of jesuits in his kingdom; and, while he acknowledged that France and Spain were both intriguing to gain the Scottish king, he promised to use his own influence against them, and protested his devotion to the English alliance. He proceeded to inform lord Hunsdon that he was already aware of the plots against James's present government, which were at

that moment being carried on by the exiled lords, and he urged that such conduct ought not to be permitted by the queen of England. The conversation next turned to the conspiracies against Elizabeth, and Arran intimated that the young king would be ready to disclose all that he knew relating to them. After the conference had lasted five hours, it was brought to a conclusion, and the two noblemen left the church together. Their friendly bearing towards each other was remarked by the crowd of attendants outside the church. Hunsdon was there first introduced to the master of Gray, which was the commencement of a new series of intrigues, to which eventually Arran himself fell a sacrifice. The master of Gray presented to Hunsdon a letter of commendation from James himself, in which he stated that the master was soon to be sent to England on a secret and important mission. Gray had been bred at the French court in the Roman catholic faith, and having gained the confidence of the Guises, he had been employed in conducting some of the most secret intrigues of Mary, queen of Scots; and he was now in the same confidential employment between that princess and her son. He stated privately to lord Hunsdon that the real object of his mission to Elizabeth was to disclose to that princess all Mary's secret practices, which he was to do under cover of some publicly avowed message. It will not appear as a favourable part of James's character, that, even in his young age, he was ready to betray his own mother in order to serve his purposes.

Lord Hunsdon appears to have been perfectly convinced of Arran's sincerity, and he was ready to recommend all his views. Lord Burghley, who had a covert design amid these negotiations to effect a marriage between the young Scottish king and his niece, appears to have taken the same view, and to have believed that Arran would, as he promised, support the amity between the two crowns, and prove the firm support of the cause of protestantism in this island. But there were several difficulties to be contended with. Arran expressed implacable hostility to two parties, one of which, the banished lords, it was not agreeable with Elizabeth's policy to abandon. He said that the Douglasses and the Ruthvens hated him so bitterly for the deaths of Morton and Gowrie, that the return of Angus and his friends must bring with it

his own disgrace and destruction, and that the animosity of the Hamiltons was not much less intense; while the king was so earnestly bent against the presbyterian ministers that it was useless to propose any measures which implied any favour to be shown towards them. On the other hand, Arran now professed great dislike to the Roman catholic faction, which was represented in Scotland by the earl of Huntley and some other persons about court, and still higher by the captive queen, and by the agents of France and Spain. These,

Arran said, were all naturally the enemies of Elizabeth and of the protestants, and he was ready to do his utmost to expose their intrigues and contribute to their defeat. These sentiments the earl of Arran professed both to lord Hunsdon and to sir Edward Hoby, the nephew of lord Burghley, in which last-named nobleman the Scottish favourite professed to place his whole trust and confidence. Thus ended a conference which had been looked to with more interest than almost any event that had occurred for several years.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ARBITRARY PROCEEDINGS OF ARRAN; MISSION OF THE MASTER OF GRAY; EMBASSY OF SIR EDWARD WOTTON TO SCOTLAND; PLOT AGAINST ARRAN; OVERTHROW OF THE FAVOURITE, AND EMBASSY OF KNOLLYS.

THE earl of Arran appears to have been satisfied with the result of this conference, as regarded himself, and on his return to the Scottish court he proceeded to carry on the government with a higher hand than ever. During his absence a new plot had been discovered, the object of which was to secure the delivery of Edinburgh castle to the party of the banished lords, in case of their expected return into Scotland. Arran now caused himself to be appointed governor of this important fortress, and having displaced the crown officers, he substituted some of his own dependents, and removed his own household into the royal apartments. His countess was continually urging him on to arbitrary and oppressive acts; and to her insatiable avarice alone some of the best families in Scotland owed the confiscation and plunder of their estates. A parliament was called soon after the return of the favourite from the border, but its sole business appeared to be to pass without question the bills of attainder which he had prepared for it. No less than sixty individuals were thus forfeited, while many others had to pay dearly for exemption from a similar fate. Among other victims were the widow and children of the late earl of Gowrie. On the last day of the parliament, the countess of Gowrie, a woman of high blood and lofty spirit, having obtained admission to the

ante-chamber, that she might have an opportunity of pleading her cause with the king as he passed, was, by Arran's orders, turned out into the open street. There, however, she waited patiently until the king made his appearance, when she threw herself upon the ground before him and attempted to clasp his knees. The sight of this noble lady, weeping, and in such a situation, excited the commiseration of all who witnessed it, except the two who alone were able to relieve her. Arran dragged the king past her so roughly that she was thrown to the ground, and the favourite trod over her as she lay there. She had fainted, but no attention was allowed to be paid to her, until the procession had passed.

Nor were Arran's plans of vengeance restricted to the enemies who were in his hands or within his grasp, but they reached to the noblemen and their friends who were in exile. Among these he feared no one so much as the earl of Angus, who was in fact now the leader of the presbyterian party, and he scrupled not to employ the hired assassin in an attempt upon his life. The confidential friend of Arran at this time was the earl of Montrose, and it was he who produced one of his own clan, the Grahams, who had a blood feud against Angus, to undertake to assassinate him. Jock Graham of Peartree, the man alluded to, was

brought from his home on the border to Edinburgh, where he was kept during the time of the parliament; and after it was over, he was carried to Falkland, where the court was then held. Late at night Jock was introduced by the two earls to the palace, where he had a secret interview with the king, none but Arran and Montrose being present. They wanted him to kill the earl of Mar and the abbot of Cambuskenneth, as well as the earl of Angus; but this he refused, because, as it appears, he had no feud against them. It was then agreed, that he should kill Angus alone, in consideration of which the king was to give him beforehand sixty French crowns, and after the accomplishment of the deed, twenty Scottish pounds of land, in Strathern, near Montrose. Montrose furnished the murderer with a weapon to execute his purpose, a short matchlock; and thus armed he immediately proceeded to England; but, as he was lurking about in search of his victim, he excited suspicion, and was seized and carried to Carlisle, where he underwent a strict examination before lord Scrope, and confessed all the particulars of his design, and the manner in which he was drawn into it. The account of his examination has been preserved, but it suited the policy of Elizabeth's government to keep it a profound secret, and it was told only to the earls of Angus and Mar, as a warning to them to be on their guard.

In the month of September Davison was recalled from Scotland; soon after which the master of Gray set out on his mission to the court of Elizabeth. Mary, in her prison, had already received a hint from the French ambassador of Gray's treacherous designs. M. de Mauvissière was at this moment watching the course of events very anxiously, and his correspondence shows us how great an interest the French king and his ministers felt in the crisis. Early in the summer, M. de Mauvissière had been directed to proceed into Scotland on a mission of conciliation, as it was said; but he had been retained by Elizabeth under one pretence or other. The ambassador was alarmed at the advances made by Arran to the English queen, but he repeatedly expresses his opinion that the earl was not sincere, and that the whole affair was a mere plot to deceive Elizabeth. He watched anxiously the slow progress of the negotiations for the release of Mary, and was beginning to be convinced that they would lead to no satisfactory result, although he eagerly caught at every little change in

Elizabeth's councils, which seemed to hold out a hope. Henry III. appears at this time to have been more desirous of keeping on friendly terms with Elizabeth, than of serving the captive princess, and his zeal for the latter went no further than a few empty words. Such was the state of things when M. de Mauvissière learnt that the master of Gray was on his way to England as James's ambassador.

Before the master of Gray left Scotland, he wrote to Mary, protesting against the suspicions of his loyalty which had been communicated to her by M. de Fontenay—an envoy, who had just arrived in Scotland from the friends of Mary in France; and he represented that the policy now to be followed, as most likely to be conducive to her interest, was a temporary separation of her cause from that of her son. The association plan was to be laid aside, at least for the present; and the king was to negotiate with Elizabeth for himself alone; and, having gained Elizabeth's confidence, he would then associate with his mother. Gray's departure was delayed for some time, and the queen of Scots was in the meantime removed to Wingfield; but on the 1st of October she wrote a long letter to him, which was addressed to him in London. Mary refused to agree to any separation, even in appearance only, of her interests from those of her son—a proceeding which, she said, could not be otherwise than injurious to them both. Their strength at present, she imagined, consisted in their strict union; and no advantage could be derived from pretending that it was otherwise. If it was disbelieved, no object would be gained, and if believed, that belief alone would be sufficient to strengthen her enemies, and discourage her friends. She then went on to tell the master of Gray that she put no trust in Elizabeth's promises or professions, and she gave him her directions how to proceed, as though he had been her ambassador, rather than the envoy of the young king of Scots. She seems still to have had some lingering suspicions. "There is a rumour among our enemies," she said, "which has even reached me, that your journey tends to two principal ends; one to reveal to the queen of England a practise and enterprise against her discovered by you during your residence in France; and, further, to offer her, in the name of my son, divers very advantageous services and overtures of friendship,

without naming or including me in them; of which some of them already boast much, and hold themselves very sure. I do not know if the earl of Arran, to raise his credit here, and show that he leads my son where he likes, may not have been the author of that counsel, in order that he may make it appear to them that he has performed the promise he had made them to separate him from me; but for that, in his late meetings and negotiations with Monsieur de Hunsdon, he has gained nothing."

While writing this letter and the accompanying instructions, Mary seems indeed to have had a vague suspicion of the master of Gray's treachery; but she was unaware of other events which were calculated to be more injurious to her cause. She had become the centre of a very dangerous and extensive conspiracy of the catholic princes, not only in favour of herself—her personal interests were those which probably they considered least—but against Elizabeth, and the protestant faith of which she was the support. In the month of October, while Gray was still on his way to London, a jesuit, named Crichton, and a Scottish priest of the name of Abdy, were captured at sea by an English pirate—a paper having been taken on him which contained a plan for the invasion of England by the king of Spain and the duke of Guise—and being carried to London, they were immediately committed to the Tower. There, when closely examined, they confessed to all the particulars they knew of a secret design for the invasion of England. This was a sufficient excuse for breaking off all negotiations for the deliverance of Mary; the alarm spread through the kingdom, and people entered into an association for the defence of their queen and their religion. It was at the end of October, in the middle of the excitement caused by these events, that the master of Gray appeared in the English court; and we need not be surprised if he himself was looked upon with some suspicion. But Gray had already had a secret interview with lord Hunsdon in Berwick, at which he gained entirely the confidence of that nobleman, who immediately despatched a letter to lord Burghley to inform him of the result. He told him that Gray's special object was to prevail upon Elizabeth to dismiss the banished lords from her kingdom; and that in return for this favour he was prepared to give the queen of England full information on the various plots

which had been and were still carried on against her, without concealing the complicity of the Scottish queen herself. He was the more able to perform these promises, as he had been admitted to the confidence of all the parties engaged in these intrigues. On his arrival in London, following the directions given him by James and the earl of Arran, who were aware of Walsingham's strong leaning to the banished lords, the master of Gray addressed himself solely to lord Burghley. He carried with him a long letter of friendly recommendation to that minister, written entirely in James's hand; and it was backed by other letters, addressed to those of Elizabeth's courtiers whom the Scottish king and his favourite believed to be in his interest.

At the English court, the arrival of the master of Gray had been looked forward to with anxiety, and his interview with the queen met with no unnecessary delay. It appears that he was commissioned to make three distinct requests on the part of the young king of Scots. The first was, that Elizabeth should deliver up the lords and others who had sought refuge in England, or banish them from her dominions; this demand the master was to press as one on which the king had especially set his heart. In the second place, Elizabeth was required to break off all treaty with the queen of Scots on the subject of the association, as James professed to be fully convinced that both his own throne and that of Elizabeth would be endangered by setting at liberty a princess so warmly attached to the catholic religion, and so closely allied with the monarchs who were at this time determined to run all risks in support of it. The third request to be urged by James's ambassador was that Elizabeth would make him a liberal grant of money in the shape of an annual pension, by which, he said, she might entirely re-establish the English influence in Scotland. If she neglected this, James would probably sell himself to France.

In his conversations with Elizabeth on these demands, the master of Gray entered upon other matters of a confidential and very important character. Gray, who had made rapid advances in James's favour, already nourished projects of personal ambition which were to be raised on Arran's ruin, and he hesitated not to tell Elizabeth that that nobleman's professions of attachment to England were not to be trusted, and that she must look to other instruments

for securing her interests in Scotland. He told her how Arran's tyranny and extortion were rapidly drawing upon him the hatred of the whole Scottish people, and that the animosity with which he pursued the ruin of all who thwarted his purposes or who seemed to be powerful enough to withstand his power must soon lead to his own overthrow. He knew, he said, that, although it was at present dissimulated, he had himself already fallen under Arran's jealousy on account of his favour with the king; and he knew also that his present mission to England was only entrusted to him as a means of causing a temporary separation from his royal master. He was convinced that Arran would soon seek his ruin, but he had resolved not to fall easily, and he only wanted an assurance of Elizabeth's support to enable him to triumph over his rival. In this case the master of Gray promised that he would labour to unite the two kingdoms in an indissoluble league, that he would defeat and lay open all the plots of Elizabeth's enemies, and that he would eventually obtain the pardon and recall of the banished lords. All these proposals were highly acceptable to Elizabeth; the master of Gray was treated with every mark of favour, and the cause of the captive queen fell immediately into the back ground.

The latter had reckoned much on the advantages she was to derive from the mission of Gray, and she not only repeated her earnest appeals to the French king and to his ambassador to make new exertions in her favour, but she obtained permission for her secretary, Nau, to proceed to London and act as her agent in concert with the master of Gray and M. de Mauvissière. On the 28th of November, Nau, in the name of Mary, delivered in a paper of articles—by which she promised, in case of the plan of the "association" being carried into effect, that she would enter into a strict alliance with Elizabeth, and that there should be an entire oblivion of all that was past; that she would recognise Elizabeth as legitimate queen of England, renounce all claims and pretensions to the English crown during her life, revoke all former acts of her own which might seem in any way to press those claims, and make a public and formal renunciation of the pope's bulls which had decreed the deposition of the queen of England; that she would in future enter into no leagues or plots against Elizabeth or against the protestant religion, either with

catholic princes abroad or with rebels at home; but that, on the contrary, she would be ready to enter into a league with Elizabeth, both defensive and offensive, even to take part with her in case of a war with France, provided the equivalent to the dowry she received in France were secured to her in England; that she was willing to remain a certain time in England as a hostage, or to give such hostages as should be considered sufficient; that on her return to Scotland, she would make no alteration in the established religion, requiring, however, to be allowed the free exercise of her own, and promising to suffer none of her subjects to be persecuted for conscience sake; to grant a general amnesty for all past offences; to maintain all that had been done in her absence, provided it was not contrary to her honour; to labour to effect a general reconciliation among her subjects, and to see that the king her son and his council should pursue such measures only as were calculated to maintain the peace and tranquillity of the country; to receive into favour the Scottish exiles then in England, and to take no steps towards procuring a marriage for the Scottish prince without first consulting with Elizabeth.

These articles seem to have been received by Elizabeth's council as a matter of form, and to have been afterwards thrown aside without receiving any further attention. The master of Gray continued his negotiations in the name of the king of Scots alone, while Mary made repeated and ineffectual applications for a speedy termination of the treaty in her name. When, however, this princess became aware that her interests and even her name were virtually omitted in the negotiations between Elizabeth and the young king of Scots, now carried on through the medium of the master of Gray, her mortification and indignation knew no bounds. On the 14th of December she wrote the following letter to James's ambassador. "Gray—if the services and good offices which you have always offered me, moved (I believe) by true conscience and knowledge of your duty towards your queen and the mother of your master, by her received in such dignity as her only child and dear heir, had not induced me to recommend you as a young man of good family and of recommendable virtues, I think that you could more easily give way, as being young, to the persuasions of those who, desiring only their particular

advantage, neglect the public good and the service of their masters; but, as in that you pretend that wrong has been done you, show first the sincerity of your acts; and, without particularity, considering what use it is to deny what my son has accepted from me; you know it, I believe—if not, I am able to prove it, and have witnesses enough if needed. But may it please God that my son be not so ill-counselled as to compel me to that. You ought, speaking to me on the part of my son, to take my advice, as you know. Now I tell you, as I have always done, be it one way or another, I will have no division between myself and my child; and that I will, leaving him all the government and good of my own will, assure him of the just possession, and only demand the authority due to a mother such as I am. Let him then no longer disavow the association between us, if you will not put his title in doubt, and oblige me to proceed by another course. For, to tell you in a word, I think that I am doing honour and the duty of a good mother to my son, in making him my companion in the treaty, and not that he treats for me; whoever has put that into his head is but a fool and a traitor. My son has the honour from my side, and I nothing of his but the satisfaction of seeing him virtuous and in the way to prosperity. I pretend to depend entirely on the queen of England madame my good sister, as her nearest of kin, and to make a perpetual league with her and between our countries; and it has always been the promise of my son to follow me in his most important affairs, and this is the most important of all. I feel sure that he will not have the heart to disobey me, indeed to offend me grievously, by doing the contrary, seeing that all I aim at is more for his good than mine; of which my injuries and annoyances have made me lose all taste, except for him. If he draw back, I call God and all christian princes to witness that I have done the duty of a good mother; and that, whatever may happen to him after, he may thank those for it who are of this privy council against his promise and that of . . . I will say no more of it, you will understand me; and I would have you bear in mind that it is not towards me that dissimulation or command is to be employed; and I will not believe that my son has changed towards me, I not having given him any occasion for it; but I feel certain that he will keep

his word; and that, without dissimulation, he will show himself a kindly and obedient son. And as to what concerns you, I feel sure that when you hear the importance of this variance between my son and me, you would rather die than put a hand between the wood and the bark, as your commission imports, it seems to me. As to your particular, you are ill-informed, as some day I will explain to you, and that the wind comes from another quarter than you think; with time you will understand it to your satisfaction, as Nau can witness to you; whom, not only for the credit he has from me, but for the good services he has always done you with me, you may safely believe. At least, he is so entirely and affectionately devoted to the service of myself and my son that he has no care for his own interest, nor to say anything to injure anybody. And therefore, I pray you, believe him, and do good offices, advertising my son in what ill part I shall take this new invented course; in doing which you may be assured of my good will towards you and yours. Adieu! may God have you in his keeping. Wingfield, the 14th of December, 1584.—Your good friend, MARIE R."

The spirit and tone of this letter open to us at once the secret of the sudden resolution of James to set his mother aside in his negotiations with England. It is true that she proposed to allow him to retain the crown, but it was only to be a delegated power under herself, and she claimed still the authority of an absolute monarch, and of a mother over her child. James's title to the name of king was, in fact, to be weakened instead of strengthened, and he of all others was the least likely to agree to such conditions. Accordingly, he continued to treat with Elizabeth without any reference to his mother, in spite of the expostulations of the latter. Mary acted with a petulant exhibition of temper. She affected to reject her son, and to be resolved on making a separate treaty with Elizabeth, without considering him, and to his disadvantage. She appealed to the French ambassador, and to the English ministers, and she went so far in her anxiety to conciliate Elizabeth and gain her over from the Scottish king, that she offered to place her own signature to the association which had been formed to protect that princess against popish conspiracies, although she could not but feel that that association was directed especially

against herself. All, however, was now in vain; and new plots against Elizabeth having been discovered or suspected, in which it was supposed that Mary was implicated, she was taken from the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury, and, at the beginning of 1585, removed from Wingfield to Tutbury in Staffordshire, where she was soon afterwards entrusted to the charge of sir Amias Pawlett.

The mission of the master of Gray, meanwhile, had been so far successful that Elizabeth listened to all his proposals. It was resolved to discountenance the banished lords, who were ordered to retire from the Scottish border, and, although they expostulated and offered at once to cross the frontier and make open war upon Arran and his friends, they were constrained or persuaded to obey. Elizabeth entered warmly into Gray's plan for the overthrow of Arran, and she sent as her ambassador to the king of Scots, sir Edward Wotton, a deep and able intriguer, who was to assist and second Gray in carrying out his design. Wotton was very skilful in hawking and all the games and exercises to which James was partial, and with whom therefore he soon gained favour. He carried with him a valuable present of choice hounds and horses. The master of Gray was received with the utmost favour on his return, both by the king and by Arran, the latter of whom had received a flattering letter from Elizabeth; and James wrote to Elizabeth, approving everything that had been done by his ambassador, and assuring her that he had never accepted or agreed to the association with his mother. James wrote to the latter a letter to the same effect, upon which the indignation of Mary was extreme. In a letter to the French ambassador, written from Tutbury on the 12th of March, she said—"I have just now received, by Somers, a letter, which he says is from my son, so far removed, both in language and substance, from the duty and obligation which my son owes me, and from his old promises, that I cannot receive it as his, but rather as being from Gray, who, full of impiety and dissimulation both towards God and men, thinks to effect a *chef d'œuvre*, in completing there what he undertook here, the entire separation of my said son from me. And therefore, I pray you, to do me a pleasure as much as you can in a matter of so great importance and which touches me so near, that you will require in all diligence of the queen of

England, madame my good sister, that I may speak with the justice-clerk, lately sent to her, to learn from him fully and more truly the intention of my son, and also to send him my final resolution in this matter; which, if she does not permit me to do, I shall have very great reason to impute, before all Christendom, to her evil ministers this ill management and new division between me and my said son; for, before they intermeddled, we had always been in good and perfect accord, as God and nature obliged us; and since, on the assurances which were given us, I agreed to pass by their way, there has been no success, but all impiety; by which, if men think politely to make their profit, which perhaps is the aim of our common enemies in it, I hope that the very just God will avenge it soon or late. The second point on which I desire you to labour to draw a clear and final resolution from the said queen, my good sister, is, that in case she believes the contents of the said letter to be my said son's meaning, she will give me, if it please her, fully and particularly to understand if she will treat with me, or not, and as she has determined to proceed in it, without holding things, under any occasion or pretext that may be, in useless delay; for she had put off her definite reply to me only till we knew that of my son. Whom, notwithstanding, in order to make him perceive what his good friends and counsellors here have compassed for him, and may compass for him hereafter, I pray you very earnestly to deprive henceforth of the name and appellation of king, since he will not hold it of me; and, until he returns to his right behaviour, I feel assured that the king, monsieur my good brother, who was the author of the association between us, and who has been a singular example to this present age and to all posterity of a very rare piety of a child towards his mother, will not assent to this enormous ingratitude, or maintain it; but still again I pray you that henceforth he be not by you named king in any negotiation which you may be treating. I would also that it please the said queen, my good sister, to declare to you if she intends to maintain the usurpation of my said son in the manner in which he seems to claim it, or what is her opinion in this matter. My son sends me word that the cause of his not being willing to join himself with me in the treaty is, that I am held captive in a desert; the queen, my

good sister, can reply to him on that head, and relieve me when she will from this objection, by placing me in a state of liberty to serve her, as I sincerely desire to do, if they give me the opportunity. God give me consolation, and have you, monsieur de Mauvissière, in his holy and worthy keeping. From Tutbury, the 12th day of March, 1585." To this letter, Mary added a long postscript in her own hand-writing, which she commenced by telling M. de Mauvissière, "I am so grievously offended and wounded in the heart with the impiety and ingratitude which they have constrained my child to commit against me, by this letter which Gray has dictated to him, being in terms and substance the counterpart of one which he wrote me in cypher while he was at London, that, if my son persists in it, you may assure the justice-clerk for reply to so good a message as he has brought me on his part, that I shall invoke the malediction of God upon him, and I shall give him not only mine, with such circumstances as will touch him to the quick, but also I will disinherit him, and will deprive him, as an unnatural, ungrateful, perfidious, and disobedient son, of all the greatness which he can ever have from me in this world; and I would rather in such a case give my right, whatever it may be, to the greatest enemy he has, than that he should ever enjoy, as he does, the usurpation of my crown to which he has no right, refusing mine, as I will show him that he confesses under his own hand."

The same day Mary wrote an expostulatory letter to Elizabeth, to whom again, a week after (on the 23rd of March), having in the mean time had her worst fears on the subject confirmed, she wrote another and a longer letter, which is of sufficient historical importance to be given entire. "Madame my good sister," the captive princess says in this document, "since I cannot obtain permission to send anybody to my son, nor to talk with any one coming from him to this country, to obtain a clearer knowledge, as I have so many times and so earnestly required, of what has been ill interpreted and managed between him and me, whereby I see more and more the little which remains for me to hope on that side; my enemies being nevertheless suffered to continue their old practices with regard to my erring child, in order to separate him from me, for which they have been labouring all this time past. I have therefore come

to a resolution of which I will not delay longer to inform you; which is, since my ill-advised son is so unfortunate and abandoned by the spirit of God, as to let himself be led and persuaded to refuse to hold of me that which without me he cannot legitimately possess, it may please you, without any more long delay or procrastination, to cause the treaty of my liberty to be brought to a conclusion, that I may retire myself, with your good grace, out of this island, into some solitary and quiet place for the repose of my soul as well as of my body; and on this condition I offer you anew, not only what was last agreed with my secretary, but all other things, without reserving anything which with honour and safe conscience I can yield. Even, rather than that you should not be entirely satisfied, and me out of servitude, or desert captivity, as it is reproached to me, I would rather, as well for myself as for my posterity in time to come, renounce and quit for ever all right which I or mine could claim in this kingdom after you, whom God preserve, in order to take from my enemies at once all subject for making you distrust me, and making you forget the other; relieving myself by this means from serving as a pretext to any one whatever to do or attempt, under my name or appearance of my favour, anything to your prejudice or discontent; for since now he fails me and deceives me, for the sole respect of whom (I take the living God to witness) I have suffered and laboured, in this my captivity, to preserve for him the greatness which may belong and fall to me in this world, having held his preservation much dearer than my own, it matters little more to me what is to become of him and me; and rather, if quickly he does not repent, the greatest satisfaction I could have before my death, hastened by him, will be to leave him to all posterity a signal example of all tyranny, ingratitude, and impiety, justly revenged by God in him and his supporters. You may remember, madame, how it pleased you to write to me that you had never recognised him as king, by letter of your hand, until I myself had called him so; but I neither did it, nor required other princes to do it, but on his consent and promise to pass the association sought by him, and since by him rejected, as I desired it, completed by him, confessing that he had no right or surety in the possession of my crown but by my voluntary acceptance of his duty, and demission of the whole gov-

ernment, which I surrendered to him; contenting myself with the honour and the name which were due to me, without any prejudice to his ambition, approved by our association. And in truth he cannot have or hold legitimately and in surety by any other way; for it would be a consequence very prejudicial ever after to all the princes of Christendom, and consequently to you, whatever some of your subjects, and of those nearest to you, may think of it, daring publicly to affirm and sustain the election and demission of kings. Be not you, therefore, I implore you, her who opens the door to such extraordinary violences; and in place of being a protectress to me, to whom I have entirely committed myself, suffer not that, under your shadow and countenance, such an impiety be established and maintained, against all right divine and human. It has happened sometimes that brothers and other near relatives have forgotten themselves towards one another for the ambition of reigning; but, alas! what can there be seen more impious and detestable, before God and men, than an only son, and one to whom everything falls and is offered willingly, not only to strip his own mother of her estate and crown (for still as to the crown, the injustice might have some palliation, if we were in debate about it, which is not the case, for I am willing to give it him, and only demand the honour and discharge of his conscience, without any desire ever again to put my foot in Scotland); but also, he be so bewitched by sinister and particular counsel, as to prefer detaining it by usurpation and violence of the subjects (the circumstance of which is continually presented to his eyes), than by my free, willing, and pure consent. For God's sake, madame, you, who are his godmother, and whom I desired to be his second mother, as once I have left him to you, when expecting to die, and I may do it still, consider, with your natural inclination to all that is just, and your accustomed prudence, what good and honour can you ever derive from the counsel which I know well that some give you to join yourself by some league or treaty of friendship with my child, who is thus separating himself from me, through my want of liberty to instruct him in the truth. Be not the cause that, with your support, confirming himself more in his ingratitude and unthankfulness towards me, it happen, as without doubt it will, if I persist in giving him for ever my malediction, and in depriving

him, as far as shall be in me, of all good and greatness which through me he can claim, either in Scotland or elsewhere. I doubt not, if I try, that in Christendom I shall find heirs enough who will have claws strong enough to keep hold of what I shall put in their hand. And after that they may do with my body what they will; the shortest way, in that respect, will always be the most agreeable to me; and, for resolution—be assured that if, after having sincerely offered, and as far as has been permitted me till the present, done and performed all I could to range myself entirely with you, and to bring also my said son to the same course, and surely I am abandoned and put after him, and that he comes to treat with you, thinking under your name to assure himself of our enemies here, who have long persuaded him to that, as he himself informed me by Gray—be assured that at once I will disavow him for my son, and I will give him my malediction, disinheriting him not only of what he holds, but of all which he can claim through me elsewhere, abandoning him to our own subjects to do to him as they were instigated to do against me, and also to all foreigners to invade him and make him feel the consequences of his fault. For the least I am assured that he will never enjoy it without trouble; and, if it should happen that force and support are on his side, I will take from him, with good reason, the protection of God, who cannot, contrary to his promise, favour to the end such impiety and injustice. Thus, whoever shall treat with him will have thereby little honour, merit, or surety; and my enemies will not draw from it such advantage as they expect, unless it be to ruin him by himself, as I believe they propose. I implore you not to receive hereupon any evil interpretation of my enemies, for I go simply and with open heart, advertizing you of that which in such case I am very resolved to do, in order that afterwards you may find no fault, nor blame me for having done anything without your knowledge; asking no more than a yes or no in all this affair. You may have me surely, all yours to serve you, as I have offered myself in everything that shall be for your good, preservation, and satisfaction; and that not being received, with the loss of my child, I will no longer leave you or him but my poor body, to do with it what you like, which asks no more than perhaps (saving the will of God) my enemies seek and procure for it; so far am

I from wishing, out of any fear or apprehension of such accident, ever to make a step or say a single word more or less; for I would rather die and perish with the honour and heart of such a one as God has caused me to be born, than by pusillanimity to make my life base in order to prolong it by anything unjust and unworthy of myself and my race. It has pleased you to promise me, by my secretary, which was as he has told me one of your last words before he left, that after you have had an answer from Scotland, you will send me fully and sincerely your last resolution touching this treaty for my liberty; this is now what I ask and pray of you, with all the affection and urgency that I can, to abuse no longer the remains of my miserable days with a vain hope, and that I may, for the last time, provide (as I have already said to you) for my affairs, at this good time of Easter, before taking to medicine. For the rest, with regard to what the ambassador of France has lately imparted to me of one Parry and of Morgan, I will say only, taking it upon my honour and conscience, that you will not find that I am concerned in it in any manner whatever, abhorring more than any other in Christendom such detestable practice and horrible acts; for, to speak freely to you, madame, I cannot but think that those who will attempt your life will finish by doing the same for mine, and mine seems now to depend in a way upon yours; knowing well that, if anything happen to you, you have about you many of those new associates [members of the association for the protection of Elizabeth] who would soon make me follow you. But I would much rather go before, than follow with such a burthen; for which I think they would not grieve. God then and my conscience will be to me a sufficient discharge in this point, and I will not trouble you more about it, that I may not give subject to my enemies to say, as they did before on what I wrote on a similar occasion of Somerfield, that very often, he who defends himself before he is charged, accuses himself. But you will find that I have always had a heart far removed from such wicked intentions, and that more than ever, having now but you to please, I will respect, love, and obey and serve you faithfully and sincerely, in what I can, in the liberty which I ask of you again in conclusion of this letter in tears and very grievous sadness. At Tutbury, the 23rd of March. Your humble and very affec-

tionate, but afflicted, sister and cousin, Marie R."

Next day Mary wrote again, in the same tone, to the French ambassador, telling him of the proposal she had made to Elizabeth to treat apart from her son, and declaring her resolution to take vengeance on her son, by transferring all his rights to a foreigner. She repeated her demand that M. de Mauvissière should no longer give James the title of king. "I pray you," says Mary in an autograph postscript, "that of a true and born queen they make me no longer a queen mother, for, the association failing, I know no king or queen of Scotland but myself."

The result of the master of Gray's mission was a relief to James, who was now assured that there was no present danger of the return of the exiles, and who was encouraged to hope for pecuniary assistance—and a matter of exultation to Arran, who was encouraged to proceed in his violent courses. His persecutions, not only of those who opposed his will, but of all whose property or position excited the avarice or jealousy of himself and his infamous countess, increased daily, and gradually alienated from him the friends on whose support he might have reckoned in the moment of danger. Among other victims were the earl of Athol, the lord Home, and the master of Cassillis, who were thrown into prison for refusing to give up to him lands or money in their possession. For a similar cause he, at this moment, provoked the hostility of another powerful nobleman who had been one of his best friends, the earl of Morton, better known as the lord Maxwell, who held the important office of warden of the west borders, and who was one of the ablest military men in Scotland. Arran wanted certain lands belonging to Morton, part of the ancient inheritance of the Maxwells; and he insisted upon taking them in exchange for the estate of Kinneil, which he had obtained by the forfeiture of the Hamiltons. Morton, who knew well the uncertain tenure of the estate in question, refused Arran's offer, and thus gave great offence to the imperious favourite. Morton was too powerful to be attacked openly, without some better cause than his enemies could then allege against him; and Arran's plan of revenge appears to have been to urge him into some act which could be interpreted as rebellion. Morton's usual residence was at the town

of Dumfries, where his influence, of course, was great; and here the favourite proceeded deliberately to offer him an affront. The magistrates of Dumfries suddenly received the king's writ, ordering them to elect as their provost, Morton's neighbour, the laird of Johnston. There had long been a feud between the Maxwells and the Johnstons; and it appears that the present laird was notoriously the earl's enemy, so that no one could be blind to the offensive character of this proceeding; nor was the head of the house of Maxwell a man likely to allow it to pass unrevenged. Having ascertained the day when the election of provost was to take place, Morton, in great secrecy, called together a sufficient number of his friends well armed; he introduced them early in the morning into Dumfries, and placed them in the neighbourhood of the toll-booth, with orders that they were to watch the proceedings of the laird of Johnston, allow him to enter the tollbooth, and receive the office, and fall upon him and slay him as he came out. The laird had received some private intimation of his danger, and instead of showing himself in Dumfries, he hurried to court and made his complaint to the king. This was just what Arran wanted. Morton was proclaimed a rebel, and the laird of Johnston received a commission to raise men and march against him; and to ensure his success, two companies of the king's mercenary troops were placed under his command, and with these and a body of his own followers he marched against the Maxwells. Morton was, however, prepared to receive him, for, having assembled a large force, he advanced to meet him, and a battle was fought on Crauford Muir, in which Johnston was entirely defeated, and the king's mercenaries sustained considerable loss, one of their captains being killed. The laird of Johnston, escaping from the battle, and reassembling his men, had recourse to the usual mode of border warfare, by invading and plundering the lands of the Maxwells. This led to severe retaliation, in which the house of Lockwood was burnt, and Annandale ravaged with fire and sword, and the laird himself fell into the hands of his enemies, and was thrown into prison. When intelligence of these violent proceedings reached the court, James called a convention of the nobles, a sum of twenty thousand pounds was voted for carrying on the war against the powerful borderer; and a royal

proclamation summoned all subjects south of the Forth, capable of bearing arms, to assemble under the royal banner, and proceed against him; but a severe visitation of the plague during the summer caused some delay in the preparations for this expedition.

Another circumstance of much greater meaning and importance was at this time influencing events both in England and Scotland. It was during the summer of 1585 that the secret league was formed among the catholic princes on the continent for the destruction of protestantism, the fear of which, as much as any other cause, led Scotland to lean towards England. Although she had signed the bond of association for Elizabeth's protection, Mary seems to have entered into the grand league without reluctance, and from this moment she became involved in those fatal intrigues which ended in her death. Among the documents published by M. Teulet, there is a letter from father De La Rue, the jesuit, one of the most active agents of the catholic princes, to the queen of Scots, dated from Chalons on the 18th of May, in which he informs her of the progress of the great anti-protestant association, of its prospects, and of the force then at its command. He told her that her kinsmen, the Guises, were to have the entire direction of affairs, that all treaties with heretical princes, "whether English, Fleming, or Turk," were to be broken; and that heresy was everywhere to be extirpated. The duke of Guise was to send an ambassador to Scotland to invite the young king to desert the protestant party and join the league. De La Rue assured Mary that the pope and the catholic princes were greatly scandalised at the approaches she had been making to Elizabeth, and it was all he could do to persuade them that it was nothing but necessary dissimulation on her part. He blames her for having too easily put her trust in treacherous friends, such as the master of Gray, and urges her immediately to join the catholic league, while she might still outwardly profess to treat Elizabeth with friendly confidence. He recommended her to go on practising "as usual" with the good catholics of England, and he urged her to send trusty agents to her son to endeavour to bring him over to the cause. The protestant princes were duly informed of the great conspiracy against them, and in their alarm they also associated for defence. They seem

to have been beforehand with their opponents in communicating with the Scottish prince, and his fear of the catholic league was probably one reason of his present leaning towards England and of his breaking with his mother on the proposed "association."

But James remained still firm in his attachment to Arran and in his hatred of the banished lords and preachers; and after the return of the master of Gray, he had sent Bellenden, the justice-clerk, on a new embassy to England, and directed him to accuse the exiles of some new and dangerous conspiracies. Bellenden had secretly joined the party of the master of Gray against Arran, and when, on his arrival, the Scottish lords were brought to London to clear themselves of the accusation, he not only allowed himself to be persuaded of their innocence, but he privately consulted with them on the means of overthrowing the favourite and securing their pardon and return.

Such was the position of affairs when, in the summer of 1585, the English ambassador, sir Edward Wotton, arrived at the Scottish court. His instructions were to urge James to enter into a close league with England; to hold out hopes of a pension; to sound the king on the subject of his marriage; and to take advantage of the recent examination of the charges against the banished lords to plead in their favour. When Wotton delivered his present of eight couple of buck-hounds and some choice horses, these, with the ambassador's winning manners, produced a deep impression on the young king, who declared his resolution to enter into no further negotiations with his mother, his conviction of the necessity of a union of the protestant princes to resist the designs of the catholic league, and his anxiety to enter into the proposed alliance with England. Wotton became a favourite companion of the king, whether at table or when engaged in the pleasures of the chase, and he took him with him in all his progresses. James agreed to all the articles of the proposed treaty with England, and he was so anxious for its conclusion, that he summoned a convention of the nobles at St. Andrew's to give it their concurrence.

The ambassador's secret instructions were to co-operate with the master of Gray and his fellow conspirators in effecting the removal of Arran. He found that this plot

had proceeded so far, that they were deliberating on the alternatives of driving the favourite from court or of assassinating him; and the latter course would probably have been pursued but for the interference of Elizabeth. Nor was it, in fact, absolutely relinquished; for things went so far that Bellenden, although one of the highest criminal judges in the kingdom, actually provided a man ready to commit the murder, understood to be Douglas, provost of Lincluden, and introduced him secretly to the English ambassador. The unwillingness of Wotton to give countenance to the project of assassination disconcerted the conspirators, and Arran's extraordinary vigilance saved him for the time from the danger which thus threatened him. But at this moment an unexpected event occurred, which promised to favour the designs of the conspirators. On the 28th of July, a meeting, or day of truce, was held on the border between the English and Scottish wardens, sir John Foster and Kerr of Fernyhirst. This meeting ended in a violent fray, in which the lord Francis Russell, a son of the duke of Bedford and son-in-law of the English warden, was slain. It happened that the laird of Fernyhirst was one of Arran's most trusty friends, so that an opportunity was offered of bringing a direct charge against the favourite. Wotton drew up a written appeal to the Scottish king, setting forth that the young English nobleman had been murdered by the contrivance of Arran and Kerr; and James was so violently provoked at an event which threatened to interrupt the league with England, that he committed Arran to prison in the castle of St. Andrew's. But the master of Gray now suddenly and unexpectedly turned about; and, having it was said, received a bribe from the favourite, he procured an exchange from the castle of St. Andrew's to a nominal imprisonment in his house at Kinneil.

The part which the master of Gray acted in this affair is not easily understood, but it appears that he had been provoked at the slowness and backwardness of Elizabeth, and that he for a moment believed that he should best consult his own safety by conciliating the earl of Arran. This belief, however, was of short duration, and he saw with alarm that Arran's influence over the king was increased rather than diminished, not doubting that it would be soon employed to his ruin. In this perilous dilemma, Gray determined on making common cause with the

banished lords, and he proposed that they should immediately enter Scotland and make war upon the favourite. The lords embraced this proposal with joy, and by the intervention of the preachers a reconciliation was effected between Angus and his friends and the Hamiltons. On the 25th of August, when the court was at Dumbarton, the master of Gray communicated this plan to Wotton, in a private interview, and it received the ambassador's approval. Within a week the whole plot was organised, and, besides other Scottish barons, the earl of Morton was induced to enter heartily into it. All depended upon the queen of England, whose backwardness produced delays which threatened to be fatal to the conspirators, and to none more than to the English ambassador, whose intrigues had been partly discovered by Arran, and whose life was in danger. The favourite, though still nominally under restraint at Kinneil, was in communication with the king, and he was known, or firmly believed, to have renewed his intrigues with France and the catholic party. His suspicions already fell on the master of Gray, and the king insisted upon a meeting and explanation between them, which made Gray more anxious that the banished lords should immediately enter Scotland. His alarm now communicated itself to the queen of England, who became convinced that it was the time for action. The earl of Morton was still in arms on the border, and upon his forces Gray counted for effectual support.

On the 5th of October, 1585, Wotton informed Walsingham that James had resolved on leading his army against Morton before the 20th of the same month, and assured him that if that nobleman were allowed to be crushed, all prospect of success would be at an end. Elizabeth immediately gave her permission to the lords to proceed on the enterprise; and having held what was called an exercise of humiliation at Westminster, to pray to God for the success of their undertaking, the earls of Angus and Mar, the master of Glamis, and their friends, with some of the preachers, hurried to Berwick, where they were joined by the Hamiltons. They then privately crossed the border, met some of their friends at Kelso, whence they separated to raise their men, and on the 31st of October they assembled in arms at Falkirk.

All these movements, though executed with rapidity and as privately as possible,

could not long remain secret; and in the middle of October, Wotton received at the same moment intelligence that the lords had come to Berwick, and that James, already informed of this fact, and aware of the ambassador's complicity, had issued an order for his arrest, and intended to keep him as a hostage, and carry him with the army in his expedition to the border. At the approach of night, Wotton mounted a swift steed, and almost before his departure was known, he was safe within the walls of Berwick.

It was now well known in the Scottish court at Stirling that the banished lords were in Scotland, and Arran, breaking his ward at Kinneil, hurried thither to warn the king of his danger. The master of Gray was absent in Perthshire, raising his friends to join with the other conspirators, and he was not a little embarrassed on receiving a summons to attend immediately at court, for the purpose of answering the accusation of Arran, that he was at the bottom of the conspiracy. To hesitate or throw off the mask at this moment might have ruined all, and Gray chose the boldest, though, to him, the most dangerous course, and obeyed the summons. James had, indeed, been urged by Arran to seize the master on his arrival, and cause him immediately to be put to death, but Gray faced the matter out so well, that the king received him into his favour and laid aside his suspicions and displeasure. Arran, however, was so fully convinced of the treachery of the master of Gray, and of his own danger, that he and his friends had resolved to rid themselves of him, by stabbing him in the king's presence. He was saved only by the rapid march of events.

When the lords met at Falkirk on the last day of October, they found themselves at the head of eight thousand men, a force far superior to anything which could be opposed to them, and they immediately advanced upon Stirling. On the 2nd of November, at the critical moment when the master of Gray was to have been sacrificed, a messenger hurried into the palace with the intelligence that their advanced parties were within a mile of the town. The court was now all terror and alarm. Arran, well aware that if captured he would lose his life, took horse and with a single attendant fled from court. He had just time to escape, when the lords entered Stirling, and their troops began to plunder the town. The earls of Montrose and Crawford, with other of

Arran's friends, threw themselves with the king into the castle, and closed the gates. The lords immediately summoned the fortress and made preparations for a siege, upon which the master of Gray was sent out to negotiate. After some parleying, it was agreed that the king should receive them into his presence, upon the conditions that they should respect his person, and that they should make no innovation in the state. The lords then marched into the castle, the earls of Montrose, Crawford, and Rothes, with other chiefs of Arran's faction, were placed under arrest, and the invaders were led into the presence of the king, where they all dropped upon their knees. The lord of Arbroath acted as spokesman, and, addressing the king, said that they came to tender their duties, and humbly to solicit his pardon. As he was perfectly unable to resist, James graciously acceded to their request, and the same day a royal proclamation declared that the king approved of what the exiles had done, and that all past offences were forgiven and forgotten. The same day the earl of Arran was proclaimed a traitor. The master of Glamis was appointed to command the king's guard; and the principal fortresses having been taken from the friends of the favourite, the castle of Edinburgh was entrusted to the keeping of the laird of Coldingknowes, that of Dumbarton to lord Arbroath, that of Stirling to

the earl of Mar, and that of Tantallon to the earl of Angus.

The English court was soon informed of the complete success of the new revolution in Scotland, and Elizabeth immediately dispatched sir William Knollys as her ambassador to complete the league between the two countries. Knollys had his first interview with king James at Linlithgow on the 23rd of November, when that monarch expressed the utmost attachment to the queen of England, and a firm resolution to resist the catholic league. The king at this time showed himself well satisfied with the lords, and everything appeared on the surface smooth and tranquil. A parliament was called and met at Linlithgow early in December, and an act was passed authorising the king to enter into a strict league with England; and the king made an address to the estates in which he was very fierce against the papists, declaring that their aggressive league must be met by a counter-league among all the princes who professed the protestant faith. To this work he was determined to put his hand, and he should address himself first to the queen of England, as one of the great supports of protestantism, and he promised soon to send an ambassador to that princess on the subject. Accordingly, sir William Keith was sent on a special embassy to England early in the following year.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE BARON D'ESNEVAL SENT TO SCOTLAND AS AMBASSADOR OF THE KING OF FRANCE; RANDOLPH'S EMBASSY; CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY WITH ENGLAND.

THE meeting between Arran and lord Hunsdon, the subsequent embassy of the master of Gray, and the evident leaning of the Scottish government towards England, could not but be disagreeable to the court of France. Henry III. had been long desirous that his ambassador in England should pay a temporary visit to Scotland, but this design had been frustrated by Elizabeth, and the king of France now saw his ancient league with Scotland in danger of being broken entirely, unless he sent a resident ambassador to watch over his interests.

The person chosen for this mission was the baron d'Esneval, a gentleman of the king's chamber, who had married the daughter of Pinart, the French secretary of state, and who probably owed his appointment to this relationship. M. d'Esneval received his instructions on the 7th of October, 1585. He was directed to make himself well acquainted with the state of things in Scotland; where his principal business was to labour to counteract the efforts of Elizabeth and her ministers to withdraw the Scots from their ancient alliance with France.

He carried letters to James from the French king and the queen mother, assuring him of the interest they continued to feel in his welfare, and of their readiness to do everything in their power to merit the character of true and constant friends. He carried letters to the same effect addressed to the principals of the Scottish nobility; and he was to propose to them and to the king a ratification of all the old treaties between the realms. He was further to inform James that he had found it necessary, with the advice of his council, to revoke the liberty of conscience which had been given to the protestants in France, and to forbid the reformed religion in his kingdom, assuring him at the same time that it was not his intention to use any violence or persecution towards his protestant subjects, but that all who refused to conform to the religion of the state should be allowed to quit the kingdom unmolested, and take with them their goods. M. d'Esneval was to labour especially to know if the king of Scots had entered into any secret treaty with the French protestants; and if he found that any such treaty existed or was contemplated, he was to do all he could to break or hinder it. Finally, he was to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between James and his mother; but in doing this he was to use all his prudence and dexterity that no offence might be given to the party opposed to the Scottish queen.

D'Esneval's departure appears to have been delayed; for his letters of credence were dated on the 10th of November, and he was still in France in the middle of December, when news arrived of the revolution in Scotland which had driven the earl of Arran from the government. In consequence of these events, the ambassador received supplementary instructions, directing him to express to James the sorrow which this intelligence had given to the king of France, and to use his utmost endeavours to promote a pacification between the Scottish king and his nobles, recommending the former to follow the example of the French king in treating his subjects with gentleness. He was next to address himself to the Scottish nobles, and to urge upon them the duty and advantage of obedience to their sovereign. These additional instructions were dated on the 15th of December, and he set out on his journey for Scotland on the 20th of the same month. The French king appears to have counted much

on the co-operation of the Hamiltons, who had made great advances in James's favour since the banishment of the earl of Arran from court; and in a subsequent letter, Henry recommended M. d'Esneval to court especially the lord of Arbroath, who now enjoyed great credit at the Scottish court. The lord Claude Hamilton, who was in France, was invited home by James, and, when he left France on the 31st of January, 1586, the king gave him money to pay the expenses of his journey, and entrusted him with letters to the Scottish king and to the ambassador. In his negotiations with the Scottish king, M. d'Esneval appears to have laboured especially to justify his king's proceedings with regard to his protestant subjects and to counteract the ill effects produced on his mind by the catholic league and the reported designs of the leaguers.

Meanwhile James had despatched to England sir William Keith, to assure Elizabeth of his strong feelings with regard to the proceedings of the catholic princes, and to request her to send a new ambassador to him to assist in drawing up a protestant league in opposition to them. The celebrated diplomatist, Thomas Randolph, was again sent as ambassador to Scotland, and he arrived in Edinburgh on the 26th of February. He there found that not only was the French ambassador actively at work to undermine the English influence; but the agents of the queen of Scots, and of the foreign catholics were busy again with their intrigues. Holt and other jesuits had ventured into Scotland, where they were living under the protection of Huntley and the catholic lords; and to crown all, Morton, who had so recently joined the exiles in overthrowing the power of Arran, now proclaimed himself a catholic, and caused mass to be celebrated in the church of Lincluden, for which he was arrested, and committed in ward to Edinburgh castle. Randolph was admitted to an audience of the Scottish king three days after his arrival, and met with a most courteous reception. His instructions were, first of all, to arrange the treaty for a league between the two countries in defence of their religion, and to warn him against France; and in the second place, he was to promise him a pension from the English crown, and to offer him an assurance from Elizabeth that she would not permit his title to the English succession to be interfered with. In return for these marks of her friendship, Elizabeth

required the surrender of Fernyhirst (the slayer of lord Francis Russell), and the banishment of the jesuits; and she advised James to punish Morton severely for his late breach of the laws, and to be firm in his measures against the earl of Arran, who was to be expelled from Scotland. James, as usual, professed the utmost devotion to Elizabeth, declaring that he felt the same attachment for her as for a sister, and that he should adhere faithfully to her counsels. He then spoke to Randolph of the French ambassador, and declared his abhorrence of the intrigues of the jesuits, and his resolution to proceed against Morton and all papists who attempted anything against the established church in Scotland.

The French ambassador took alarm immediately at the arrival of an ambassador from England, and he addressed a letter to the king, requiring, on the part of his royal master, explanations regarding the objects of Randolph's mission, and especially on the league with England, which it was rumoured that he was come to negotiate. D'Esneval protested against this league, if it should contain anything contrary to the treaties with France already existing; and, having heard that the object of this league was to protect the protestant religion, he assured James that there was no truth in the reports concerning the league among the catholic princes to make war upon and exterminate it. He warned him to distrust the fair words of the queen of England, and reminded him that the existing treaties required that he should give due information to the king of France before entering into any new engagement with her. D'Esneval's expostulations seem to have found support among the Scottish nobles, some of whom were altogether opposed to the projected league with England, while others were of opinion that the king was hurrying into it without sufficient consideration, and without securing advantages which, with a little diplomacy, he might have obtained. Randolph, however, skilfully overcame all difficulties, and at the beginning of April he had obtained the king's signature to the treaty, and sent it to England to be ratified by Elizabeth. Randolph's secretary, Milles, who was sent to England with this treaty, was commissioned to give the English queen verbally the particulars of a dangerous conspiracy against her person which was then in progress in Scotland.

M. d'Esneval's labours were now chiefly

directed to efface from the king's mind the ill impression produced by the proceedings against the protestants in France, and to persuade him that no catholic league existed. The French king appears to have reckoned most on the Hamiltons, who were now powerful in Scotland, and he was evidently anxious to avoid any violent measures. On the other hand, the catholic lords in Scotland were bent upon insurrection, and they had revealed to the French ambassador a conspiracy to take arms and make themselves masters of the person of the young king, in order, as they said, to forestall the persecutions which they saw would be directed against them. They appealed to the king of France for assistance in their enterprise, assuring the ambassador that if it were refused, they should throw themselves into the arms of the pope and the king of Spain. In reply to this communication, the king of France stated his distrust of the conspirators, who he believed had been set on by the jesuits and the agents of Spain, who hoped thereby to gain some advantage for the affairs of the captive queen of Scots. Be this as it might, the king of France declared that his embarrassments and expenditure at home were too great to allow him to promise any assistance to the catholics in Scotland, and he recommended them to remain quiet, and prevent persecution by acting as loyal and obedient subjects.

The pecuniary necessities of the French king were indeed such, that he was obliged to confess to his ambassador his inability to furnish money for pensions to the Scottish nobles who were inclined to serve him. It was a circumstance which Elizabeth might easily have turned to advantage—but the parsimony of that princess produced the same effect as the poverty of the king of France; and James was not a little disappointed and provoked when he found at last that his English pension was to be diminished considerably from that which he was led to expect. It was too late, however, to appeal, for the treaty had been already agreed upon, and Randolph, having obtained the king's formal signature to it, returned to England in the latter part of June. Early in July, commissioners on the part of the two countries met at Berwick, and there the treaty was solemnly ratified and perfected. The provisions of this treaty were, first, that the religion as then established in each country should be preserved inviolably; next, that

in case of invasion of either realm, neither country should be held bound by any former treaty with foreign powers to act with the invaders of the other, but on the contrary each should be bound to assist the other. If the invasion was made in England, in a part remote from Scotland, James was, at Elizabeth's demand, to send to her assistance two thousand horse or five thousand foot, to be supported at her expense; but if the invasion took place within sixty miles of the Scottish border, James promised to raise the whole force of his kingdom and march to her assistance. If, on the other hand, the invasion took place in Scotland, Elizabeth undertook to send thither to the assistance of the Scots a force of three thousand horse or six thousand foot. In case of an invasion of Ireland, all Scottish subjects were to be forbidden to pass over into that island on pain of being treated as rebels. All rebels belonging to one of the two realms, were to be arrested and delivered up, or at least compelled to quit the country. No treaty was to be made by either of the contracting parties with any foreign state to the prejudice of this treaty; but all former treaties were to remain in force. Finally the king of Scotland promised that when he attained the age of twenty-five he would cause this league to be solemnly confirmed by parliament, the queen of England promising the same. In reading the heads of this important treaty we are struck at once with the circumstance that no mention whatever is made of Mary; and that princess, who felt deeply aggrieved at all the late proceedings, was beyond measure indignant when she heard that a treaty had been concluded between the two countries which did not acknowledge her rights or mention her name.

Nor had this treaty given much greater satisfaction to the king of France, who wrote to his ambassador on the 29th of June, expressing his satisfaction that the earl of Morton had been set at liberty, and urging M. d'Esneval to assure himself if there were nothing in the league between Scotland and England that was contrary to the treaties between the former country and France. The king had been alarmed at this moment by a report that a body of troops were raising in Scotland to be transported into France, for the assistance of his protestant subjects, and he directed the ambassador to inquire into the truth of this statement. M. d'Esneval had already addressed

a very strong remonstrance to James on this matter, reminding him that by former treaties the king of France might require from the king of Scots a certain number of men to assist him in his wars against his rebels, and in that case, if the protestants received aid from Scotland also, there would be Scottish troops fighting against one another. A few days after this, the French ambassador presented another energetic remonstrance against the league with England. In this document he ridiculed the idea that there was any danger of a war of religion, alleging that the only object of the catholic princes was to suppress the rebellion of their subjects. He pretended that the treaty originated in the intrigues of those who aimed at depriving him of the succession to the crown of England; and that Elizabeth was urgent in the matter because she saw that it would cause him to offend all the other European princes, and thus leave him more at her mercy. He even argued that one object of the league was to make a division between James and his mother, and thus to deprive him of her counsels and aid. These arguments appear to have made little impression on James; and soon after the conclusion of the treaty, M. d'Esneval obtained leave to return home.

On his arrival in France, d'Esneval drew up a written report of his journey, to be presented to the king, which is still in existence. He stated that he had left the king of Scots at Falkland, preparing for a summer progress to the houses of some of his nobles. The earls of Angus and Mar, and others of those who were "newly returned" were absent from court at their own houses, where the ambassador said that they affected to pass a large portion of their time, in order to make the king believe that they had no ambitious designs beyond living quietly at home, and that they left him with greater authority and more liberty than he ever enjoyed before. Nevertheless, observes d'Esneval, their actions proved the contrary, for they had taken care to surround the king with persons devoted to their interests, who watched all his movements. James had assured the ambassador that he had pardoned these lords for their proceedings at Stirling, and he tried to convince them that he had forgotten their offences by his friendly bearing towards them; though the lords so far suspected his sincerity, that they took care that one or two of their number should always be near his person as

a check upon him. The duty was generally performed by the earl of Mar, who had managed to gain considerable influence over the king's mind, as d'Esneval had gathered from conversations with the king himself. To this affection for the earl of Mar, d'Esneval attributed in a great measure the favourable eye with which the lords of his party were regarded, joined, as he says, with the persuasion in which they held James that his best policy was to make friends with England, and avoid giving cause for any new disturbances at home, that he might make the more sure of the English succession in case of Elizabeth's death, which, with so many known designs against the life of that princess, people were beginning to look forward to as an event which might happen any day. The management of affairs was left chiefly in the hands of secretary Lethington, a son of the celebrated statesman of that name, who also held the office of chancellor. The lords "newly returned," after the taking of Stirling, had contrived to obtain an order of the parliament held at Linlithgow, according to which the sole signature of the king was in future to be a sufficient authority in public acts, whereas previously it had been made necessary that it should be accompanied by the signature of one member of his council. Thus, on one side, the king was gratified with what he considered an increase of his royal authority, while, on the other hand, the neglect in which much of the public business was now left, was attributed to the king himself, and not to the lords who composed his council. The "good subjects" of the king of Scotland and those who were well affected to the French interest saw with much regret things run this course, and the league concluded between England and their king; and they were ready to risk their lives to put things "in a better condition," if they were as well supported on their side as they saw the lords "newly returned" supported by the queen of England. D'Esneval had been assured of this by the earl of Huntley, the lord Claude Hamilton, and the earls of Morton, Montrose, and Crawford; and they told him that they had on their side the earl of Arran, who still remained in Scotland, and had become a catholic. James wished to keep his promise of sending Arran out of the kingdom, and had confided to d'Esneval his desire to send him over to France, but the ambassador found various excuses to delay his departure.

D'Esneval had returned to France by way of England; and when he reached that capital he found it in a state of the greatest excitement on account of the discovery of a formidable design against the life of the queen. It was the celebrated plot known as Babington's conspiracy. People at first imagined that this attempt had originated with the French embassy, and laid it to the charge of the king of France, and this belief was encouraged by the agents of the French protestants in London. M. de Mauvissière had been recalled in the autumn of the preceding year, and the post of ambassador at London had remained vacant until the beginning of Autumn, 1586, when it was given to Guillaume de l'Aubespine, baron de Châteauneuf, whose arrival in England just before the plot was discovered seemed to give some countenance to the notion that he was not a stranger to it. Guards were immediately stationed round the ambassador's house, so that nobody could leave it without undergoing examination; and when, on the complaint of the ambassador, these were withdrawn, it was still closely though secretly watched, and some of M. de Châteauneuf's people had been placed under arrest, although they were soon liberated. After d'Esneval's arrival, a diligent search was made in all suspected houses about London; and at length the chief conspirator, Babington, with three or four others, were captured in a wood near London and conducted to the Tower; a fact, d'Esneval says, which caused such universal joy, that throughout England the church bells were rung continuously for twenty-four hours, and bonfires were made in all the streets of the capital. Meanwhile MM. d'Esneval and de Châteauneuf learnt that the queen of Scots had been removed to Tixall, that all her papers had been seized and brought to London, and that her secretaries, Nau and Curle, had been arrested and committed as prisoners to the house of sir Francis Walsingham. M. de Châteauneuf, confounded by all these occurrences, had sent his secretary for information to the lord treasurer Burghley, who replied that a grave conspiracy had been discovered, that the queen of Scots was proved by her papers to be unworthy of sympathy, and that Elizabeth would send over an ambassador to France to communicate the facts to his sovereign. D'Esneval intimated his belief that if an ambassador

were sent, it would be only for the purpose of demanding the extradition of Morgan and some others of the conspirators who were in France; and he recommended the king to relieve himself from the embarrassment of a refusal by letting Morgan escape secretly from the bastille, where he had been confined some time at the demand of the queen of England. D'Esneval adds that, at the time of his departure from London, it was reported that one of the maids of honour of the queen of Scots, named Pierrepont, had been conveyed secretly to the Tower, adding his own suspicion that this was Mary herself, whom it had been judged necessary to bring thither in secret. He urged upon the king the necessity of immediate interference in Mary's favour, and suggested that the distribution of a good sum of money in the way of presents among the English courtiers would at this moment be of great service. In conclusion, d'Esneval described his interview with Elizabeth, the only remarkable feature of which was the dislike she expressed to his secretary Courcelles, whom he had left in Scotland to supply his place during his absence.

During his embassy in Scotland on this occasion, Randolph had succeeded in obtaining the pardon and recall of Archibald Douglas, who made his appearance at James's court, in the month of May, and was so well received, that the king did not scruple to converse with him in private on the particulars of his father's murder, in which Douglas had taken so prominent a part. It was on this occasion that the king used those memorable terms which implied his own condemnation for several of his previous persecutions of individuals — "I myself," said he, "do believe that you are innocent of my father's murder, except in foreknowledge and concealing; a fault so common in those days, that no man of any dealing could misknow (*be ignorant of it*), and yet so perilous to be revealed, in respect of all the actors of that tragedy, that no man, without extreme danger, could utter any speech thereof, because they did see it and could not amend it." The crime which was excusable in Archibald Douglas, brought Morton to the scaffold. Douglas passed through the form of a trial, and was acquitted.

CHAPTER XX.

MARY'S PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLAND; BABINGTON'S CONSPIRACY.

THE event alluded to in the latter part of the preceding chapter must now be related at greater length. The appeals which Mary had made to Elizabeth, and the close watch kept over her in consequence of the discovery of the plots of Throckmorton and Parry, had compelled her to be extremely cautious in her correspondence with her friends during the autumn and winter of the year 1585; but those friends were still active in their intrigues, which received new encouragement from the league among the catholic princes. Morgan, a principal agent in Throckmorton's plot for the invasion of England by the Spaniards and the dethronement of Elizabeth, in which Mary was no doubt a participator, was, as we have seen, a prisoner in Paris—for his guilt was so evident, that the least the king of France as the ally of England could do was to put him

under restraint. But Morgan, instead of being inactive in his confinement, was busy in his intrigues, and in the beginning of January, 1586, he wrote a letter to the queen of Scots, whose confidence he enjoyed to a very great degree, and sent it by a man named Gilbert Gifford, a seminary priest, of a good family in Staffordshire, who promised by his zeal and by his local knowledge and connections, to be a valuable agent in Mary's secret correspondence. Mary was at this moment still in hopes of making some impression on Elizabeth, and she was aware of the strict watch which was kept upon her own actions; she therefore returned a cautious answer, refusing to continue her secret correspondence, but worded so, as on one hand not to discourage the devotion of her agent, and on the other to deceive her keepers if it fell into their hands. "I thank you heartily

for this bringer," she writes, "whom I perceive very willing to acquit himself honestly of his promise made to you, but for such causes as presently (*now*) I will not write, I fear his danger of sudden discovery, my keeper having settled such an exact and rigorous order in all places where any of my people can go, as it is very strange if they receive or deliver anything which he is not able to know very soon after. Thus, until better or more convenient time, I pray God to comfort you." Mary was no doubt fully aware of Morgan's doings, yet she writes to him, "I pray you to continue to keep yourself from meddling in anything that may redound to your hurt, and increase the suspicion already conceived of you in these parts, being sure that you are able to clear yourself of all dealing for my service hitherto that can be laid to your charge."

In spite of what she says in this letter, which was probably intended only as a blind, we find immediately afterwards that Gilbert Gifford was employed to convey Mary's secret correspondence; and we learn from allusions in her own letters that that correspondence was very extensive. She was, moreover, well aware of the risk she was running by the treachery of her agents. In a letter to M. de Châteauneuf, written on the 24th of March, she cautions him against one Philipps, whom she regarded as an agent of Walsingham's; and about the same time she was warned not to put too much confidence in Cherelles, one of the servants of the French ambassador. At this moment the idea uppermost in Mary's mind seems to have been vengeance upon her own son, and she urged the king of France to make the assistance his protestant subjects were said to have received thence a pretext for invading Scotland. Her correspondence with the French ambassador on this subject was carried on by Gifford, (who had been, during the month of February, in Staffordshire, in the neighbourhood of the place of Mary's confinement,) by means of a brewer who lived at about a league from her residence, and who had been gained over to carry the letters. This man was in the habit of carrying beer once a week to the castle for Mary's use, and the letters were enclosed in a hollow piece of wood, which was placed inside the barrel, from whence it was taken by Nau, who returned an answer by the same conveyance.

On the 1st of March, Gifford returned to London, and delivered to the French am-

bassador a new cypher, to be used in future for Mary's secret correspondence with him, and a letter, in which she expressed her great confidence in the bearer, and her joy at having found this new means of corresponding with her friends. Gifford then informed M. de Châteauneuf of the mode in which Mary's secret correspondence was to be carried on in future. At convenient distances between London and Chartley, where Mary was at this time confined, resided two zealous catholic families, who were friends of Gifford; the one nearest to the brewer was to send to the brewer for the letters, and to transmit them to the family nearer London, who undertook the conveyance of them to the residence of the French ambassador, by a confidential servant who proceeded to London sometimes in the disguise of a locksmith, at others of a porter, or a carpenter, or a carter, or under some other such character. As a further security against discovery, neither of the two catholic families were informed whence the letters came. M. de Châteauneuf tells us himself that he received this communication very coldly, informing Gifford that he was directed by the king to take charge of and forward to France all secret letters of the captive queen which might be put into his hands, but that he had little confidence in the success of their plan. In reading M. de Châteauneuf's account of these proceedings, we must bear in mind that a main object of the ambassador's narrative was to throw the blame off his own shoulders, and that France was intensely jealous of Spain. Gifford assured the ambassador of his sincerity, whereupon he received from him a quantity of Mary's papers, which had hitherto remained at the embassy. Gifford next proceeded to Paris, to consult with Mary's friends there, and inform them of the arrangements made in England. He there entered into communication with Morgan, with Charles Paget, who had been engaged in the former conspiracy, with a priest named Ballard, who had been an active agent of Morgan's, and with an English catholic soldier of fortune, named Savage, who had served in the wars of the low countries. Finding little hope of encouragement held out by France, the conspirators applied to the Spanish ambassador in that country, don Bernardino de Mendoza, who received them with open arms. The plan proposed was to invade England with a Spanish army, to assassinate Elizabeth at the moment of landing, and to

deliver Mary and proclaim her queen of England. The difficulty was the arrangement of these three events at the proper time for each, as it was argued that there was no certainty of the success of the expedition, unless, in case of the death of Elizabeth—and it was feared by Mary's friends that, if that princess were not delivered from her prison before the assassination of Elizabeth should be effected, her keeper, sir Amias Pawlett, would put Mary to death as soon as he heard of Elizabeth's fate, and before they could come to her rescue. The part of the assassin was accepted by Savage, who had been persuaded by some priests in the seminary of the jesuits at Rheims, that to slay Elizabeth, now that she had been excommunicated by the papal bull, would be a meritorious action which would be well rewarded in heaven. The plan of operations having been decided upon, Savage and Ballard proceeded to London; the first to be prepared to execute his part of the design, and the second to communicate with the English catholics, and conduct the plot in England. To escape observation, Ballard took the disguise of a soldier, and passed as a captain Fortescue, or, as it is sometimes spelt, Foscue. He was accompanied by a man named Maud, who had gained the confidence of the conspirators by his apparent zeal in the cause.

According to the French ambassador's statement he was not made privy to this conspiracy, but Ballard merely called upon him, to bring secret letters to be forwarded to France, or to receive letters which had been brought thence.

At this time there was in London a young man named Anthony Babington, a very zealous catholic, who possessed considerable estates in Derbyshire; and, having been page in the household of the earl of Shrewsbury, he had taken a great interest in the fate of the Scottish queen. He had since that been in France, where he was introduced to the confidence of Morgan, already mentioned, and Mary's ambassador, the bishop of Glasgow; and for a long time he was the active and zealous agent in the secret correspondence between Mary and her friends. This correspondence had, however, been interrupted for some months, during which time Babington appears to have had no communication whatever with Mary; until, on the 9th of May, 1586, he was recommended to her again by a letter

from Morgan, who was anxious that the secret correspondence should be immediately renewed. Ballard, on his return to England, had sought out Babington, who immediately entered into the plot with the greatest zeal. He, however, expressed the same opinion which had been previously given, that a plan of this kind would not succeed so long as Elizabeth was alive; and he not only gave his full approbation to the project of assassination, but he suggested, as an improvement upon it, that instead of intrusting so important a part of the plot to one man only, whose failure by any accident would ruin the whole, they should choose six persons for this enterprise, so that if one failed, another might succeed. Ballard agreed to this suggestion, and within a short time they found five other persons ready to undertake with Savage the part of killing queen Elizabeth. These men, all persons of respectable connexions, were named Abingdon, Barnwell, Charnock, Tilney, and Titebourne.

The conspirators appear to have communicated their plans to the captive queen (though we are not certain to what extent) early in May, and she evidently entered into it with all her heart. It was arranged for some reason or other, as a matter of precaution, that Mary should not correspond with Ballard, but with the other conspirators. Her correspondence, during the latter part of May, assumed an extraordinary activity. A packet of secret letters was dispatched from Chartley on the 20th of that month, of which one was addressed to don Bernardino de Mendoza, now Spanish ambassador in France, who had always been a zealous advocate of her cause. Mary told Mendoza that for eighteen months she had been so closely watched that her secret correspondence was carried on with great difficulty; but that now Morgan had found out a way of continuing it with more ease and safety, and she wished to know if the king of Spain continued in the same sentiments which he had formerly manifested, having intrusted to Charles Paget certain proposals to be made to him. She then opened to him a proposal on her part, which seems to have been intended as a sort of bait to draw the king of Spain into a more decided course of action than he had hitherto shown. "There is another point," she wrote to Mendoza, "dependent on that (*i. e.* on the plan to be communicated by Paget) "which I have reserved to write to you alone, that

you may communicate it on my part to the said king, and, if possible, no one but him have knowledge of it. It is, that, considering the so great obstinacy of my son in heresy (which I assure you I have wept for and lamented day and night more than my own calamity), and foreseeing the eminent damage which will come to the catholic church if he obtain the succession to this kingdom; I have determined, in case that my said son conform not before my death to the catholic religion (as, I must tell you, I have little hope so long as he shall remain in Scotland), to cede and give by will my right in the said succession of this crown [England] to the king your master; praying him in consideration thereof to take me henceforth in his entire protection, as well as the estate and affairs of this country; which, for the discharge of my conscience, I think I could not place in the hands of a prince more zealous for our religion, and capable in all respects of re-establishing it here, as it concerns all the rest of Christendom; feeling myself more obliged to respect in that the universal good of the church than, to her detriment, the particular greatness of my posterity." It must not be forgotten that Mary was at this moment labouring under the greatest disappointment and mortification at the failure of a treaty by which she bound herself to secure the reformed religion in Scotland, and to do nothing injurious to it in England. "I pray you," she adds, "that this be kept very secret, inasmuch as, if it came to be known, it would be in France the loss of my dowry, in Scotland an entire rupture with my son, and in this country my total ruin and destruction."

Mary's instructions to Paget, as given in the following long letter of the same date, are extremely important in showing the eagerness with which she entered upon the plot. "With an infinite number of other letters in cypher," she writes—"I received five of yours, dated the 14th of January, 16th of May, 24th and last of July, 1585, and 4th of February, 1586; but, for their late arrival here and all at once, it hath not been possible for me to see them all deciphered; and I have been, since the departure from Wingfield, so wholly without all intelligence of foreign affairs, as not knowing the present state thereof, it is very difficult for me to establish any certain course for re-establishing of the same on this side; and methinks I can see no other means to that end, except the king of Spain, now

being pricked in his particular by the attempt made on Holland [Leicester's expedition], and the course of Drake, would take revenge of the queen of England, whilst France (occupied as it is) cannot help her. Whereof I desire that you should essay, either by the lord Paget during his abode in Spain, or by the Spanish ambassador, to discover clearly if the said king of Spain hath intention to set on England, as it seemeth to me to be the surest and readiest way for him whereby to rid himself altogether of this queen of England's malice against him, without longer stay at flattering of the boils by lenitives and not purging the spring of the malign humour that hath engendered them. He hath experimented what service his long patience hath done him all these years past with the queen of England, having thereby only but entertained the sore, or rather augmented it against himself; so as now he doth find himself constrained to come to the same remedies which in don John d'Austria his time were propounded unto him, which I doubt he shall not find presently (*at present*) in these parts of such strength and virtue, as if he had applied them in time and place; to wit, whilst I had France well disposed to help him, Scotland to friend, the catholic party in this realm had the principal force, which since it hath lost. My parents of France were to have employed themselves herein, and the king of Spain not impeached (*hindered*) any other enterprise, I remember well that don John was always of this opinion, that there was no other means in the world whereby to set up again the king of Spain his brother's affairs in the low countries, and to assure his dominions in all other places, than in re-establishing of this realm under God, and a prince, his friend; for so much as he foresaw right well that the queen of England would not fail to break with him and give him (as she hath done) the first blow. And albeit he might have entertained and accommodated himself with her in such sort as during her life she should not have troubled him, yet hath he right great occasion to provide that after her death, happening to succeed an earl of Huntingdon or a like protestant, the king of Spain or his son (which yet were worse) might be assailed from hence with all extremity. Now in case (as said is) that he deliberate to set on the queen of England, esteeming it most necessary that he assure himself also of

Scotland, either to serve with him in the said enterprise, or at the least hold that country so bridled as it serve not his enemy, I have thought good that you enter with the ambassador of Spain in these overtures following, to wit:—

“That I shall travail (*labour*) by all means to make my son enter in the said enterprise, and if he cannot be persuaded thereunto, that I shall dress a secret straight league among the principal catholic lords of that country and their adherents, to be joined with the king of Spain, and to execute at his devotion what of their parts shall be thought meet for advancing of the said enterprise; so being they may have such succours of men and money as they will ask, which I am sure shall not be very chargeable, having men enough within the country, and little money stretching far and doing much there. Moreover, I shall dress the means, for the more security, to make my son be delivered in the hands of the said king of Spain, or in the pope's, as best by them shall be thought good; but with paction and promise to set him at liberty whensoever I shall so desire, or that after my death, being catholic, he shall desire again to repair to this isle; without that the king of Spain shall ever pretend or attempt any thing to my prejudice or my son's (if he yield himself catholic) in the succession of this crown. This is the best hostage that I and the said lords of Scotland can give to the king of Spain for performance of that which may depend on them in the said enterprise. But withall there must be a regent established in Scotland, that have commission and power of me and my son (whom it shall be easy to make pass the same, he being once in the hands of the said lords) to govern the country in his absence; for which office I find none so fit as the lord Claude Hamilton, as well for the rank of his house as for his manhood and wisdom; and to shun all jealousy of the rest, and to strengthen him the more, he must have a council appointed him of the principal lords, without whom he shall be bound not to ordain anything of importance. I should think myself most obliged to the king of Spain that it would please him to receive my son, to make him to be instructed and reduced to the catholic religion, which is the thing of this world I most desire, affecting a great deal rather the salvation of his soul than to see him monarch of all Europe. And I fear much that

so long as he shall remain where he is (amongst those that found all his greatness upon the maintenance of the religion which he professeth), it shall never lie in my power to bring him in again to the right way, whereby there shall remain in my heart a thousand regrets and apprehensions if I should die, to leave behind me a tyrant and persecutor of the catholic church. If you see and perceive the said ambassador to find goust (*taste*) in the said overtures, and put you in hope of a good answer thereunto, which you shall insist to have with all diligence, I would then in the mean time you should write to the lord Claude, letting him understand how that the king of Spain is to set on this country, and desireth to have the assistance of the catholics of Scotland, for to stop at the least that from thence the queen of England have no succours; and to that effect you shall pray the said lord Claude to sound and grope the minds hereunto of the principal of the catholic nobility in Scotland and others hereof, under pretexts he might bring to other; to the end you may make open light whereby the king of Spain may see what he may look for in such a case at their hands, and also know what succours and support both of men and money they would require at the king of Spain's hands, to hold Scotland at their devotion withall. Moreover, that he declare particularly unto you the names of those that are to enter in this band, and what forces they are able to make together; and, to the end they may be the more encouraged herein, you may write plainly to the lord Claude that you have charge of me (*from me*) to treat with him of this matter. But by your first letter I am not of opinion that you discover yourself further to him nor to other at all, until you have received answer of the king of Spain, which being conform to this designment, then may you open more to the lord Claude, showing him that to assure himself of my son, and to the end (if it be possible) that things be past and done under his name and authority, it shall be needful to seize his person, in case that willingly he cannot be brought to this enterprise; yea, and that the surest were to deliver him into the king of Spain his hands, or the pope's, as shall be thought best; and then in his absence he depute the lord Claude his lieutenant-general and regent in the government of Scotland, which you are assured I may be easily persuaded to confirm and approve. For if it be possible I will not, for

divers respects, be named therein until the extremity. To persuade hereunto the said lord Claude, it shall be good that you assure him to travail to abolish all remembrance or grief of his brother the lord of Arbroath his proceedings, that indirectly you put him in hope that I shall make him be declared lawful heir to the crown of Scotland, my son failing without children, and that thereunto I shall make the catholic princes of Christendom condescend to maintain him in that respect. I can write nothing presently to the lord Claude himself, for want of an alphabet (*cypher*) between me and him, which now I send you herewith inclosed, without any mark on the back, that you may send it unto him; and if by any nearer means (which I will essay to find on this side) I might therein, I shall not fail by the same to remember (or by the first other I can find fittest) the good testimony and assurance you give me of his dutiful affection towards me and my service. This is all for that country of Scotland I can dress presently, for so much as I know of the present estate of the affairs of Christendom; charging you very expressly not to communicate this to any other at all, either English, French, or Scottish; as also you shall pray the said Bernardino, Spanish ambassador, to do the like, and the lord Claude not to discover by whom this motion is made unto him. I have written unto the Spanish ambassador in favour of your brother the lord Paget and yourself, with all the affection that your friendship towards me deserveth; lamenting from the bottom of my heart that by mine own particular I am not so able to do for you, as I must needs have recourse to others for supplying the want of my small means."

The same day on which these letters were dated, Mary wrote to sir Francis Ingelfield, Morgan, and others. She merely informed the former of the difficulty she had had in corresponding, until Morgan had found out the mode of conveying her secret letters that she was then using. The proposals of Mary and the other conspirators were eagerly accepted on the part of Spain, and the design was now urged forward with greater confidence than ever, but as yet the means of secret correspondence with Mary were not fully perfected to their satisfaction. On the 29th of May, she wrote to one of her servants named Fulgeam, then in France, and to the jesuit Parsons. She recommended the former to don Bernardino de Mendoza, and directed him

to place his entire confidence in Morgan and Charles Paget. "For this time," she says to him, "I cannot give you none other charge nor commission in those parts, having been so long without any knowledge of the course of affairs abroad and in this country, and being yet so little informed in the state they are in presently, as I know not with what line to sail, nor how to lift anchor. The persons serving in this house of whom you write unto me, are not to be won, and therefore may you do me a singular pleasure to travail to recover me some other intelligence, either hereabouts for the time I have to remain, or about the house whither I am to change in the end of this summer. Whereof I shall advertise you in diligence so soon as I may know which it shall be. For all you may have heard against Morgan during his adversity, believe upon the experience that I have had of his entire fidelity; he hath proceeded in God's cause and this country, which I esteem mine in principal, as a very sound honest man. And if there be anything in him to be found fault with, it is that he hath been therein but over zealous and affectionate; as you may understand more particularly by Charles Paget, who is a gentleman of good credit. I find therefore right agreeable, that as you profess the same devotion towards me, and that you desire by your last letters that I inform you of the course I would you should take in those parts, you enter into a near friendship with the said Charles and Morgan, and make an end of the zizany (*tares*) which some, to all your prejudices, do what they can to sow amongst you of your nation in those parts." In the letter to Parsons, Mary alludes more directly to the plot which was then going on. "Good friend," she says, "your letters of the . . . 1584, and of February, 1585, came no sooner to my hands than the 25th of the last month, so as the occasion of the contents thereof being past, and not knowing how things have succeeded or stand yet at this present, it is impossible for me to give you any substantial direction or answer. Nevertheless may I say if during my abode at Wingfield I had received your foresaids, and had had also the money which I had required, I think I could have brought that to pass which you did propone unto me, the said house being very fit therefor, circuit wholly with wood, and at that time in the winter season as you desired. Besides that my

new keepers, to make me more willingly grant to the change from my old keeper, gave me a great deal more liberty than I was wont to have. But now both myself and my folks here are so straightly looked unto and kept so close, as it liath not hitherto been in my power to praetise any within this house, to my devotion, except him only that leadeth this intercourse. And without I were assisted by some of my keeper's servants, it is now altogether impossible for me to escape. The gate so nelyt (*nailed*), never a window in my lodging nor way about the house being almost either day or night without a sentinel. Wherefore for this design of my delivery I can put you in no hope, considering the state I am in presently. Leave not to continue to labour by all means for the re-establishment of things in this country, the weal and prosperity whereof and of the good men and true catholics of the same I shall always prefer to all greatness and particular contentment of my own, and will think my life well bestowed to that end, whensoever occasion shall offer. Give right affectionate thanks in my name to my cousin the prince of Parma, for the honourable testimony I have had by his letter of the good will he beareth me, which accepting and not now able to requite but with the like only, I pray you to let him understand for answer, that as it hath pleased the king of Spain my good brother to make a special choice of him to have from henceforth the whole charge and managing of the enterprise proponed for the re-establishing of this state; so, in as much as I can for mine own part, I shall always esteem it for me no small happiness to concur in an action so important for the weal and common quietness of all Christendom with a prince so meet in all respects for effecting of the same as I see he is. And therefore if it pleaseth him that he advise with you all in those parts, of the fittest means for execution of that his good intention in the said enterprise, let him be sure that I shall therein correspond for my part, with an entire acknowledgment of how much I am beholding unto him therefor. I remit to you to give him thanks for the diligence and good order which I have understood he hath caused to be taken for the recovering of the twelve thousand crowns I had asked, for the which I would not there were made any further suit, unless you saw therein some great facility to obtain the said money,

in respect of the great charges I am at and have been forced to bear all this while, during and since my change, for that all my intelligences have failed me, being not able to recover others of new, without new means; also that such occasions of importance may fall out on the sudden for to further my escape, or otherwise, which for want of ready and sufficient means in hand, I shall be forced to let slip." On the 30th of May, Mary wrote a letter, nearly in the same words as the preceding, to father Holt the jesuit.

It is clear from these letters that Mary was perfectly well acquainted with the general character of the plot which was then in agitation; though the extent to which that knowledge went cannot be ascertained, because it is not likely that she would unnecessarily commit to writing any allusions to those parts of it which would be dangerous to her own safety. In fact, we have evidence that this was carefully avoided, and in the course of her correspondence in the month of May, we find her friends, especially Morgan, and the Spanish ambassador Mendoza, urgently advising her not to correspond directly with Ballard, who was managing the plot in England, especially that part of it which related to the assassination, while they directed Ballard, on his side, not to attempt to communicate with her. We are led, however, to believe that she cannot have been ignorant of the nature of Ballard's practises, not only from the general probabilities of the case, but from the postscript of a letter written by Morgan to Curle, Mary's secretary, at the beginning of July, in which he says, "I am not unoccupied, although I be in prison, to think of her majesty's state, and yours that endure with her, to your honours; and there be many means in hand to remove the beast that troubleth all the world." This can only mean the assassination of Elizabeth, and if known to Curle, it must have been known to Mary also. She, however, followed the advice of her friends, and abstained from all correspondence with Ballard, or Babington, of which the latter complained to Morgan in Paris. Morgan wrote a very strong letter to Mary, warmly recommending Babington to her confidence, and urging her to renew the correspondence with him; upon which, on the 25th of June, she wrote him the following letter, in French:—"My great friend, although it is a long time that against my will you have not heard from me, nor I from you, still I should be very

much grieved if you thought that I did not remember the essential affection that you have shown in all which concerns me. I have heard that, since the interruption of the intelligence between us, packets have been sent you to convey to me, both from France and from Scotland. I pray you, if any have fallen into your hands and you have them still, to deliver them to this bearer, who will convey them safely to me. And I shall pray God for your preservation.—At Chartley, the 25th of June.—Your very good friend, Marie R.” The bearer alluded to was Gilbert Gifford.

Mary seems to have been now impatient of delay in carrying the plot into execution, and in a letter to Mendoza, written on the 2nd of July, she complains of the slowness of the proceedings, which she says grieved her, rather on account of the general good than of her own particular suffering, but declares her resignation to what she supposes to be unavoidable. Meanwhile Mary, as well as Paget, had entered into communication with the lord Claude Hamilton, who seems to have entered into their design; so that treason at this very moment surrounded the throne of the young Scottish king, and we easily understand the opposition which was made by some of the Scottish lords to the treaty with Elizabeth. It was just while the conspiracy was at this point that, on the 5th of July, that treaty was concluded, which caused great annoyance to Mary, as it tended to disconcert, in some degree, her plans with regard to Scotland. “I believe,” she writes to her ambassador, the archbishop of Glasgow, on the 12th of July, “that by this time you will know the particularities of the league which she (Elizabeth) has newly concluded with my son, not, as I am informed, without the secret consent and approbation of the king of France, so that I fear much you will labour in vain with him to traverse the said league, as I had directed you to do by my last letters. Nevertheless, do not fail to do all you can to break it. The greatest regret it leaves me is that the said league will quite deaden from the hearts of all the catholic princes what remained of their good will to aid in the re-establishment of things in that quarter; finding, indeed, all their affections so much alienated from my son, that I know no longer on what or how to continue any intelligence with him, every one is in such despair, and myself foremost, that he will ever be serviceable to God’s cause or mine.”

On the 13th of July, Mary wrote to the French ambassador, M. de Châteauneuf, and she expressed a sudden anxiety that her keeper might be changed, from fear that she might be sacrificed by sir Amias Pawlett in case of Elizabeth’s death, which I can hardly help thinking must have arisen from a knowledge of a plot for the assassination of that queen. The same subject is pressed in other letters to the French ambassador, who is also urged to represent strongly the danger which threatened her health unless she had at that moment more liberty and exercise. On the 16th of July, she wrote on the same subject to the archbishop of Glasgow;—“the more I try my keeper, the more I perceive in him a very evil and fatal sentiment toward me and my claim to this kingdom; which I think proceeds only from an extreme and obstinate zeal which he has for the puritan sect, professing it here publicly, contrary to the injunctions of his mistress. And, on the report that he is to be changed, he has set himself to use me with all the rigour he can, even to the diminishing of my ordinary expenditure, showing himself moreover very insolent in all his actions towards me. Give notice of this to the lord treasurer (Burghley), through the ambassador Stafford, and urge upon him, as well on my part as on that of all my relations and friends there, that my life cannot be safe in the guard and in the hands of my said keeper, if anything should happen to this queen; for, besides the ill-will which he shows towards me, he is not a man of sufficient credit, force, or power, to preserve me, in the house where I am, against the attempts or surprises of my enemies, being a stranger in this part of the country, and making himself so extremely ill-liked and hated here, that such a case happening, he would be no less in danger than I. Insist, therefore, as earnestly as you can with the said lord treasurer, that he cause to be appointed for me, as soon as he possibly can, some other keeper of greater quality and power and better inclined towards me and my right after the death of his mistress, if it be God’s pleasure that I survive her, not asking, however, of the said lord treasurer, or of him whom he shall appoint here, anything contrary to their duty to their queen. Press this as much as you can, and, if necessary, if the said lord treasurer will not attend to it, urge it upon the very christian king [of France], and cause him to be spoken to about it by the pope’s nuncio and by his

ambassador, in order that he may please to interpose his credit with this queen to provide for my safety, as well for the present as for the future. If there should happen any insurrection or tumult in this country, and my enemies come suddenly to attack me, this man here would not be able to put twenty men together to resist them." When I compare the language of these letters, and consider the moment at which they were written, I cannot but feel convinced that they were caused by some sudden and unusual circumstance; and that that circumstance was the design to assassinate Elizabeth. We must bear in mind that at the very first starting of this design, the conspirators took into consideration the danger that, if the intelligence of Elizabeth's death reached Chartley before Mary was set at liberty, the captive princess would be put to death by her keeper. We cannot, I think, doubt that these letters, which were totally unknown to Elizabeth or her ministers, have an intimate connection with the important letter we are now going to quote, which has been the subject of so much controversy.

Mary's brief letter to Babington had been received, and he returned her a long reply, explaining to her the circumstances of the conspiracy, and the preparations which were making to carry it into immediate effect. This letter was dated on the 6th of July, and she probably received it immediately before writing the letters to M. de Châteauneuf and the archbishop of Glasgow, just quoted. On the 17th of July, the day after her urgent letter to the archbishop, Mary wrote in French the following reply to Babington. "Faithful and well-beloved, according to the zeal and entire affection with which I have remarked that you have been actuated in what concerns the common cause of religion and of mine also in particular, I have always made estate and foundation of you, as of a principal and very worthy instrument to be employed in either. It was not the less consolation to me to have been advertised of your state, as you have done by your last letters, and found means to renew our intelligences, that I was before in sorrow to find myself without either one or the other. I pray you then to write me in future, as often as you can, all the occurrences which you shall judge to concern in any way my affairs; as, on my part, I will not fail also to hold like correspondence with you, the most carefully, and with all the diligence possible.

"I cannot but praise, for various great and important considerations which would be too long to recite here, the desire which you have in general to hinder in good time the designs of our enemies who aim at abolishing our religion in this kingdom, and ruining us altogether. For I have a long time urged upon the other catholic princes abroad, and experience confirms it—that, the longer we delay putting our hands to it on both sides, the greater advantage we give to our adversaries to make themselves ready against the said princes, as they have done against the king of Spain; and, meanwhile, the catholics here, remaining exposed to all sorts of persecutions and cruelties, diminish more and more in numbers, forces, and means; to such a degree that I fear much that, if a remedy is not applied very soon, they will be reduced to such a condition, that they will never be able to raise themselves again, nor to give assistance to any succours that may be hereafter offered them.

"As to my particular, I pray you to assure our principal friends that, even though I had no interest of my own in this affair (for I reckon what may be my pretensions at very little in comparison with the public weal of this state), I shall always be ready and very anxious to employ in it my life and all that I have or may have more in this world.

"To give, then, a good foundation to this enterprise, in order to be able to conduct it to a fortunate success, you must consider from point to point, what number of people, both horse and foot, you can raise among you all, and what captains you will give them in each county, in case they cannot have a general-in-chief; of what towns, ports, and havens you hold yourself sure, as well towards the north as in the western and southern districts, to receive succours from the Low Countries, from France, and from Spain; what place you esteem the most fit and advantageous for the rendezvous of all your forces, and in what direction you are of opinion that you must afterwards march; what number of foreign forces, as well foot as horse, you would demand (which you must make proportionate to the number of your own), with pay for how great a length of time; together with the munitions and havens most convenient for their descent in this kingdom, on the three sides mentioned above; the quantity of arms and money with which you must be provided in case you have none of your own; *how the six gentlemen are determined to proceed;*

and the means also which must be taken to deliver me from this prison.

"Having taken a good resolution among yourselves (who are the principal instruments, and the fewest in number that you can), upon all these particularities, I am of opinion that you should communicate it in all diligence to Bernardino de Mendoza, ambassador in ordinary of the king of Spain in France, who, besides the experience he has in the state of affairs here, will not fail, I can assure you, to employ himself in it with all his power. I will take care to advertise him of this affair and to recommend it to him very urgently, as also to such others as I shall find necessary. But it is needful that you should make choice very seasonably of some secret and faithful personage to handle this affair with Mendoza and others out of the kingdom, to whom alone you can entrust all, in order that the said negotiation may be held the more secret; which I recommend you above all things for your own safety. If your messenger bring you an answer well founded, and certain assurance of the succours you demand, you can then give orders (but not before, for it would be in vain), that all those of your party here make provision, with the most secrecy possible, of arms, good horses, and ready money, to be ready to march with all this equipage as soon as they shall receive orders from their chiefs and leaders in each county. And, in order to palliate better this affair (communicating only to the principals the whole of the enterprise), it will be sufficient, for a beginning, that you give to the others only to understand that all these preparations are made for no other end but to fortify you among yourselves, if need should require it, against the puritans of this kingdom, the principal of whom, commanding in the Low Countries [where Leicester had an English army], with the best forces of this said kingdom, had formed a design (as you can cause the report to be spread), to exterminate, on their return, all the catholics, and to usurp the crown, not only against myself and the others who have a legitimate right to it, but, which is more, against their own queen who reigns at present, if she will not consent to let herself be entirely governed at their will. These complaints would serve you very seasonably to found and establish an association and general confederation among you all, as for your just defence and the preservation of your religion, lives, lands, and possessions, against

the oppression and enterprises of the said puritans, without, by writing, touching directly anything which might be to the prejudice of the queen; to the preservation of whom and of her legitimate heirs (always not making in this point any mention of me), you will on the contrary make semblance to be very much attached. These things being thus prepared, and the forces, as well within as without the kingdom, all ready, you must *then put the six gentlemen to work*, and give order that, *their design having succeeded*, I may immediately be taken out from here, and that all your forces be at one same time in the field to receive me, while they are waiting the foreign succour, which must then be hastened in all diligence. *But, inasmuch as a day cannot be fixed beforehand or foreseen for the accomplishment of what the aforesaid gentlemen have undertaken, I would wish that they had always with them, or at least in court, four good men well mounted, to give advice in all diligence of the success of the said design, as soon as it shall be effected, to those who shall have charge to take me out of here, in order that they may apply themselves to that duty, before my keeper receive intelligence of the said execution, or, at least, before he have leisure to fortify himself in the house, or to transport me elsewhere. It would be necessary to send two or three of the said advertisers by different roads, in order that, if one should fail, the other may reach his destination; and you must in one same instant try to stop the ordinary passages to posts and couriers.*

"This is the project which I find most seasonable for this enterprise, in order to conduct it with a care for our own safety. To move on this side before you are assured of a good foreign succour, would only be to put you, without any object, in danger of participating in the miserable fortune of others who have entered into former enterprises on this subject; and, to take me out from here without being first well assured of being able to put me in the midst of a good army or in some place of safety, until our forces be assembled and the foreigners arrived, would only be to give a sufficient excuse to this queen, if she caught me again, to enclose me in some hole from which I could never come out again, if at least I should be able to escape at that price, and to persecute to the utmost extremity all those who should have assisted me, for which I should have more regret than for any adversity which might fall upon myself.

Wherefore I must admonish you again, as earnestly as I can, that you be on your guard and use an extraordinary care and vigilance to carry on and assure so well all that shall appertain to the execution of this enterprise that, with the aid of God, you may conduct it to a good and fortunate end, trusting it to the judgment of our principal friends here, with whom you should treat hercupon, that they advise on the said project (which will only serve for a proposition and overture) as altogether you shall find most expedient; and to you in particular I entrust also to assure the gentlemen above mentioned of all which shall be required on my part for the entire accomplishment of their good intentions. You could also advise and conclude all together if (in case their design does not take foot, as it might happen) it will be nevertheless expedient or not to undertake my deliverance and the execution of the rest of the enterprise. But, if misfortune will that you cannot have me, on account of my being shut up in the Tower of London, or in any other place with greater guard, do not cease on that account, I pray you for the honour of God, to pursue the rest of the enterprise; for I shall always die well contented if I know that you are delivered from the miserable servitude in which you are detained captives.

"I will try to make the catholics of Scotland take arms, and to place my son in their hands, at the same time that these things shall take effect here, in order that by this means our enemies shall not be able to draw any succour thence. I would wish also that an attempt be made to raise some rebellion in Ireland, which should begin a little before anything be done here, in order that the alarm should be given in a place quite the contrary of that in which it is intended to strike the blow.

"Your reasons that there ought to be a general or principal chief appear to me very pertinent, and therefore it would be well to try indirectly the earl of Arundel, or one of his brothers, and even to attempt the young earl of Northumberland, if he be at liberty. Beyond sea we might have the earl of Westmoreland, whose name and house have great power, as you know, in the north country, and my lord Paget, who has also much influence in several counties near here; both could be secretly brought back into this country, and with them several others of the principal exiles, if the enterprise come to take foot. The said lord

Paget is at present in Spain, where he will be able to treat on all you would communicate to him touching this affair, either directly to himself, or through his brother Charles. Take care that none of your messengers, whom you send out of the kingdom, carry any letters with them; but send the despatches before and after them by some others. Be upon your guard against spies and traitors who are among you, even some priests who have been already gained by our enemies to discover you; and above all never carry upon you any paper which might be injurious in whatever manner; for from such like errors has before proceeded the condemnation of those who have been judged, against whom, without that, they would have been able to prove nothing. Discover your names and intentions the least you can to the ambassador of France who is at London; for, though he be, as I hear, a very honest gentleman, of good conscience and religion, yet I fear that his master holds with this queen another train quite contrary to our designs, which might be the cause of making him interrupt our plans, if he knew of them.

"I have till now urged them to change my residence, and in reply they have named only the castle of Dudley, as the most fit for my residence, so that there is some appearance that I shall be carried there before the end of this summer. Consider therefore, as soon as I shall be there of some means to be used in the neighbourhood to effect my escape. If I remain here, the only expedients to be tried are the three following: first, that on a day fixed beforehand, when I am riding out to take the air on the plain which is between this place and Stafford, where you know that one meets ordinarily very few persons, some fifty or sixty men, well mounted and armed, come to take me; which they may easily do, my keeper having commonly with him but eighteen or twenty horsemen, provided only with pistols. The second is, that they come at midnight, or soon after, and set fire to the granges and stables which you know are by the house, in order that the servants of my keeper being run thither, your people, having each a mark to know each other at night, may come in the mean time and surprise the house, where I hope to be able to second you with the few servants I have here. The third is, that the carts which come here, ordinarily arriving early in the morning, they might be so arranged and

furnished with such carters, that being under the great gate the carts should be overthrown in such a manner, that, coming there immediately with those of your company, you might make yourself master of the house, and carry me off at once, which would not be difficult to execute, before there could arrive any number of soldiers to their succour, inasmuch as they are lodged in several places out of here, some of them half a mile off, and some a full mile.

"Whatever may be the issue, I have and ever shall have a very great obligation to you for the offer you have made to put yourself in hazard, as you have done, for my deliverance, and I will endeavour, by all the means that shall ever be in my power, to acknowledge it in respect to you as you desire. I have ordered a more complete alphabet (*cipher*) to be made for you, which will be given to you with the present. God Almighty have you in his holy keeping. Your entirely good friend for ever, ✕. P.S. Fail not to burn the present immediately."*

This 17th of July was a busy day with Mary, and the number of letters to different persons concerned in the great conspiracy, which bear this date, is quite remarkable. One of these was addressed to Charles Paget, who it appears had been obliged to go to the baths of Spa for his health. "I hope," Mary wrote to him, "that these shall find you returned from your journey of the Spa, whereof I would be sorry to dislike, but rather by the contrary should I of myself have pressed you thereunto, if I had known it had been needful for you, being obliged to have care of your health, as you have most vigilantly of all that may concern my service. Your remonstrance to commit unto few the managing of my affairs, doth right well please me, and I am accordingly deliberate not to entertain, from henceforth, any ordinary intelligence with any man, except with those which I will depute in every province, to wit, besides my ambassador, yourself and Morgan for France. Yet will I not that mine ambassador do meddle him with the affairs of this side, further than I shall commit to him to treat with my parents (*relations*). For Spain, the lord Paget whilst he is there, and sir Francis Englefield my ordinary agent. For

Rome, Dr. Lewis, if he will accept the charge. For the Low Countries, Liggon. For Scotland, the lord Claude Hamilton, and Courcelles, that was with Mauvissière, for conducting only of my packets on this side. If it should happen Morgan to be constrained to leave France (which I shall by all the ways I can seek to stop), my intention is to appoint him at Rome. I cannot but praise you for the testimony you give me of his fidelity, and I may assure you he hath deserved no less at your hands. Upon the return of Ballard to this country, the principal of the catholics who had despatched him over the sea, have imparted unto me their intentions, conform to that which you writ to me thereof, but more particularly asking my direction for executing of the whole, I have made them a very ample despatch [of course, the letter to Babington given above], containing point by point my advice on all things requisite, as well for this side as for without the realm, to bring their designments to good effect, and have sent them word for not losing time, that having taken resolution among themselves upon the said despatch, they make haste to impart the same to the ambassador of Spain, Mendoza, sending over therewith either the said Ballard, or some other the most faithful and secret they can find, and to be by them sufficiently instructed; having promised them that I shall write to the same Mendoza, as I do presently (*now*), to give credit to their said messenger or deputy; so as I trust that if ever the pope and the king of Spain have had intention to provide for this state, that occasion is now offered them very advantageous, finding therein universally the said catholics so disposed and forward, as there is more ado to keep them back than in putting them to the contrary. And for all objections and difficulties that the said Mendoza can alledge, as my getting forth of this hold or otherwise, he shall be thereof sufficiently cleared and satisfied. There resteth then only but to pursue so hotly as can be, both in Rome and Spain, their grant of the support requisite, as well of horsemen and footmen, as of armour, munitions, and money. If his holiness and the king of Spain will in any way yield to this enterprise, which I desire they should declare resolutely and plainly without drawing things to length by artificial negotiation and vain hope as hath been done hitherto (as is still so, in my opinion). I

* In this letter, the words which Mary's defenders pretend to be interpolated by the agents of Elizabeth's ministers are printed in italics; the question they lead to will be discussed further on.

have written to the said catholics that before they have sufficient promise and assurance of the pope and the king of Spain for accomplishing of that which is required of them, nothing be stirred on this side. For otherwise they shall but overthrow themselves without any profit. I do well perceive that before the recovery of Cuba and Domingo, and the arrival of the fleet from the Indies, it shall be difficult to obtain any forces for this realm at the king of Spain's hands; but being things that are to be executed before the end of this summer at the farthest, the enterprise for this country may in the meanwhile be concluded on, and, upon the resolution which thereon shall be taken, to prepare all that shall be necessary, as well within as without this realm. I like well that the succours should come from the Low Countries, as you write; but I hardly believe that the prince of Parma, being so near met withal as he is, may now spare so much as were necessary for the said enterprise for this side. I would have sent you a copy of the said despatch to the said catholics, were not that by their messenger I am sure you may know more thereof than I can recite, he being to carry in those parts the resolution of the whole; and for the same respect have I referred the lord Paget to be thereof informed by you; praying him only by my letter here inclosed to employ himself in Spain all he can for the furtherance of this affair, and to that I have propounded unto them. I thank you heartily for the threescore crowns you gave to the said Ballard, whereof I have commanded my ambassador expressly to make you be reimbursed without any delay; but to have any more in store for the like occasion, it is not anywise at this time in my power—my revenues, during these wars and bad treatment which you know I have at the king of France's hands, not being sufficient almost to bear my ordinary charges, and that money of the king of Spain's whereof you write to be now in Mendoza's hands, being so expressly appointed me to be reserved and employed at my getting forth of this hold, as for the conservation of my credit I dare not convert it to any use; specially that first parcel, not being assured of the rest. I do yet again now give a likely (*similar*) charge for that which is owing to yourself, Morgan, and Charles Arundel, and shall rather stay the pursuing of the rest of those twelve thousand crowns, than you be unsatisfied of

so much as is due unto you. I would be glad to know how you proceeded with the lord Claude in the matter I wrote to you long since, which being effectuated, should well concur with the enterprise here. And so I pray God to preserve you."

The same day Mary wrote to sir Francis Englefield, her most active agent in Spain, a letter expressed in the following terms (it was written in English):—"My last unto you was dated the 20th of May; and I have seen what you have written to my secretary Nau by your letter of the 3rd thereof, which came not here before the 15th of this instant, the way not being then so well settled as, thanked be God, now it is. I thought well ever that your silence did proceed only of the causes which you write, and that in the meanwhile you left not to travail there for my affairs as occasion might offer, whereof I have now the fruits, specially by the grant of the twelve thousand crowns, which I impute directly to your good and diligent pursuit. I pray you to give right affectionate thanks therefor, in my name, to the king of Spain, letting him know how much I think myself obliged unto him, and that for requital thereof I can offer no more than a confirmation of the entire good will that I have to serve in all I may for the weal of his affairs, and thereupon to make the course of mine depend for ever without respect in that behalf of any other prince of Christendom. You may also thank Granvill and secretary Joliaques, assuring them certainly from me that the said sum shall be employed to no other use than to the accomplishing of my escape from hence, and that I have already taken order with my ambassador, the bishop of Glasgow, to send me it in all diligence, by the means I have opened, and whereof . . . for better clearing of the matter shall be made participant. To tell you freely, seeing the length whereunto that suit was drawn, I have written already to the said bishop of Glasgow and father Parsons (who have undertaken to labour therefor with the prince of Parma) to make no more instance for the same, being far against my heart, without extreme need in such to show myself importunate. It hath been no small consolation unto me, as well for the good of this isle as for the particular of the king of Spain (whom I am much bound to affect), to understand that he beginneth to feel and take revenge of this queen practising and attempting against

him. For it is not credible how much the appearance to see Leicester and Drake prevail hitherto, and the insensibility of the king of Spain, have discouraged his friends and made his enemies insolent here. And yet do I fear that the bruit (*rumour*) that runneth of a peace between the king of Spain and the queen of England shall retire many from pursuing the designment of an enterprise anew dressed here, whereof the reasons too long to be deducted unto you, as well for the many particularities as also for that during those wars in Gascony I dread the intercepting of my letters in so long a way; but only tell you that the principal catholics of this realm having about Easter last made a complot (*conspiracy*) together, to arise in Leicester's absence and before his return, which they fear greatly (having not of myself wherewith to give them any substantial answer) did send over in France one from amongst them to Charles Paget, who made their messenger declare the same, in general, their designment to don Bernardino de Mendoza, for to know if the king of Spain his master will hearken thereunto. Whereupon all good hope being brought back again unto them, as they have signified unto me, and finding the same confirmed in a manner by your letters, I have made them a very ample dispatch, by the which, upon a platt (*plan*) that I have dressed for them giving them my advice point by point on everything necessary for the execution thereof, and remitting to themselves to resolve thereupon, I have desired them that, for to lose no time, they should, without sending again unto me, dispatch in all diligence some one among them, choice, faithful, and sufficiently instructed, towards the said don Bernardino, to impart unto him particularly the platt of the said enterprise, as they may amongst themselves have resolved upon, and to inform the same, if the said don Bernardino do like thereof, to require such support as shall be necessary, as well of footmen and horsemen, as armour, munition, and money. Of which things, before that they have sufficient promise and assurance, I have wished them plainly not to stir in anywise on this side, for fear they ruin themselves in vain. Wherefore, not being able as yet to advertise you of the said catholics' resolution, as a thing unknown to myself, I will only pray you for this time to require instantly the king of Spain, in my name, to let me understand plainly and resolutely, upon so much

as he may have known by the said don Bernardino of this enterprise, whether he doth like thereof or no, if he will intervene therein, when and how he meaneth to make his forces march. For I fear much that the impediments which he hath about the Indias shall occupy enough the army which he was to send thither, until this next winter; namely, if the Turk (as is said) hold hand to the said Drake. And from the Low Countries I see not how that the prince of Parma may spare so many forces as should be requisite for our said enterprise. But the principal is to have the king of Spain's plain and assured promise, and no artificial entertainment, as heretofore hath been given. For thereupon his commodity may be better awaited on, and in the mean time all things necessary provided for. I have cleared the greatest difficulty which hath been always objected unto me in the like enterprises, to wit, my escaping from hence, and I hope to execute the same assuredly, with God's grace, as I have designed. If a peace be made in France, the duke of Guise having already great forces in hand, may employ the same for us on the sudden, before that their queen be ever aware thereof. For Scotland, I am in labouring that from thence our enemies here may have no succour. But of my son I can give you no assurance, albeit that of late he hath endeavoured himself to give me satisfaction, having written to me all that he may of his entire affection and obedience towards me. For, notwithstanding all these good words in secret, I find him so variable to and fro at the fear of danger wherein he findeth himself, and the allurements he hath of England, do cast and move; so as I can make no solid reckoning of his part. I doubt not but the league which he hath lately made with this queen doth greatly offend all the catholic princes. But in those parties excuse him therein upon the power and authority that the earl of Angus and his adherents have at this day in that country of Scotland, and that my son's safety being in the said Angus's hands, and exposed to this queen's forces, without any assurance of any foreign support, he durst not contrary them in any sort. I think you are not ignorant of the sincerity of those towards me of whom you wrote that are in Spain, specially the lord Paget, whose virtue and wisdom as heretofore I have experimented in divers occasions of importance, so would I be right glad to be now helped

by his good advice and counsel in our said enterprise. Wherefore I desire that you communicate thereof with him in particular, as I am sure he will willingly with you, having testified to him how much I find myself obliged to you for that which is past, and chiefly for the managing (which it pleased you to accept of as my ordinary agent in those parts) of all my affairs. I pray you, therefore, recommend in my name to the king of Spain, so instantly as you can, the present need of the lord Paget and of the rest there, but namely Thomas Throgmorton, (unto whom and all that pertain unto him I am more beholden for my own particular than now I can tell you), they all having abandonate no small commodities, not without hazard of their lives for God's cause; whom I pray for ever to preserve you."

In her letter to the archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador in France, Mary spoke of the money which had been granted to her by the king of Spain, and gave directions on the means of transmitting it to her. She desired the archbishop to effect this secretly, lest Charles Paget and Charles Arundel might require to be paid out of certain sums due to them. She expressed her great confidence in the success of the new plot; her desire to know the determination of the king of Spain; and above all her anxiety that the enterprise should not be delayed. She directed her ambassador to do all he could to gain over the young king of Scots, her son, and to effect the disgrace of the master of Gray, archibald Douglas, and others, who, she believed, stood in her way in Scotland. Finally, she expressed some suspicions of a man named Phillips, who had been sent to Chartley to assist her keeper; but she boasted of the great increase of her secret correspondence, and of the comparative ease with which she carried it on. Mary speaks more particularly of Phillips in her letter of the same date to Morgan. "I remember," she says, "of one named Phillips, a gentleman who you had dealt withal long ago to have served me about secretary Walsingham. There is one of that name who had been here five or six days with my keeper, about Christmass, and whom at that time I made be sought about, to try if he had been your man or not. But neither on his side or mine could know the same, no more than I have yet done in the space of a fortnight that he hath of late been here, and departed

but this day; albeit both myself and some of mine have given him occasion to have declared himself at hunting and otherwise, if he had been the man you wrote of. This Phillips is of low stature, slender every way, dark-yellow haired on the head, and clear-yellow bearded, eated in the face with small pox, thirty years of age by appearance, and, as is said, secretary Walsingham's man; which I have thought good hereby to utter, to the end against his next return, in case it happen, I may before by you, if it be possible, be informed by these signs whether it be your man or not, and accordingly to use him."

In conclusion, Mary alludes to some rumours which had gone abroad of her death, and speaks exultingly of her state of health, in a way quite at variance with her usual accounts of her bodily sufferings. "I thank you for your advertisements upon the bruit given out of my death, to take heed it be not hastented by indirect or extraordinary means; and so I will, with the grace of God, who, I praise him continually, hath not yet set me so low but that I am able to handle my cross-bow for killing of a deer, and to gallop after the hounds on horseback, as this afternoon I intend to do within the limits of this park, and could elsewhere, if it were permitted."

Mary wrote letters at the same time in French to M. de Châteauneuf, the ambassador of France in England, and to the Spanish ambassador in France, Mendoza. The first was apparently intended in part as a blind upon Châteauneuf, who was not informed of the plot in which she was now engaged. She complained of the rigorous surveillance exercised over her by her keeper, sir Amias Pawlet, and expressed her satisfaction at having been informed that he was soon to be removed; and she requested him to act upon her former request, by urging lord Burghley that a guardian might be appointed, under whom "whatever might happen, either the death of the queen of England, or any insurrection in the country, my life may be safe. But remember, if you please, so to talk of the matter with lord Burghley, that he may not suspect that you have broached the matter by my secret directions." Mary continued in this letter to complain of the league just concluded between England and Scotland, and protested against a supposed secret article of the treaty making her son the next heir to Elizabeth's throne, and therefore depriving

her of the power of making any other disposal of it. She requested the ambassador further to try and discover the real object of the visit of Phillips to Chartley, where she states that he enjoyed great credit and respect, and had been there nearly a month. To Mendoza she was far more explicit. Acknowledging the receipt of a letter which the Spanish ambassador had written to her on the 29th of May, and which had been conveyed to her by her secret agents, she told him of her great satisfaction "at seeing that the king of Spain, my good brother, begins to resent the practices and attempts of this queen of England against him, not only for the good which you make me hope may result from it for this island, but principally for the support of his grandeur and reputation in Christendom, which I especially feel that it is very much my duty to affect. You would not believe how much the report of the exploits of the earl of Leicester and Drake has raised the hearts of the enemies of the said king throughout Christendom, and how much his long forbearance with this queen had deadened the confidence which the catholics here have always had in him. For myself, I will confess to you freely that I was so much discouraged from entering into new pursuits, seeing the little effect of those which were passed, that I have shut my ear to various overtures and proposals of enterprises which have been made me during six months by the said catholics, because I had no means of giving them any solid answer. But now that I have newly heard of the good intentions of the said king in this question, I have written very fully to the chiefs of the said catholics, on the subject of a design which I have sent them, with my opinion on each point, that they may resolve together for the execution of the same, and, to gain time, I have directed them to send to you in all diligence one of themselves sufficiently instructed to treat with you, according to the general offers which have already been made to you, of all things which they will have to require in this affair, with the said king your master, being ready to assure you for them, on the faith and word which they have given me, that they will faithfully and sincerely accomplish, at the risk of their lives, all that they shall promise by their deputy; and therefore I prayed you to give him all credit in his mission, as if I had sent him myself. He will inform you of the means of my escape from hence,

which I will take upon myself to effect, provided I be beforehand assured of forces sufficient to receive me and preserve me in this country, until the entire assembling of the armies." In a postscript to this letter, the Scottish queen acknowledges the receipt of another secret letter from Mendoza, written on the 5th of July, and adds, "This way," *i.e.*, the secret agency for the transmission of her letters, "thank God, begins to be so well and safely established, that henceforth you may, if you please, write to me whenever you have an opportunity. May God restore the king, my good brother, to health, preserve his children, and give him personally all the happiness, satisfaction, and prosperity, that his perfect piety and the care he has of the public weal of Christendom merit; to which effect he will have my daily prayers, if I cannot serve him otherwise. I thank you for the good diligence you have shown in communicating to him the communication I made to you in my letter in May, as much for what concerns myself, (in which I am fully assured that you will proceed according to your promise,) as for these poor English gentlemen, whom I cannot refrain from recommending to you again, and especially the liberation of Morgan, or some pension, if you cannot aid him in any other way."

While thus exulting in the secrecy of her proceedings, and in what she believed to be the certain prospect of her success, Mary little suspected the fatal snare into which she had thrown herself. Phillips, to whom Mary alludes more than once in the letters last quoted, was in reality an agent of Walsingham's; he was a man of extraordinary skill in the then valuable and profitable art of "deciphering;" and he had for his assistant a man named Gregory, who was no less skilful in breaking seals and replacing them in a manner that could not be detected. Several of the lesser agents in the conspiracy had betrayed their trust, and sold themselves to Walsingham, among whom were Gilbert Gifford, the seminary priest already mentioned; Poley, a confidential friend of Morgan and Babington; and Maude, a confidential friend of Ballard. These three men not only informed Walsingham of the particulars of the plot against Elizabeth's throne and life, but, as they were the principal managers of Mary's secret correspondence, every letter was stopped as it passed through their hands, and opened, copied, and deciphered by

Gregory and Phillips. The conspirators had themselves entered into some bold intrigues for the purpose of discovering and counteracting the designs of their enemies. It was apparently with this object that Babington, the arch-conspirator, not suspecting that Walsingham had the slightest knowledge of the dangerous plot in which he was engaged, offered his services to that wily minister as a pretended spy upon the catholics, and they were accepted. The conspirators, as might be expected, held their meetings chiefly in London, and there Babington resided the greater part of the time; until, when his communications with the captive princess became more important, he resolved to proceed to Litchfield, to be nearer her, that no time might be lost in the transmission of the correspondence. It was of course necessary, under these circumstances, that some one should be present to intercept the letters between Mary and Babington on the spot, and copy and decipher them there, because the time which it would require to send them to London would have shown at once that they had not passed directly between Chartley and Litchfield. This was the purpose of Phillips's mission to Chartley, where he took up his residence with the household of sir Amias Pawlet. We know his subsequent proceedings from his correspondence with Walsingham. On his way from London, Phillips met a messenger from Pawlet to Walsingham, and received from him a letter from Mary to the French ambassador, which he carried to Chartley, and there copied it before it was sent on to its destination. He arrived at Chartley about the 9th of July, and, as we have already seen, his presence was immediately noticed by Mary, who made some advances, but in vain, to gain his confidence. This she herself told Paget, in a letter quoted above, and we learn from Phillips that he was himself not unaware of it. On the 14th of July, Phillips sent Walsingham deciphered copies of Mary's first short letter to Babington, and of letters from her to M. de Châteauneuf, the lord Claude Hamilton, and M. de Courcelles. In speaking of the first of these documents, Phillips tells Walsingham, "We attend (*expect*) her very heart in the next [letter to Babington]. She begins to recover health and strength, and did ride about in her coach yesterday. I had a smiling countenance, but I thought of the verse, '*Cum tibi dicit ave, sicut ab hoste*

cave.' I hope by the next to send your honour better matters."

In a few days the document, so much and anxiously watched for, appeared—it was the long letter written by Mary to Babington on the 17th of July. Next day this fatal letter was in the hands of Phillips, who received immediate orders to proceed to London, with it and other letters in his possession; and, after it had been copied and deciphered, it was forwarded to the conspirator for whom it was designed, in the hope that he would write an answer, which would furnish additional evidence. Although not aware that his letters had been intercepted, he seems to have been now apprehensive of danger; and, on the 3rd of August, he wrote a letter to Mary, in which he told her of the proceedings for the arrest of Ballard, and imparted his feelings of alarm to her, but urged her not to be dismayed. This letter, also, was intercepted.

The English minister had now obtained nearly all that he wanted of written evidence, and he proceeded to seize the persons of the conspirators, whose chance of escape was very small, for Walsingham had had time enough to draw his nets closely round them. Maude, one of the traitors who had sold himself to Walsingham, was made to denounce Ballard, and an order was immediately issued for his arrest. For some time Ballard contrived to escape from the officers sent in pursuit of him, but all Babington's efforts to get him out of the country, by means of a false passport, were in vain, and he was taken on the 4th of August, and committed to the compter. His revelations on his examination were made the ground for the arrest of Babington, who, having returned some time before to London, had left the capital on the 2nd of August, in consequence of his apprehensions; but, recovering his courage, he returned thither on the 4th, just in time to hear of Ballard's arrest. Still he hoped that the plot was only partially discovered, and he called upon Walsingham with the double object of disarming the minister's suspicions by his confident bearing, and of ascertaining the extent of his knowledge. It was Babington, however, who was deceived; he was so completely reassured by Walsingham's manner, that he returned to his lodgings, in the belief that all was safe. But his apprehensions soon returned, and fearing that he was watched by the agents of government, he contrived to elude their

vigilance, and fled in disguise to St. John's-wood, where he remained in concealment with some of his fellow-plotters. Walsingham now laid all the details of the plot before the English queen: the council issued a proclamation containing the names of the conspirators who were still at large, and the city was filled with indescribable astonishment and alarm. Babington and his companions remained safe for a short time in the wood, but they were at length driven by hunger into the open country, and they were captured near Harrow, and brought to London.

The English ministers, meanwhile, had struck another blow at the conspiracy. On the 3rd of August, Mr. Waad, a member of the privy council, was sent in haste to Chartley, where he held a secret consultation with sir Amias Pawlet. There seems to have been some delay in fixing the mode of proceeding, but on the morning of the 8th of August, Mary accepted an invitation of her keeper to hunt in the neighbouring park of Tixall, the property of sir Walter Ashton. On their way thither, they were met by a party of horsemen, headed by sir Thomas Gorges, who rode up to the queen, informed her of the discovery of the conspiracy, and that he had orders to convey her immediately to Tixall, instead of allowing her to return to Chartley. Her secretaries, Nau and Curle, who accompanied her, were at the same moment seized and carried away prisoners to London. Mary was thunderstruck, and, unable to restrain her feelings, she burst into violent reproaches, calling upon her servants to defend her against the violence which had been offered to her; but she was soon pacified, and allowed herself to be conducted quietly to Tixall, where she was placed in the closest confinement—forbidden even the use of writing materials, and not allowed to communicate with her own servants. Meanwhile, at Chartley, Mr. Waad entered Mary's apartment, broke open her repositories, and seized all her papers, which were sealed up and sent to London. Pawlet soon afterwards returned, and took possession of her money. Mary remained at Tixall until the 25th of August, when she was carried back to Chartley by sir Amias Pawlet, with a strong escort of the gentry of the neighbourhood. On leaving Tixall, ignorant still that her correspondence had been intercepted, she declared to the gentlemen around her that she knew nothing of any

design against the queen; and when she arrived at Chartley, and found that her papers had been seized and carried away, she again burst into passionate reproaches, threatening that some of her persecutors might still live to repent of what they had done, adding that the English queen might take everything else from her, but that she could not deprive her of her English blood and of the catholic religion.

The first use Mary made of the somewhat more liberty that was allowed her at Chartley than at Tixall, was to write a passionate letter to her cousin, the duke of Guise. "My good consin," she said, "if God, and after him you, do not find means to succour your poor consin, this time it is all over with her. This bearer will tell you how I am treated, as well as my two secretaries. For God's sake, succour them, and save them if you can. They intend to accuse us of a design to trouble the state and to have practised against the life of this queen, or consented to it; but I have told them, as is true, that I know nothing about it. They say they have taken certain letters addressed to one Babington, and one Charles Paget and his brother, which give evidence of this conspiracy, and that Nau and Curle have confessed it. I say that they could not do so, unless they make them by force of torture say more than they know. This is all they have told me of the matter. But I know by my ways of information, that they threaten violently you and your league, and boast of certain princes who will support their religion. I have declared to them that, for my part, I am resolved to die for mine, as she protested that she would do for the protestant religion; and in that, my cousin, whatever you may hear by their false sowers of rumours, assure yourself that, with God's aid, I shall die in the Roman catholic faith and for the maintenance of the same, with constancy and without dishonour to the race of Lorraine, which is accustomed to die for the support of the faith. Offer prayers to God for me, and cause my body to be taken from hence and interred in sacred ground, and have pity on my poor destitute servants, for everything I have here has been taken from me, and I expect to be carried off by poison or some other such secret death. For, although they have reduced me as it were to impotency, even this right hand, since this last affair, is so swollen and painful that I can hardly hold my pen or take my food; yet my heart will not fail

me for that, hoping that he who made me to be born what I am will show me the grace to make me die for his quarrel, which is the only honour that I desire in this world in order thereby to obtain the mercy of God in the other. I desire that my body be interred at Rheims, near my late good mother, and my heart near the king my late lord. This bearer will tell you divers particularities. If at this time one made a show of caring for me and of being resolved to rescue me and avenge this quarrel, which touches the common cause, they would be greatly astonished, for everything wavers here. Adieu, my good cousin; give information of this to my ambassador, and, if my son does not join you this time to avenge his mother, I discard him, and I pray you that all my kindred may do the same. Pray recommend me to Bernardino (Mendoza), and tell him that I shall hold

to all I have promised to his friends, and that they ought not to abandon me. I recommend to you and to him our poor desolate friends, and especially the three he knows. God preserve you for his service, and all ours, and give me his grace in this world and mercy in the other. Your good cousin, Marie R."

The examinations of Mary's secretaries and of the various conspirators were now proceeded with, and, on the 13th of September, Babington and thirteen of his accomplices were placed on their trial, and, after an elaborate examination of the evidence, they were all condemned on the 17th. On the 20th, Babington himself, with Ballard, Savage, Barnwell, Titchbourne, Dunn, and Charnok, underwent the punishment of high treason, which was put into execution with great cruelty. Next day the rest experienced the same fate.

CHAPTER XXI.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF MARY.

Down to the commencement of September, Nau and Curle, who were retained prisoners in the house of sir Francis Walsingham, had made no revelation of any importance. They had been subjected to repeated examinations, and acknowledged the existence of the plot and of a correspondence between their mistress and Babington, but they would confess no more. But this was not enough for Elizabeth and her ministers, who had already resolved that the captive queen should be arraigned of high treason, and the question was under discussion whether she should be committed for surer custody to the Tower of London, to the castle of Fotheringay, or to that of Hertford. They had been disappointed at not finding among Mary's papers seized at Chartley any original minutes of her letters to Babington, and as it was of importance to bring forward some corroborative evidence, they were anxious to extort a confession from the two secretaries, and promises as well as threats were employed to overcome their obstinacy. At length, on the 5th of September, Nau was induced to

make a confession of the manner in which Mary conducted her correspondence, in which he made the following curious distinction between the letters written to Mary's ordinary agents and those addressed to Babington. With respect to the first, he said that she dictated the letters to them sitting at a table in her cabinet, where he took first rough notes of what she had said, and then reduced them into the form of a letter, which was finally delivered to them to be put into cipher and to be thus forwarded to its destination. The translating and the putting in cipher was the work of Curle. With regard to the long letter to Babington, Nau declared that Mary had given him notes of it written in her own hand, and that it was afterwards translated and put into cipher like the others. He subsequently penned a declaration addressed to Elizabeth, in which he acknowledged that his mistress was privy to the conspiracy, but he excused her on the ground that she was drawn into it by others. The two secretaries had now confessed enough to convince

the English ministers that they knew much more, and in the hope that the fate of the convicted conspirators would terrify them to such a degree as to make them more explicit in their revelations, they were remanded until after the trials and executions. On the afternoon of the day when the last batch of conspirators were executed, Nau and Curle were again examined before the lord chancellor Bromley, lord Burghley, and sir Christopher Hatton, and on this occasion the two secretaries agreed in their statement that the letter to Babington had been written after Mary's own minutes and dictation, and they stated its principal clauses, particularising those relating to the employment of the six gentlemen who were to assassinate Elizabeth, to the means of getting her away from Chartley, and to the necessity of having four men ready on horseback to carry immediate intelligence of the success of the assassination to the party who were to rescue Mary from her captivity. Curle added that he was directed by his mistress to burn the copy from which the cipher of this letter was made. It was considered that sufficient evidence had now been obtained to enable the ministers to proceed to the trial of the Scottish queen herself.

The unfortunate captive was now treated with great rigour. Most of her domestic attendants were taken from her, and she was again deprived of her money, which would appear to have been restored to her after her return from Tixall. This money appears to have been that furnished to her by the king of Spain. An account of the manner in which sir Amias Pawlet carried his orders into effect, is given in the following letter, written by that officer to sir Francis Walsingham on the 10th of September:—"Sir," writes sir Amias, "I did forbear, according to your direction signified by your letters of the 4th of this present, to proceed to the execution of the contents of Mr. Waad's letters unto me for the dispersing of this lady's unnecessary servants, and for the seizing of her money; wherein I was bold to write unto you my simple opinion (although in vain, as it now falleth out) by my letters of the 7th of this instant, which I doubt not are with you before this time. But upon the receipt of your letters of the fifth, which came not to my hands until the 8th in the evening, by reason, as did appear by an endorsement, that they had been mistaken and were sent back to Windsor (after that they were already entered into the way

towards me), I considered that, being accompanied only with my own servants, it might be thought that they would be entreated to say as I would command them, and therefore I thought good for my better discharge in these money matters to crave the assistance of Mr. Richard Bagott, who repairing unto me the next morning, we had access to this queen, whom we found in her bed, troubled after the old manner with a defluxion which was fallen down into the side of her neck, and had bereft her of the use of one of her hands. Unto whom I declared that upon occasion of her former practises, doubting lest she would persist therein by corrupting underhand some bad members of this state, I was expressly commanded to take her money into my hands, and to rest answerable for it when it shall be required; advising her to deliver the said money unto me with quietness. After many denials, many exclamations, and many bitter words against you (I say nothing of her railing against myself), with flat affirmation that her majesty might have her body, but her heart she should never have, refusing to deliver the key of her cabinet, I called my servants, and sent for bars to break open the door; whereupon she yielded, and caused the door to be opened. I found there, in the coffers mentioned in Mr. Waad's remembrance, five rolls of canvas, containing five thousand French crowns, and two leather bags, whereof the one had in gold one hundred and four pounds two shillings, and the other had three pounds in silver, which bag of silver was left with her, affirming that she had no more money in this house, and that she was indebted to her servants for their wages. Mr. Waad's note maketh mention of three rolls left in Curle's chamber, wherein no doubt he was misreckoned, which is evident, as well by the testimonies and oaths of divers persons, as also by probable conjectures, so as in truth we found only two rolls, every of which containeth one thousand crowns, which was this queen's gift to Curle's wife at her marriage. There is found in Nau's chamber, in a cabinet, a chain of gold worth by estimation one hundred pounds, and in money in one bag nine hundred pounds, in a second bag two hundred and fifty-nine pounds, and in a silk purse two hundred four score and six pounds eighteen shillings. All the foresaid parcels of money are bestowed in bags, and sealed by Mr. Richard Bagott, saving five hundred pounds of Nau's money, which I reserve in



Engraved by H. T. Ryall

WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY.

OB. 1598.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MARC GERARD, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

my hands for the use of this household, and may be repaid at London, where her majesty shall appoint, out of the money received lately by one of my servants out of the exchequer. I feared lest this people might have dispersed this money in all this time, or have hidden the same in some secret corners, for doubt whereof I had caused all this queen's family, from the highest to the lowest, to be guarded in the several places where I found them, so as, if I had not found the money with quietness, I had been forced to have searched first all their lodgings and then their own persons. I thank God with all my heart, as for a singular blessing, that it falleth out so well, fearing lest a contrary success might have moved some hard conceits in her majesty. Touching the dispersion of this queen's servants, I trust I have done so much as may suffice to satisfy her majesty for the time, wherein I could not take any absolute course until I heard again from you; partly because her majesty by Mr. Waad's letter doth refer to your consideration to return such as shall be discharged to their several dwellings and countries, wherein as it seemeth you have forgotten to deliver your opinion; partly for that I have as yet received no answer from you of your resolution, upon the view of the Scottish family sent unto you, what persons you do appoint to be dismissed; only this I have done, I have bestowed all such as are mentioned in this bill inclosed, in three or four several rooms, as the same may suffice to contain them, and have ordered that they shall not come out of their chambers, and that their meat and drink shall be brought unto them by my servants. It may please you to advertise me by your next letters in what sort, and for what course, I shall make their passports, as also, if they shall say that they are unpaid of their wages, what I shall do therein. [A marginal note adds, "This lady hath good store of money at this present in the French ambassador's hands."] It is said that they have been accustomed to be paid of their wages at Christmas for the whole year. Her majesty's charge will be somewhat diminished by the departure of this people, and my charge by this occasion will be the more easy; but the persons, all saving Bastian, are such silly and simple souls, as there was no great cause to fear their practises, and upon the ground I was of opinion in my former letters that all this dismissed train should have followed their

mistress until the next remove, and there to have been discharged upon the sudden, for doubt that the said remove might be delayed, if she did fear or expect any hard measure. Others shall excuse their foolish pity as they may, but for my part I renounce my part of the joys of heaven, if in anything that I have said, written, or done, I have had any other respect than the furtherance of her majesty's service, and so I shall most earnestly pray you to affirm for me, as likewise for the not seizing of the money by Mr. Manners, the other commissioners, and myself. I trust Mr. Waad hath answered in all humble duty for the whole company, that no one of us did so much as think that, our commission reaching only to the papers, we might be bold to touch the money, so as there was no speech of it at all to my knowledge, and as you know I was no commissioner in this search, but had my hands full at Tixall. Discreet servants are not hasty to deal in great matters without warrant, and especially where the cause is such as the delay of it causeth no danger. Your advertisement of that happy remove hath been greatly comfortable unto me, I will not say in respect of myself, because my private interest hath no measure of comparison with her majesty's safety, and with the quiet of this realm. God grant a happy and speedy issue to these good and godly counsels, and so I commit you to his merciful protection. From Chartley, the 10th of September, 1586. Your most assured poor friend.

A. PAWLET."

This proceeding was only the prelude to others of a more serious character. On the 25th of September, Mary was removed to the castle of Fotheringay; and on the 5th of October, after a long hesitation and delay, Elizabeth appointed a commission for her trial, which was composed of thirty-six peers and members of the privy council. Next day sir Amias Pawlet, sir Walter Mildmay, and a notary named Barker, presented to Mary, in her prison at Fotheringay, a letter from Elizabeth, expressing her grief at the conduct pursued by the Scottish princess, and informing her that, as the evidence of complicity in the late dangerous conspiracy against her life and state were so strong, she had determined to send some of her chief noblemen and councillors to hear her answer to this serious charge. She required her therefore to answer to the objections which would be brought against her by those bearing commission

under the great seal, as one living within the protection of the English laws, and therefore subject to them. Mary appears to have been fully prepared for this letter, and she replied to it at once, expressing her sorrow at the prejudice which existed against her, and that the queen of England had refused all her advances of friendship. She alleged that, as Elizabeth's nearest kinswoman, she had constantly warned her of the dangers which had threatened her, but in vain, and that the recent association for Elizabeth's defence had convinced her that her own life was aimed at. It was easy, she said, to foresee that all the attempts made against Elizabeth, whether they came from abroad or from home, would be laid to her charge, and she knew that she had enemies about the queen who would represent everything to her disadvantage. She complained of the treatment she had so long experienced at Elizabeth's hands, and especially of the recent league between England and Scotland in which she had neither been included nor consulted. To that part of Elizabeth's letter which related more especially to the question of her trial, she replied indignantly that she was born a queen, and that she would not prejudice her rank and state, or degrade the blood from which she was descended, by submitting to it. Her heart, she said, was too great to yield even to the afflictions which now overwhelmed her. She referred to the protestation made on a former occasion, alleging that she was ignorant of the laws and statutes of England, destitute of counsel, not knowing who could be her competent peers, and deprived of her papers, with no one who dared to speak in her behalf. She declared that she had not procured or encouraged any hurt against Elizabeth, and demanded that they should convict her by her own words or writings.

A few days after this interview, the commissioners arrived at Fotheringay, and a deputation from them waited upon the captive queen; but she still declined their jurisdiction, and all their efforts to shake her resolution were fruitless. Much embarrassed by her firmness on this important point, the commissioners had resolved to go on with the evidence, and proceed to judgment whether she pleaded or not; but Elizabeth wrote to Burghley, forbidding them to pronounce sentence until they had laid the whole of the evidence before her. Meanwhile Mary's resolution began gradu-

ally to give way, perhaps as the hope of escaping the fate which hung over her began to revive, until at length, after a private interview with sir Christopher Hatton, in which he represented strongly how her refusal to answer would be interpreted as an acknowledgment of guilt, and would in the end avail her nothing, and a night spent in doubt and hesitation, she consented to appear before the commissioners. It is said that this determination was influenced partly by a letter she had received from Elizabeth, in which, though it was harshly worded, some promise of favour was held out.

The commissioners now lost no time in proceeding to the execution of their office. On Friday, the 14th of October, the hall of Fotheringay was arranged with great solemnity. At the upper end was a chair and canopy of state, surmounted with the arms of England. The peers and other commissioners sat on benches placed for them on each side of the room—on the one side, the lord chancellor Bromley, the lord treasurer Burghley, and the earls of Oxford, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, and Lincoln; on the other side, among other peers, were the lords Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Grey, and Lumley. Near them were the knights of the privy council, Crofts, Hatton, Walsingham, Sadler, Mildmay, and Pawlet. In advance of them sat the two chief justices of England, and the chief baron of the exchequer; and opposite them the other justices and barons, with two doctors of the civil law. At a table in the middle of the hall sat the attorney-general Popham, the solicitor-general Eger-ton, and the queen's serjeant-at-law, Gawdy, with the clerk of the crown, and two writers to take down the proceedings. Such other persons as were permitted to be present stood before the bar.

At nine o'clock in the morning Mary was conducted into the court, attended by a guard of halberdiers, and supported by sir Andrew Melvil and her physician, for she appeared to walk with difficulty, as though lame. Her dress was of black velvet, with a veil of white lawn thrown over her. Her train was borne by one of her maids of honour, while another carried a chair covered with crimson velvet, and a third a footstool. In the middle of the hall she bowed to the lords, and then, turning round and perceiving that they were placing

her chair below the seat of state and not under the canopy, she protested with some warmth against this indignity, declaring that she was a queen in her own right, and had been married to a king of France, and ought to be seated in the place of greatest dignity; but she almost immediately recovered her composure, and, regarding the numerous company assembled around her, she exclaimed — “Alas! here are many counsellors, yet there is not one for me.” She then took her seat with dignity in the place allotted to her. The proceedings were opened by the lord chancellor, who stood up and declared the purport of their assembly, which the queen, he said, had instituted, not from fear or from any resentful feelings, but because, as bearing the sword of justice, she believed that she would be neglecting the cause of God in suffering so great crimes as were now laid to Mary’s charge to be overlooked. Lord Burghley rose next; and, requesting Mary to listen to their commission, ordered it to be read by the clerk. Before it was read, Mary rose from her chair, and addressing the assembly, said—“I esteem none of you here assembled my equals, or judges capable of examining me concerning any of my actions; and, accordingly, all that you do and say at present is only by my own will, taking God to witness that I am innocent, clear, and clean of conscience, of all the impositions and calumnies with which I am accused.” She then went on to say, by way of protest, that she was a free and born queen, the subject of no one but God, to whom alone she was called upon to render an account of her actions, demanding that her appearance before the commissioners should not be to the prejudice either of the kings, princes, and potentates, her allies, or to her son, and required that this protest should be duly registered. The chancellor, in reply, demanded that the protest of the queen of Scots should not prejudice the majesty or crown of the queen of England. The commission was then read, and, when concluded, on the remark of the lord chancellor that it was founded on the statute and law of the realm, Mary rose and protested again, that she held the said statute and law insufficient and suspect, and that she could not submit to them, for she was in no way subject to laws and statutes, which were not made for her. The lord chancellor, in justification, argued that the law was sufficient to proceed against her. She

replied that these laws and statutes were not for persons of her quality. The chancellor then declared that the commission authorised them to proceed against her, whether she replied or not, so that her protests could not be admitted; and he represented to her that she had offended against two branches of the statute and law in question, both with regard to the conspiracy against Elizabeth, and to the occasion thereof, and that she herself had been a practiser in it. She replied that she was totally unacquainted with the whole matter, which was equivalent to pleading in general terms not guilty. Serjeant Gawdy then opened the case against her. He entered into a detailed account of the plot, describing Ballard’s communications with Morgan and Paget in France, his arrival in this country to carry out the plan of invasion which they had decided upon, the arrangement of the conspiracy against Elizabeth’s life between Ballard and Babington, the renewal of the correspondence between Mary and the latter, and the evidence that showed that that princess had entered into the plot, and that she had not only approved of it, but counselled and as far as she could abetted it. Mary replied unhesitatingly, that she had never seen the person called Babington, and that she had never received any letters from him, nor written to him herself. She said that she was equally ignorant of Ballard. With regard to the catholics of England, she said that she knew they were oppressed, and that they had complained to her of their sufferings, and she had vainly solicited Elizabeth in their favour. She had received anonymous letters offering her assistance, which she had always rejected, but how was she, a close captive, to find out who were the writers. It was not in her power to hinder people writing to her; and Babington might possibly have written such a letter as that spoken of, but she had never received it. For the letters alleged to have been written by herself, let them produce the originals, and she would then know what answer to make. Copies of her correspondence with Babington were then put in as evidence and read; as well as some parts of the depositions of Babington, Ballard, Dunn, and Titchbourne. Mary still persisted in her declaration that she had never received Babington’s letter, and that she had not seen the answer; she protested against copies of letters, which might be garbled by the copyists, being taken as evidence, and

demanding that the originals might be produced; and she said in general terms that if Babington or his fellow conspirators said anything which implicated her in their crimes, they had said what was false. In conclusion, she said passionately and in tears, "If ever I have designed or consented to any practises against the life of my sister the queen, I pray God that I may never obtain his mercy. I confess that I have often written to various persons, as a captive and ill-treated princess, requesting their assistance to deliver me from these miserable prisons in which I have been shut up nineteen years and some months, but I have never thought or written such things against the queen. It is true that I have written for the deliverance of many persecuted catholics, and if I could have rescued them from their sufferings with my own blood, I would have done it, and still there is nothing which I would not do to hinder their destruction. In the course of this defence, Mary made a direct personal attack upon Walsingham. "What security," said she, "have I that these are my very ciphers? a young man lately in France has been detected forging my alphabets. Think you, Mr. Secretary, that I am ignorant of your devices used so craftily against me? Your spies surrounded me on every side; but you know not, perhaps, that some of your spies on me proved false, and brought intelligence to me. And if such have been his doings, my lords, how can I be assured that he hath not counterfeited my ciphers to bring me to my death? Has he not already practised against my life and against that of my son?" Walsingham immediately rose and said with warmth, "I call God to witness that I have done nothing as a private person that is unworthy of an honest man, or, as a public servant, anything unbecoming my office; but I plead guilty to having been exceedingly careful of the safety of the queen and this realm. I have curiously searched out every practice against both; and if the traitor Ballard had himself offered me his help in the investigation, I would not have refused it."

In reply to Mary's declaration, lord Burghley again agreed on the perfect agreement in the written confessions of Babington, Nau, and Curle. He showed by the letters how the plot for the invasion of England had been first agitated, how it had been resumed in the May of this year, 1586, how the various letters to Mary's agents abroad went to prove the authenticity of the letters which had

passed between her and Babington, as well as to corroborate the written confessions of the conspirators, and of her own secretaries.

Mary replied to this, that she was ignorant what Babington might have confessed, or whether these confessions were written by himself or not, but she complained that neither he nor her two secretaries had been confronted with her. She said that Curle was an honest man, but that it was strange for a man in his station to be brought forward as a witness against her. Nau, she said, was more politic and clever; he had been secretary to the cardinal Lorraine and had been recommended to her by the French king, but she was by no means sure that he might not have been induced by hope, fear, or reward, to give false evidence against her, and it was known that Curle was so much under his influence that he could make him write what he pleased. It was true that her letters were written and put into cipher by these secretaries, but what security had she that they had not inserted in them things which she had never dictated? They might also have received letters addressed to her which they never delivered, and they might have answered letters in her name, and in her cipher, which she had never seen. "Am I," said she, "a queen, to be convicted on such evidence as this? Is it not apparent that the majesty and safety of princes falls to the ground, if they are to depend upon the writings and testimony of their secretaries? I have delivered nothing to them, but what nature dictated to me under the desire of recovering my liberty; and I claim the privilege of being convicted by nothing but my own word or writing. If they have written anything which may be hurtful to the queen my sister, they have written it altogether without my knowledge, and let them bear the punishment of their offence."

On the second day Mary appeared in court as before, and she began by protesting anew that she was a sovereign prince, and answerable to nobody for her actions, but she changed, in some respect, her mode of defence. She no longer denied all the letters brought forward in evidence, she even acknowledged those sent to Babington, but she declared that all they contained relating to any design against the queen's person had been inserted by others, without her knowledge. She made a long statement of her grievances, complaining of the treatment she had received in a country where she came by her own free will to seek protec-

tion, and trusting on Elizabeth's promise, which she said was signified to her by a ring, which she took from her finger and exhibited to the commissioners. She complained of the manner in which her trial had been conducted, and the feeling which existed against her; professed her innocence of the designs attributed to her, said that she shuddered at the very thoughts of causing the shedding of blood, even in support of the religion to which she was so firmly attached, and concluded by requesting that she might have another day of hearing, when she claimed the privilege of having an advocate to plead her cause, or at least that, "being a queen, she should be believed upon the word of a queen." In reply, Burghley again recapitulated the evidence against her, and thus the trial concluded; but, instead of proceeding to give sentence at once, the court broke up, according to secret directions of Elizabeth, who wished to see a report of its proceedings, and adjourned to meet at Westminster on the 25th of October.

The foregoing is a brief abstract of the proceedings at this memorable trial. There can be no doubt, according to our modern notions of justice, that these proceedings were not impartial or fair, but in judging of them we must consider the manners of that time, and not of this. It may very fairly be doubted if, had Mary been placed in the same circumstances as a state prisoner, not in Scotland only, but in France or in any country in Europe, she would have received more justice, or as much show of justice. We cannot doubt, at all events, that her judges were convinced of her guilt; whether the evidence was sufficient depends chiefly on the degree of credence to be given to her own declaration that the letters were not hers; and we have seen, not only that it was her plan on all previous occasions to deny flatly all her letters which turned against her, but that she certainly on the present trial declared letters not to be hers, when she knew that her declaration was untrue. I believe that no one now doubts the authenticity of all the letters which Mary denied on the first day of her trial. The ground on which modern writers in her defence rely, is the theory that the passages in her letter to Babington which implicate her in the design to assassinate Elizabeth were fabrications of her enemies, inserted in the copies brought forward at the trial for the purpose of ruining her. This, however,

also depends upon Mary's own assertion, and, as an argument, it amounts merely to setting her character against those of Elizabeth and all her ministers. On her side there is no other evidence, and those who, like Tytler, have attempted to support that view of the case by some examples of unscrupulous dealing on the part of the agents of Elizabeth's ministers, forget the distinction which must be made between forging a letter or other document for the purpose of discovering a dangerous conspiracy, and doing the same thing to procure the death of an innocent person. We have already seen circumstances which lead to a strong suspicion that Mary was acquainted with the plot against Elizabeth's life, such, for instance, as the sudden anxiety she expressed to persons who were entirely ignorant of the plot to be placed under a keeper under whom she would not be herself in personal danger, in case of Elizabeth's sudden death, at the very moment when she is supposed to have been made acquainted with the design of assassination. All the letters she wrote on the 27th of July, allude more or less to her last fatal letter to Babington, and even to much of its details, and we can therefore have no doubt of the authenticity of that letter. With regard to what has been advanced concerning the supposed insertions by Walsingham's copyist, we must bear in mind that this letter was written at Chartley, immediately fell into the hands of Phillips, while there, and that it was seen and read by sir Amias Pawlet, who wrote a letter to Walsingham, exulting that Mary's letter to Babington then dispatched to the minister, contained all they wanted. Now, it seems to me evident that the words in which Pawlet expresses his joy at what he calls "a merciful providence," alluded to these very passages relating to the assassination, and Pawlet must have seen Mary's original letter, and have therefore known whether they were genuine or whether they were only insertions by Phillips. Even the warmest of Mary's advocates are unanimous on the strict and stern honesty of sir Amias Pawlet. The non-production of the original letters at the trial is easily accounted for; they were intercepted in the course of transmission, and, after attested copies had been made, the originals were sent on to their destination, or the whole correspondence would have been stopped, had they been kept by the ministers. Mary, knowing

that she had received Babington's letters and destroyed them, and believing from the receipt of his in reply that her letters had experienced the same fate, might easily deny them until she learnt that they had been intercepted and copied, and then she could safely demand to see the originals. But attested copies are held legal evidence, and it is not fair to assume that all Elizabeth's witnesses were necessarily false witnesses.

On the 25th of October, the commissioners met in the star-chamber at Westminster. The evidence and proceedings at Fotheringay were read through, and Nau and Curle were brought forward to be re-examined, and they corroborated their former evidence and the authenticity of the letters, though the former, at a later period, said that he had told the commissioners that Mary was falsely accused. Sentence of death was then pronounced, Mary being declared guilty of being privy to the conspiracy to murder the queen of England; but it was expressly provided that nothing in this sentence should affect the title of her son to the English crown. On the 29th of October the English parliament met, and the sentence against the Scottish queen was confirmed, and both houses petitioned Elizabeth that, as she valued the true religion of Christ, her own life, and the safety of themselves and their posterity, she would cause the sentence to be published, and that it might be carried into execution without delay. One part of the petition of the commons was granted without hesitation; the sentence was proclaimed to the people, and the announcement was received everywhere with the utmost joy, so much had their fears been excited by the late events. On the 12th of November the queen returned an answer to the petition, in which she expressed her gratitude for the miraculous preservation of her life, which she said she only valued for the sake of her people, but in which she gave no intimation of her intentions with regard to the execution of the sentence. Two days afterwards, however, she sent a message to the commons by sir Christopher Hatton, requesting them to consider of some expedient by which Mary's life might be spared. On the 18th, both houses took this message into consideration, and after much debate they came to the unanimous conclusion that they could find no other way of safety for the state and protestant religion but the immediate execution of the sentence. When this resolution

was communicated to Elizabeth, she returned an ambiguous reply.

Meanwhile, on the 13th of November, sir Drew Drury was joined with sir Amias Pawlet as Mary's keeper at Fotheringay; and on the 22nd of the same month, lord Buckhurst and Mr. Beal, the clerk of the privy council, arrived there to communicate with their prisoner. They informed her that sentence of death had been pronounced by the commissioners, and ratified by parliament, and that the latter had petitioned earnestly for its immediate execution. They reproached her with her attachment to the Roman catholic faith, and urged her to receive a protestant minister to attend her in her last hours. She heard them calmly, declared that she was innocent of the crimes for which she was condemned to suffer, declined to receive the protestant divine, but begged earnestly that she might be attended by her almoner, a catholic named de Préau. This latter request was conceded for a short time, but the permission was afterwards withdrawn. Mary was now subjected to indignities which might well have been spared, and which she probably owed to the rigid puritanical feelings of her jailor. On the day after the communication of her sentence had been made to her, sir Amias Pawlet entered her chamber unceremoniously, and informed her that, as she was no longer a queen, but a private woman dead in the law, all insignia of royalty must now be dispensed with. Mary replied indignantly, that whatever Elizabeth or her ministers might think or do, she was still a queen, and that she should resign that dignity to none but God. She added, that she neither acknowledged Elizabeth for her superior, nor her heretical council for her judges. This remark provoked Pawlet to still further rudeness; and putting his hat on his head, and seating himself in her presence, he ordered his attendants not only to take away the dais, or cloth of state, but a billiard-table she had in her chamber, remarking, with regard to the last, that a person in her present situation could no longer require such vain recreations.

The only foreign power which made any effort to save the unfortunate princess was France; and Henry III. appears to have interfered for the sake of appearances. The French ambassador, M. de Châteauneuf, writing to his predecessor, M. d'Esneval, on the 20th of October, expressed his conviction of the little real interest taken in her

fate in France, and declared his opinion that her fate was sealed. Henry felt now, however, that it touched his reputation that a queen and a near relative of his own should be brought to trial like a private individual and hurried to the scaffold, and he sent Monsieur de Bellièvre as his ambassador extraordinary to interfere in her favour, and directed M. de Courcelles in Scotland to urge James to do the same. On the 21st of November, M. de Châteauneuf wrote to the king that he was using his utmost endeavours with Elizabeth to delay the execution of the sentence until M. de Bellièvre's arrival. M. de Bellièvre arrived in London soon after this letter was written, and, after some delay, Elizabeth admitted him to an audience on the 28th. He then delivered a long discourse, arguing primarily on the inviolability of Mary as a sovereign princess, whose actions, whatever they might be, could not be brought under discussion and trial as though she had been a private individual. He appealed to the rights of hospitality which Mary had invoked when she entered the English territory, excused her if in her situation she had latterly been seduced to listen to imprudent counsels, made an appeal to Elizabeth's generosity, urged the impolicy of following an extreme course, and assured her that she would gain the everlasting gratitude of his royal master if she showed indulgence towards her prisoner. Elizabeth replied briefly, but certainly with dignity. She expressed her surprise that so great a king as Henry III., and so wise a man as M. de Bellièvre, should be found to speak for a woman so unworthy of their sympathy as Mary Stuart. She complained of the plots and intrigues of her enemies against her throne and against the religion of her subjects; represented the grief and sorrow which these recent events had given her; declared that she had acted with no other feeling than that of solicitude for the interests of her people; and concluded by saying that she placed her trust in God to guide her through the dangers with which she was threatened. She, nevertheless, expressed her desire to save the life of Mary if it could be done consistently with the safety of her kingdom, and promised him a final answer in four days, when he was to have a second audience. This, however, was deferred, and, after some delay, and an exposulatory letter from the ambassador on the public proclamation of the sentence, Elizabeth appointed the 6th of January for his

final audience. On that day, M. de Bellièvre, accompanied by M. de Châteauneuf, proceeded to Greenwich, where the queen was then holding her court, and were presented to her in the chamber of audience. M. de Bellièvre then delivered another rather long address, in which he told her of the great grief with which the king of France had received her reply to his first remonstrance, which he had ordered his ambassadors to repeat still more earnestly. He told her that by executing the sentence against Mary, she would be committing a grave offence against the princes her allies; he represented the satisfaction which she would give the king of France by following the indulgent and moderate course which he expected from her generosity, and concluded by stating that the king had ordered him to say that if she disappointed him in that hope he should feel obliged to resent it as a personal offence to himself. This threat stirred up Elizabeth's spirit, and when the ambassador had concluded, she said warmly and "almost indignantly,"—"Monsieur de Bellièvre, have you authority from the king, my brother, to address me in such language?" The ambassador replied that he spoke thus by the express orders of the king his master. "Have you this authority signed by his hand?" Elizabeth rejoined. "Yes, madame," said M. de Bellièvre, "the king my master, your good brother, has expressly recommended and charged me, by letters signed with his own hand, to make you these remonstrances." "Then," said the queen, "I desire to have this in writing, signed by your hand." M. de Bellièvre promised to send it the next day; and then the queen, having ordered the chamber to be cleared of all persons but the two French ambassadors and one of her courtiers, held a private conference with them for a full hour; at the end of which, having entirely failed in their negotiations, they took their leave, with the understanding that M. de Bellièvre was to leave for France two days after. At the end of the two days, a messenger from the queen waited upon the ambassador to delay his departure for two days more, and at the expiration of that period she sent him his passports, and he proceeded immediately to Dover, where he found a ship already appointed by Elizabeth to convey him to France. Thus ended the interference of the king of France; and from this time M. de Châteauneuf seems to have done little more than watch the course of events.

In Scotland the king at first heard of the danger of his mother with the utmost indifference. When first informed of the conspiracy by Walsingham, he wrote to Elizabeth to congratulate her upon the discovery. This feeling was rather increased, when he received from Elizabeth's secretary of state copies of the letters which had been intercepted, and became aware of the terms in which Mary spoke of him, and of her plan for seizing his person, and delivering him up to the Spaniards or to the Pope. Accordingly, when M. de Courcelles, by direction of the king of France, asked him to interfere, he merely expressed his opinion that his mother was in no personal danger, adding, that if she would meddle in such conspiracies, she 'must drink the ale she had brewed.' He at the same time expressed an opinion that she had little love for him, and that it would be best for everybody if she would meddle with nothing but her religious duties. But active influences were at work, in the Scottish court, to change the king's conduct with regard to his mother, if not to alter his sentiments; for the catholic nobles and Mary's friends, such as the lord Claude Hamilton, the earls of Huntley and Bothwell, the lord Herries, and others, had recovered their places near their sovereign; and they had been joined by the earl of Angus. Overcome by their persuasions, and by the remonstrances of the French king, James suddenly assumed another tone with regard to his mother; and, suspicious having arisen that Archibald Douglas, who was at this time his ambassador at the court of Elizabeth, was acting a treacherous part in regard to the proceedings against Mary, it was determined to send sir William Keith, to assist Douglas in his negotiations, and serve as a check upon him. Keith was instructed to speak boldly against any severities that might be adopted against Mary, and similar sentiments were expressed in a brief letter from James to Archibald Douglas, written towards the end of October—"Reserve up yourself no longer," writes the king, "in the earnest dealing for my mother, for ye have done it too long; and think not that any of your travails (*labours*) can do good, if her life be taken; for then adieu with my dealing with them that are the special instruments thereof. And, therefore, if ye look for the continuance of my favour towards you, spare no pains nor plainness in this case, but read my letter written to William Keith, and

conform yourself wholly to the contents thereof; and in this request let me reap the fruits of your great credit there, either now or never. Farewell. James R."

When Keith arrived in London, his reception was far from promising success to his mission. Delays were first thrown in the way of his obtaining an audience, and when at last admitted to Elizabeth's presence, she spoke to him in a high tone of Mary's repeated offences and her own forbearance. Keith communicated with his sovereign, and received instructions to speak in still stronger language. This only added to Elizabeth's irritability, and she expressed herself in such a manner as made James tremble for the grand object of his ambition, the succession of the English throne. He therefore changed his tone, and repenting of the strong expostulations which had been made through Keith, he sent the master of Gray and sir Robert Melvil on a new mission to explain away what had been said, and disclaim the intention of doing anything to offend the queen of England. These new ambassadors arrived in London on the 29th of December. Their first reception at court was anything but encouraging, but Elizabeth soon became mollified, and the negotiation assumed a quieter character. Nothing indeed could be a greater proof of the want of interest really taken by James in his mother's fate, than the selection he made of the master of Gray to be one of his ambassadors on this occasion. Gray was known to have betrayed Mary in the negotiation for the league between the two countries, and there can be no doubt that he now betrayed her again, and that he was assisted in this course by Archibald Douglas. While openly he pretended to espouse Mary's cause with zeal, they secretly encouraged the English ministers in the course they had taken, giving them to understand that they would find no real opposition from Scotland. James, however, continued to profess the greatest anxiety to save his mother's life, and on the 26th of January he wrote the following deprecatory letter to Elizabeth:—"Madame and dearest sister, if ye could have known what divers thoughts have agitated my mind since my directing of William Keith unto you for the soliciting of this matter, whereto nature and honour so greatly and unfeignedly bind and oblige me; if, I say, ye knew what divers thoughts I have been in, and what just grief I had, weighing deeply the thing itself, if so it

should proceed, as God forbid, what events might follow thereupon, what number of straits I would be driven unto, and amongst the rest how it might peril my reputation amongst my subjects; if these things, I yet say again, were known unto you, then doubt I not but ye would so far pity my case as it would easily make you at the first to resolve your own best into it. I doubt greatly in what fashion to write in this purpose, for ye have already taken so evil with my plainness, as I fear, if I shall persist in that course, ye shall rather be exasperated to passion in reading the words, than by the plainness thereof be persuaded to consider rightly the simple truth. Yet justly preferring the duty of an honest friend to the sudden praises of one who, how soon they be past, can wiselier weigh the reasons than I can set them down, I have resolved in few words and plain to give you my friendly and best advice, appealing to your ripest judgment to discern thereupon. What thing, madame, can greatlier touch me in honour, both as a king and a son, than that my dearest neighbours, being in straightest friendship with me, shall rigorously put to death a free sovereign prince, and my natural mother, alike in estate and sex to her that so uses her, albeit subject I grant to a harder fortune, and touching her nearly in proximity of blood? What law of God can permit that justice shall strike upon them whom he has appointed supreme dispensators of the same under him; whom he hath called God's, and therefore subjected to the censure of none in earth; whose anointing by God cannot be defiled by man, unrevenged by the author thereof; who, being supreme, and immediate lieutenant of God in heaven, cannot therefore be judged by their equals in earth? What monstrous thing is it that sovereign princes themselves should be the example-givers of their own sacred diadem's profaning? Then, what should move you to this form of proceeding (supposing the worst, which in good faith I look not for at your hands), honour or profit? Honour were it to you, to spare when it is least looked for. Honour were it to you (which is not only my friendly advice but my earnest suit), to take me and all other princes in Europe eternally beholden unto you in granting this my so reasonable request; and not (pardon I pray you my free speaking) to put princes to straights of honour where through your general reputation and the universal (almost) misliking of

you, may dangerously peril both in honour and utility your person and estate. Ye know, madame, well enough, how small difference Cicero concludes to be betwixt *utile* and *honestum* in his discourse thereof, and which of them ought to be framed to the other. And now, madame, to conclude, I pray you so to weigh these few arguments, that as I ever presumed of your nature, so the whole world may praise your subjects for their dutiful care for your preservation, and yourself for your princely pity; the doing whereof only belongs unto you; the performing whereof only appertaining unto you; and the praise thereof only will ever be yours. Respect then, good sister, this my first, so long continued, and so earnest request; dispatching my ambassadors with such a comfortable answer as may become your person to give, and as my loving and honest heart unto you merits to receive. But in case any do vaunt themselves to know further of my mind in this matter than my ambassadors do, who indeed are fully acquainted therewith, I pray you not to take me to be aameleon, but by the contrary, them to be malicious impostors, as surely they are. And thus praying you heartily to excuse my too rude and long-some letter, I commit you, madame and dearest sister, to the blessed protection of the most high, who may give you grace so to resolve in this matter as may be honourable for you, and most acceptable to him. From my palace of Holyrood-house, the 26th day of January, 1586-(7). Your most loving and affectionate brother and cousin, James R."

Meanwhile Mary remained in her now truly hard prison. The commissioners who announced to her the sentence gave her no hope that it would not be immediately carried into execution, and the behaviour of her keepers led her to anticipate the worst. Cut off entirely from communication with her friends, she occupied herself in writing letters, to be ready the first opportunity of conveyance that might present itself. She was impressed suddenly with the idea that it was Elizabeth's intention to cause her to be put to death secretly, and she addressed to her the following letter:—"Madame, I return thanks to God with all my heart that it has pleased him to put an end, by your judgment, to the wearisome pilgrimage of my life. I do not ask to have it prolonged, having had but too much time to experience its bitterness. I only implore your majesty

that, since I must not expect any favour from certain zealous ministers who hold the first rank in the state of England, I may owe to you alone, and not to others, the following favours. First, I request of you that, since I cannot hope to be buried in England according to the solemnities of the catholic religion, as practised by the ancient kings, your ancestors and mine, and that in Scotland they have outraged and violated the ashes of my forefathers, when my adversaries shall be satiated with my innocent blood, my body may be carried by my domestics to some holy ground in which it may be interred; and by preference in France, where the bones of the queen my much honoured mother repose, in order that this poor body, which has never had repose while it was united with my soul, may at length meet with it after they are separated. Secondly, I pray your majesty, for the apprehension I have of the tyranny of those to whose power you have abandoned me, that I may not be executed in any hidden place, but in the view of my domestics and other persons who can bear witness of my faith and my obedience to the true church, and defend the close of my life and my last breath against the false reports which my adversaries may spread abroad. In the third place, I require that my domestics, who have served me in the midst of so many griefs, and with so much faithfulness, may be allowed to depart freely whither they will, and enjoy the small gifts which my poverty has left them in my will. I conjure you, madame, by the blood of Jesus Christ, by our relationship, by the memory of Henry VII., our common forefather, and by the title of queen, which I still bear till my death, not to deny me these reasonable demands; but to assure me of them by a word under your hand; and thereupon I shall die as I have lived, your affectionate sister and prisoner, Mary, queen."

No sooner had Mary's sentence been announced to her than, on the same day, she commenced a long letter to the pope, which was only completed and dated four days after. In this letter, she assured the pope of her constant devotion to the church of Rome, and of her regret that her long captivity had hindered her from rendering those services to the church which she would otherwise have done. She told him how she had been on this account condemned to death by the "heretical" parliament of

England, who had offered her one of their bishops and a dean in her last moments, having deprived her of her own priest. Nevertheless, she promised to confess in her last moments, and she asks for his holiness's absolution. "I have willingly," she goes on to say, "offered my life in their heretical assembly to maintain the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, and to bring back the erring people of this island to the truth, protesting that I was ready to lay down willingly my title and dignity of queen, and to do all honour and service to their queen, if she would cease to persecute the catholics, as I protest that that is the mark at which I have always aimed since I have been in this country, nor have I any ambition or desire to reign or to dispossess another for my own advantage, being so reduced by sickness and long afflictions, that I have no further desire to trouble myself in this world, but with the service of God's church, and the gaining of the souls of this island to it; in testimony of which, now at my end, I will not fail to prefer the public advantage to the particular interest of flesh and blood; wherefore I pray you, with mortal regret for the perdition of my poor child, after having tried by all means to regain him, being to him a true father, as St. John the evangelist was to the youth whom he withdrew from the company of robbers, to take at length all the authority over him that I can give you to constrain him; and, if it please you, to call the catholic king to your assistance, as far as regards temporal matters, and especially between you to try and form an alliance of marriage for him; and, if God for my sins permit him to remain obstinate, knowing no christian prince of this age who labours so much for the faith, or who has so many means of assisting in the reduction of this island, as the catholic king, to whom I am much indebted and obliged, he being the only one who has aided me with his money and counsel in my necessities, under your good pleasure—I bequeath to him all the right or interest which I can have in the government of this kingdom, my son remaining obstinately without the church. But if he can be brought back to it, I desire that he may have the aid, support, and counsel of the said king and of my relations of Guise, enjoining him by my last will to hold them, after you, for fathers, and to marry by their advice and consent, or into one of their houses; and, if it so please God, I wish him to be thought

worthy to become the son of the catholic king."

On the 23rd of November, the day on which this letter to the pope was finished and dated, Mary also wrote to don Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in France. She thanked him, and through him, the king of Spain, for the kindness she had received from them, declared her satisfaction to be called upon to die by the hand of heretics in the cause of the church, and recounted to him the indignities she had experienced. She said that they had told her she was going to die, not for the catholic faith, but for having conspired to assassinate their qucen, which she had denied as false. She complained of the desertion of her secretaries. "Nau," she writes, "has confessed all, and Curle, led by his example, has confessed much, so that it all falls upon me." She said that she was glad that she had now made over to the king of Spain her rights to the crown of England, and she left the island with confidence to his management. She sent to Mendoza, by the bearer of this letter, the ring which had been given to her by the duke of Norfolk, as a pledge of his faithfulness. She wrote next day to the duke of Guise and to the archbishop of Glasgow, in the same spirit. On the 25th she was permitted to see her almoner, de Préau, and it was to him that she secretly entrusted these letters, which were not delivered till nearly a year after their dates.

Having received no answer to her first letter, and taking occasion of this indulgence regarding her almoner, on the 19th of December Mary wrote another and a longer letter to Elizabeth, the object of which was chiefly to solicit permission for her servants to carry her body out of England. "Madame," she said to Elizabeth, in this her last letter addressed to that princess, "not having obtained leave from those to whom I have been as it were given by you, to communicate to you what I have at heart to say, not only for the discharge of myself from all ill-will, or desire to commit cruelty or act of hostility against those to whom I am united by blood, but also to be able to communicate in charity to you what I thought would be serviceable to you both for your welfare and preservation, and for entertaining the peace and repose of this island, which could have done no harm, it being in your power to take or reject my advice or to believe or disbelieve what I had

to say, as you thought best, I determined then to strengthen myself in Jesus Christ alone, who, to those who in tribulation invoke him from their heart, is never wanting in justice and consolation, and principally when they are without any human aid in his holy protection. His be the glory thereof! He has not deceived me in my expectation, having given me courage and strength, *in spe contra spem*, to endure the unjust calumnies, accusations, and contumations of those who have no such jurisdiction over me, with a constant resolution to suffer death for the maintenance, obedience, and authority of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church. Now, since the sentence of your last assembly of some of the states having been signified to me on your part, admonishing me by lord Buckhurst and Beal to prepare myself for the end of my long and wearisome pilgrimage, I begged them to thank you on my part for so agreeable an announcement, and to implore you to grant me certain points for the discharge of my conscience, in which Pawlet has since informed me that you have indulged me, having already restored me my almoner, and the money which had been taken from me, assuring me that the rest should follow; for which I was desirous to return you thanks, and to implore you further for a last favour, which I thought for various reasons I should communicate only to you, as a last favour, for which I desire to be under obligation to nobody else, as I expect to find nothing but cruelty among the puritans, who are at present the greatest in authority and the most exasperated against me. God knows why! I will accuse no one, but forgive every one with all my heart, as I desire to be forgiven, and especially by God. And besides I know that your heart, more than any other, must be concerned with the honour or dishonour of your blood, and that of a queen and the daughter of a king. Therefore, madame, in honour of Jesus (under whose name all powers obey), I request you to permit that, after my enemies have glutted their black desire of my innocent blood, you will permit that my poor broken-hearted servants may all together carry away my body to be buried in holy ground and with some of my predecessors who are in France, especially the late queen my mother; and this, because in Scotland the bodies of the kings my predecessors have been outraged and the churches cast down and profaned, and because, suffering in this country, I cannot

have a place beside your predecessors, who are mine; and, which is more, according to our religion, we consider it of great importance to be interred in holy ground, and, since I have been told that you intend in nothing to force my conscience or my religion, and that even you have allowed me a priest, I hope that you will not refuse me this last request that I make you, permitting at least a free sepulture to the body when the soul shall be separated from it, since while united they could never obtain the liberty to live in quiet, even to procure it for yourself—of which before God I do not give you the blame; but may it be God's will to show you the truth of all after my death. And because also I fear the secret tyranny of some of those to the power of whom you have abandoned me, I pray you will not permit execution to be done on me without your knowledge, not out of fear of torture, which I am ready to undergo, but for the reports which would be spread abroad of my death without honest witnesses, as has been the case I am persuaded with others of different qualities. And, therefore, on the other hand, I request that my servants may remain to be spectators and witnesses of my end in the faith of my Saviour and in the obedience of his church; and that afterwards, all together, carrying away my body with them, as secretly as you please, they may be allowed to withdraw immediately, without being deprived of the moveables or other things which I may leave them at my death, which is very little for their good services. A jewel which I received from you, I would, if it please you, return to you with my last words, or sooner, if you please. I implore you again to permit me to send a jewel and a last adieu to my son with my last benediction, of which he was deprived in consequence of what you informed me of his refusal to enter into a treaty in which I might be included; by the wretched advice of whom? This last point, I leave to your favourable discretion and conscience; with regard to the others, I request of you in the name of Jesus Christ, and in respect of our consanguinity, and in favour of king Henry VII., your grandfather and mine, and in honour of the dignity which we have held, and of the sex common between us, that my demand be granted. For the rest, I think that you will have been informed that, in your name, they have taken down my dais, and they told me afterwards that it was not by your command, but by the advice of

some of the council. I thank God that this cruelty, serving only to indulge malice and to afflict me after I am resigned to death, came not from you. I fear that it is so with many other things. Why did they not permit me to write to you until they had, as far as it was in their power, degraded me in form from principality and nobility, telling me that I was but a simple woman, dead, and incapable of all dignity? God be praised for all! I would that all my papers were laid before you without concealment, that it may appear that it is not the sole care of your safety which moves those who are so ready to persecute me. If you grant me this my last request, give commands that I may see what you write; for otherwise they will do with me as they will; and I desire to know to my last request your last reply. And in conclusion I pray the God of mercy and the just judge that he will enlighten you with his holy spirit, and that he will give me grace to die in perfect charity, as I am disposing myself to do, pardoning my death to all those who are the cause of it or have co-operated with them; and such will be my prayer to my end, which I think fortunate that it precedes the persecution which I foresee threatens this island, if God is not therein feared and worshipped more truly, and if vanity and worldly policy are not better regulated and conducted. Accuse me not of presumption if, abandoning this world and preparing myself for a better, I remind you that one day you will have to answer for your charge as well as those who are sent thither first, and that I desire you, my blood and my country being brought back, to think in time of that to which, from the first days of our capacity of understanding, we ought to give our mind, before all things temporal, which must give way to those that are eternal. From Fotheringay, the 19th December, 1586. Your sister and cousin, a prisoner wrongfully, Mary, queen."

The fate of the captive queen was now generally looked upon as sealed, yet Elizabeth, hesitating between fear of the odium which might follow her death, and apprehension for her own personal safety, if she lived, delayed putting the sentence in execution, to the great dissatisfaction of her ministers and of her protestant subjects. At length, overcome by the importunity of both, she sent for her secretary, Davison, on the 1st of February, 1587, and having ordered him to bring the warrant for Mary's execution, which had been long drawn up

but not signed, she put her signature to it, and returned it to Davison, to be delivered to the lord chancellor, for the purpose of being sealed. She, however, gave no orders for its immediate execution; and, among other rumours which subsequently received credit, it was said that her intention was that it should be ready for execution on the first report of the landing of an enemy. Be this as it may, Elizabeth was certainly anxious now for Mary's death, but she wished to throw the odium upon the shoulders of others; and, in her conversation with Davison, on the occasion of signing the warrant, she expressed herself so strongly on the apathy of her servants, who might have relieved her from her embarrassment, that the secretary interpreted it as a wish that Mary should be secretly put to death, without her formal consent or even her connivance. Davison immediately repeated this conversation to Walsingham, and the same evening they wrote a joint letter to sir Amias Pawlet on the subject. This letter, and the reply, were printed by Thomas Hearne, from copies in what appears to have been Pawlet's own copy-book of his letters, but which does not now appear to exist. The letter to Pawlet was as follows:—"After our hearty commendations, we find by speech lately uttered by her Majesty, that she doth note in you both a lack of that care and zeal for her service that she looketh for at your hands; in that you have not, in all this time, of yourselves (without other provocation), found out some way to shorten the life of that queen; considering the great peril she is subject unto hourly, so long as the said queen shall live. Wherein, besides a lack of love towards her, she noteth greatly, that you have not that care of your own particular safeties, or rather of the preservation of religion, and the public good and prosperity of your country, that reason and policy commandeth; especially, having so good a warrant and ground for the satisfaction of your consciences towards God, and the discharge of your credit and reputation towards the world, as the oath of association which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed; and especially the matter wherewith she standeth charged being so clearly and manifestly proved against her; and therefore she taketh it more unkindly that men professing that love towards her that you do should in any kind of sort, for the lack of the discharge of your duties, cast the burden upon her; knowing as you do her indisposi-

tion to shed blood, especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood, as the said queen is. These respects we find do greatly trouble her Majesty, who, we assure you, has sundry times protested that if the regard of the danger of her good subjects and faithful servants did not more move her than her own peril, she would never be drawn to assent to the shedding her blood. We thought it very meet to acquaint you with these speeches, lately passed from her Majesty, referring the same to your good judgments. And so we commit you to the protection of the Almighty. Your most assured friends, Francis Walsingham, William Davison."

This letter was dispatched in all haste to Fotheringay, and it reached Pawlet at five o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, (February 2). Having consulted with Drury, who was now joined with him in the task of guarding Mary, sir Amias at six o'clock returned the following answer to Walsingham:—"Sir, your letters of yesterday coming to my hands this present day at five in the afternoon, I would not fail, according to your directions, to return my answer with all possible speed, which I shall deliver unto you with great grief and bitterness of mind, in that I am so unhappy to have lived to see this unhappy day, in the which I am required, by direction from my most gracious sovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. My good livings and life are at her majesty's disposition, and I am ready to so lose them this next morrow if it shall so please her, acknowledging that I hold them as of her mere and most gracious favour, and do not desire to enjoy them, but with her highness's good liking; but God forbid that I should make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience, or leave so great a blot to my poor posterity, to shed blood without law and warrant. Trusting that her majesty of her accustomed clemency will take this my dutiful answer in good part (and the rather by your good mediation), as proceeding from one who will never be inferior to any Christian subject living in duty, love, and obedience towards his sovereign. And thus I commit you to the mercy of the Almighty. From Fotheringay, the 2nd of February, 1586 [7]. Your most poor friends, A. Pawlet, D. Drury. Your letters coming in the plural number seem to be meant to sir Drew Drury as to myself; and yet, because he is not named in them, neither the

letter directed unto him, he forbearth to make any particular answer, but subscribeth in heart to my opinion."

It is said Elizabeth expressed herself much displeased at Pawlet's squeamishness, but the last scene of the tragedy was now very near its end. The warrant for the execution had received the seal, and been delivered to the council, who, on the 3rd of February, drew up a letter to the earl of Shrewsbury, directing him, with the earl of Kent and sir Amias Pawlet, to act immediately upon the warrant, and put in execution the sentence against the captive princess. This letter was signed by the lord treasurer Burghley, the earls of Leicester and Derby, the lords Hunsdon, C. Howard, and Cobham, sir Francis Knollys, sir Francis Walsingham, sir Christopher Hatton, and William Davison. Beal, the clerk of the council, was dispatched with this letter and the warrant to Fotheringay, and that night he remained with the earl of Kent, on whom he was to call on his way. On Sunday morning, Beal proceeded to Fotheringay, and communicated the warrant to sir Amias Pawlet and sir Drew Drury. On Monday, Beale and Drury went to Orton-Longville, near Peterborough, Shrewsbury's seat, and presented the letter to the earl, who, being grand marshal of England, was required to be at the execution. He came to Fotheringay on Tuesday morning (the 7th of February), and was met there by the earl of Kent, to whom the warrant was directed, and by other persons appointed to act their parts in the coming scene. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, the two earls, with Pawlet, Drury, and Beal, proceeded to Mary's apartments, and asked for admission. They were informed that she was indisposed, and in bed, but on stating that their communication was one which would not admit of delay, she rose, and they were admitted. She received them seated at the bottom of her bed, with a little work-table before her, her physician Burgoin and her women standing near her. The earl of Shrewsbury informed her briefly of the object of their visit, and Beal then read the warrant. Mary listened calmly, and at its conclusion she signed herself with the cross, and declared that it was welcome news to her, and that she left the scene of all her sorrows without regret. She then spoke of herself as suffering for the church of Rome, complained of the injustice which had been done her, of her long imprison-

ment, and of Elizabeth's unkindness, and again declared that she was ignorant of any conspiracy against the life of that queen. In conclusion, she begged that she might be allowed the society of her almoner and confessor, in order to benefit by his spiritual consolations. This request was refused, and the earl of Kent, who was a rigid puritan, attempted, in a long theological discourse, to convert Mary to protestantism, offering her the services of the dean of Peterborough in the place of her catholic priest. Mary expressed her astonishment at their harsh behaviour in refusing her the benefit of a priest of her own faith, and refused to receive the protestant dean; whereupon, after informing her that her execution was to take place at eight o'clock next morning, they left her.

A narrative of Mary's behaviour in her privacy, between the departure of the commissioners and the following morning, was published in French, but must be taken perhaps with some allowance, as it was put forth by the catholics to justify her character as a martyr in the cause of Rome. As soon as the commissioners had left her, she spoke cheerfully with her servants, and bade them hasten supper that she might have more time after to arrange her affairs. Her men-servants then left the room, and she passed some time in prayer with her women, after which she took her money from her cabinet, and, counting it, she divided it into separate sums as gifts to her servants. At supper she conversed freely with her physician, to whom she remarked once or twice that it was for her religion she was going to die. After supper, she called for wine, and drank to all her servants, asking them to do the same to her, which they did on their knees. She then exhorted them to remain firm in their religion, and to live in peace and love with each other; and in the course of her conversation she spoke bitterly of Nau, accusing him of being the cause of her death, but adding that she forgave him. She next opened her wardrobe, and distributed her dresses among her servants. She then wrote a letter to her almoner, de Préau, telling him of the attempt which had been made to convert her, and to prevail upon her "to receive consolation of heretics," as also of the refusal to let her have a priest of her own religion. She told him she made a general confession of her sins, and requested that he would send her his absolution and pardon, and pray for her during the

night, and promised to try to obtain an interview with him next morning, or at all events to send him a "last little token." She then wrote some testamentary directions, and sealed them up with a letter to the king of France. After this, it being two o'clock in the morning, she washed her feet, and laid herself on the bed, her servants sitting round, and one of them, Jane Kennedy, reading to her from the lives of the saints. In a little while she bethought her that she should want a handkerchief to bind round her eyes on the scaffold, and having looked at several, she chose the finest, which was embroidered with gold. At six o'clock she observed that she had only two hours to live, and she rose, and after completing her toilet went into the oratory with her servants to pray. At the suggestion of her physician, she now took a little bread and wine, and this was hardly done, when a knock was heard at the door, and she was told that the lords waited for her. She begged to be allowed the time to finish her devotions; but soon after another knock was heard, and the door being opened, the sheriff with his staff entered, and informed her that all was ready. She then walked forth, conducted by the sheriff and two of sir Amias Pawlet's gentlemen. At the door of her apartments, her servants, who were following her, were told that they would not be admitted to the place of execution, and they were compelled to remain behind. She then, conducted by the persons just mentioned, proceeded down the staircase, at the foot of which she was received by the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent. Sir Andrew Melvil was here waiting to see her; and as she approached, he fell on his knees, and said, "Madame, it will be the sorrowfullest message that ever I carried, when I shall report in Scotland that my queen and dear mistress is dead." Mary, with tears in her eyes, replied, "You ought to rejoice rather than weep, for the end of Mary Stuart's troubles is now come. Thou knowest, Melvil, that all this world is but vanity, and full of troubles and sorrows; carry this message from me, and tell my friends that I die a true woman to my religion, and like a true Scottish woman and a true Frenchwoman. But God forgive them that have long desired my end; and he that is the true judge of all secret thoughts knoweth my mind, how that it have ever been my desire to have Scotland and England united together. Commend me to my son, and tell him that

I have not done anything that may prejudice his kingdom of Scotland. And so, good Melvil, farewell."

She then kissed him, and bid him pray for her; and then, turning to the lords, she said she had certain requests to make. The first was, that a sum of money which sir Amias Pawlet knew of should be paid to Curle; secondly, that all her poor servants might be allowed to enjoy quietly what she had given them by her last will; and lastly, that they might be well treated, and allowed to pass into their own countries unmolested. Sir Amias Pawlet immediately gave her his assurance on these points; "I do well remember," he said, "the money your grace speaketh of, and your grace need not to make any doubt of the not performance of your requests, for I do surely think they shall be granted." Then she said, "I have one other request to make unto you, my lords, which is, that you will suffer my poor servants to be present about me at my death, that they may report when they come into their countries how I died a true woman to my religion." The earl of Kent, as chief commissioner for the execution, answered, "This, madame, cannot well be granted, for it is feared lest some of them would with speeches both trouble and grieve your grace, and disquiet the company, of which we have had already some experience, or seek to dip their napkins in your blood, which were not convenient." "My lord," said Mary, "I will give my word and promise for them that they shall not do any such thing as your lordship has named. Alas! poor souls! it would do them good to bid me farewell. And I hope your mistress, being a maiden queen, in regard of womanhood, will suffer me to have some of my own people about me at my death; and I know she hath not given you so straight a commission but that you may grant me more than this, if I were a far meaner woman than I am." And then recurring suddenly to a rather favourite theme, she added, in a tone of grief, "You know that I am cousin to your queen, and descended from the blood of Henry VII., a married queen of France, and the anointed queen of Scotland." Upon this the commissioners consulted a moment, and it was agreed that she should have four of her men, and two of her women. She thereupon named her almoner, with her physician, surgeon, and apothecary, and the two women who usually slept in her chamber, Mrs. Curle and Jane

Kennedy. This matter being thus arranged, she proceeded into the hall.

Mary had that morning paid more than usual attention to her toilette. She wore a rich dress of black satin, with a long veil of white crape, and a high Italian ruff. An "agnus dei" was suspended from her neck by purse and a chain, and her beads of gold with a gold crucifix attached to them hung at her girdle. These latter articles gave great offence to the strict puritanism of the earl of Kent.

As she entered the hall, supported by sir Amias Pawlet's two gentlemen, and her train carried by sir Andrew Melvil, the first object which presented itself to her sight was the scaffold, a temporary erection, two feet high and twelve feet broad, railed round, and hanged and covered with black. Upon it were a low stool, a long cushion, and a block, covered also with black. The hall itself was hung round with the same mournful colour. Mary, with a cheerful countenance, stepped upon the scaffold, and, the stool being brought to her, she seated herself. The earls of Shrewsbury and Kent seated themselves on her right hand, and the sheriff stood on her left, with the two executioners before her. The rest of the company stood round the rails. Silence was then made, and Mr. Beale read the commission for the execution, at the end of which the people assembled round said—"God save the queen!" "During the reading of which commission," the original report of these proceedings tells us, "the queen of Scots was silent, listening unto it with as small regard as if it had not concerned her at all; and with as cheerful a countenance as if it had been a pardon from her majesty for her life; using as much strangeness in word and deed as if she had never known any of the assembly, or had been ignorant of the English language."

The dean of Peterborough, Dr. Fletcher, now presented himself before her, and signified his intention to address her; but when she was aware of his design, she interrupted him, saying—"Mr. dean, I am settled in the ancient catholic Roman religion, and mind to spend my blood in defence of it." The dean thereupon said to her—"Madame, change your opinion, and repent you of your former wickedness, and settle your faith only in Jesus Christ, by him to be saved." She again interrupted him, repeating once or twice—"Mr. dean, trouble not yourself any more, for I am

settled and resolved in this my religion, and am purposed therein to die." Then the two earls said, that since she would not hear the exhortation begun by the dean, they would pray for her, "that it stand with God's will you may have your heart lightened, even at the last hour, with the true knowledge of God, and so die therein." Mary answered, in reply to this appeal—"If you will pray for me, my lords, I will thank you; but to join in prayer with you I will not, for that you and I are not of one religion." The dean then, kneeling on the steps of the scaffold, prayed, and the rest of the assembly, except the queen and her servants, joined in his prayer. "During the saying of which prayer," we are told in the report, "the queen of Scots, sitting upon a stool, having about her neck an "agnus dei," in her hand a crucifix, at her girdle a pair of beads with a golden cross at the end of them, a Latin book in her hand, began with tears and with loud and fast voice to pray in Latin; and in the midst of her prayers she slid off from her stool, and kneeling, said divers Latin prayers; and after the end of Mr. dean's prayer, she kneeling prayed in English to this effect: for Christ his afflicted church, and for an end of their troubles; for her son; and for the queen's majesty, that she might prosper and serve God aright. She confessed that she hoped to be saved by and in the blood of Christ, at the foot of whose crucifix she would shed her blood. Then said the earl of Kent—"Madame, settle Christ Jesus in your heart, and leave those trumperies." Then she, little regarding, or nothing at all, his honour's good counsel, went forward with her prayers, desiring that God would avert his wrath from this island, and that he would give her forgiveness for her sins. These with other prayers she made in English, saying she forgave her enemies with all her heart that had long sought her blood, and desired God to convert them to the truth; and in the end of the prayer she desired all saints to make intercession for her to Jesus Christ; and so, kissing the crucifix, and crossing of her also, said these words:—"Even as thy arms, O Jesus, were spread here upon the cross, so receive me into thy arms of mercy, and forgive me all my sins."

"Her prayer being ended," continues the report, which we cannot do better than follow through the rest of this affecting scene, "the executioners kneeling, desired her grace to forgive them her death; who

answered, 'I forgive you with all my heart, for now I hope you shall make an end of all my troubles.' Then they, with her two women helping of her up, began to disrobe her of her apparel; then she, laying her crucifix upon the stool, one of the executioners took from her neck the "agnus dei;" which she, laying hands of it, gave it to one of her women, and told the executioner that he should be answered money for it. Then she suffered them with her two women to disrobe her of her chain of pomander beads and all other her apparel most willingly, and with joy rather than sorrow helped to make unready herself, putting on a pair of sleeves with her own hands which they had pulled off, and that with some haste, as if she had longed to be gone. All this time they were pulling off her apparel she never changed her countenance, but with smiling cheer she uttered these words, that she never had such grooms to make her unready, and that she never put off her clothes before such a compauy. Then she, being stripped of all her apparel saving her petticoat and kirtle, her two women beholding her made great lamentation, and crying and crossing themselves prayed in Latin. She, turning herself to them, embracing them, said these words in French, '*Ne criez pas; j'ai promis pour vous,*' [Don't cry; I have promised that you should not,] and so crossing and kissing them, bade them pray for her, and rejoice and not weep, for that now they should see an end of all their mistress's troubles. Then she, with a smiling countenance, turning to her men-servants,—as Melvil and the rest, standing upon a bench nigh the scaffold, who, sometime weeping, sometime crying out aloud, and continually crossing themselves, prayed in Latin,—crossing them with her hand bade them farewell, and wishing them to pray for her even to the last hour. This done, one of the women having a "corpus christi" cloth lapped up three-corner-ways, kissing it, put it over the queen of Scots' face, and pinned it fast to the caul of her head. Then the two women departed from her, and she kneeling down upon the cushion most resolutely, and without any token of fear of death, she spake aloud this Psalm in Latin, *In te, Domine, confido, non confundar in æternum, etc.* Then, groping for the block, she laid down her head, putting her chin over the block with both her hands, which, holding there still, had been cut off had they not been espied. Then lying upon the block most

quietly, and stretching out her arms, cried, '*In manus tuas, Domine,*' etc., three or four times. Then she, lying very still on the block, one of the executioners holding of her slightly with one of his hands, she endured two strokes of the other executioner with an axe, she making very small noise or none at all, and not stirring any part of her from the place where she lay; and so the executioner cut off her head, saving one little gristle, which being cut asunder, he lift up her head to the view of all the assembly, and bade 'God save the queen.' Then, her dressing of lawn falling off from her head, it appeared as grey as one of threescore and ten years' old, polled very short, her face in a moment being so much altered from the form she had when she was alive, as few could remember her by her dead face. Her lips stirred up and down a quarter of an hour after her head was cut off. Then Mr. dean said with a loud voice, 'So perish all the queen's enemies!' And afterwards the earl of Kent came to the dead body, and standing over it, with a loud voice said, 'Such end of all the queen's and the gospel's enemies!' Then one of the executioners pulling off her garters, espied her little dog which was crept under her clothes, which could not be gotten forth but by force, yet afterward would not depart from the dead corpse, but came and lay between her head and her shoulders, which being imbrued with her blood, was carried away and washed, as all things else that had any blood were either burnt or clean washed; and the executioners sent away with money for their fees, not having any one thing that belonged unto her. And so, every man being commanded out of the hall, except the sheriff and his men, she was carried by them up into a great chamber lying ready for the surgeons to embalm her."

During this scene, the gates of the castle were closed, and they were kept shut and nobody allowed to pass out, until after one o'clock, when Henry Talbot, a son of the earl of Shrewsbury, was dispatched to court with a letter, certifying the execution. The behaviour of Elizabeth, on being informed of the execution of her prisoner, is well known. She gave way to, no doubt feigned, regret and indignation; declared that it was contrary to her orders and intentions; that she never contemplated proceeding to this extremity, and she threw all the blame upon Davison and the council.

The former was thrown into the Tower, subjected to a trial before the star-chamber, degraded from his office of secretary, and heavily fined. Six days after the execution, Robert Carey, a son of lord Hunsdon, and therefore Elizabeth's kinsman, was dispatched to Scotland, to pacify James, and carried with him the following letter from the English queen:—"My dear brother, I would you knew (though not felt), the extreme dolour that overwhelms my mind, for that miserable accident which (far contrary to my meaning) hath befallen. I have now sent this kinsman of mine, whom ere now it hath pleased you to favour, to instruct you truly of that which is too irksome for my pen to tell you. I beseech you that, as God and many mo (*more*) know how innocent I am in this case, so you will believe me that if I had bid ought (*ordered anything*) I would have bid (*abidden*) by it. I am not so base-minded, that fear of any living creature or prince, should make me afraid to do that were just, or, done, to deny the same. I am not of so base a lineage, nor carry so vile a mind. But, as to disguise fits not a king, so will I never dissemble my actions, but cause them show even as I meant them. Thus assuring your-

self of me, that as I know this was deserved, yet if I had meant it, I would never lay it on others' shoulders; no more will I not damnify myself, that thought it not. The circumstances, it may please you to have of this bearer. And for your part, think that you have not in the world a more loving kinswoman, and a more dear friend than myself; nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve you and your estate. And who shall otherwise persuade you, judge them more partial to others than to you. And thus in haste I leave to trouble you; beseeching God to send you a long reign. The 14th of February, 1586 [7]. Your most assured loving sister,

ELIZB. R."

Elizabeth's statement that the execution of Mary was really contrary to her intention, can only now be doubted, not absolutely disproved, but circumstances seem strongly to contradict it. Perhaps the eagerness of her ministers to carry it into effect may have led them to act with too much haste. It was, however, an act which gave satisfaction to her subjects; and the intelligence of it was no sooner spread in the capital, than every street blazed with bonfires.

CHAPTER XXII.

HIGHLAND FEUDS; IRRITATION OF THE BORDERERS ON THE EXECUTION OF MARY; FALL OF THE MASTER OF GRAY; HOPES OF THE SCOTTISH CATHOLICS, THEIR INSURRECTION AND DEFEAT; JAMES'S MARRIAGE.

SCOTLAND had been, during the period of which we have been speaking, in a state more or less unsettled through the struggle of the different parties for power. The lords of the catholic party had gradually obtained great influence at court, and their elevation had increased the turbulence of the borderers as well as of the highland chiefs, in which quarters their power chiefly lay. In the highlands, especially, people seemed to be returning to the savage barbarism of the dark ages; and during the summer and autumn of 1586, a tragedy was acted there which caused some sensation throughout the country. A feud, the origin of which is not clearly explained, existed between Angus Mac O'Neill, lord of Kintyre, and his wife's

brother, Maclean, lord of Ilay. This feud is said to have been increased, if not engendered, by jealousy of the great estimation and repute in which the lord of Ilay was held by their neighbours, and it was carried on with so much bitterness, that neither ventured to approach the territories of the other without a strong guard. At length Angus, under a treacherous guise of repentance, sought reconciliation, and invited himself to feast with Maclean, telling him, by a messenger, that it was his intention to come and make good cheer with him, and that they would be merry together for certain days. Maclean, suspicious of no evil intention, but glad that his brother-in-law had made friendly advances, replied at once—

"My brother shall be welcome to me, come when he list." "It will be to-morrow," answered the messenger. Accordingly, next day Angus arrived, with a company of his friends and followers, and he met with a kindly reception, and remained feasting with the lord of Ilay five or six days, until Maclean's provision was almost spent, and then Angus "thought it time to remove." "Indeed," says the contemporary narrator of these events, "the custom of that people (the islanders) is so given to gluttony and drinking without all measure, that, as one is invited to another, they never sunder so long as the rivers (*victuals*) do last." On his departure, Angus said to his brother-in-law—"Since I have made the first obedience unto you, it will please you to come over to my isle, that ye may receive as good treatment with me as I have done with you." Maclean expressed distrust, and said that he durst not adventure to place himself so far within his brother's power. "Nay," replied Angus, "God forbid that ever I should intend any evil against you; but yet, to remove all doubt and suspicion from your mind, I will give you two pledges, which shall be sent unto you immediately, namely, my eldest son and my own brother; these two may be kept here by your friends, till you come safely back again." Maclean now threw aside all suspicion, accepted the invitation, and to show his confidence in Angus's good intentions, he left only one pledge behind him, the brother of Angus, and took the son, a mere boy, with him to his father's home. It was the month of July, 1586, when Maclean, with forty-five stout highlanders of his clan, arrived in Kintyre, where they were received with every outward profession of friendship, and were feasted all that day with the greatest profusion. In secret, however, Angus had summoned all his friends and dependents in the isle of Kintyre to assemble at nine o'clock that night, not concealing from them his intention to slay his guests. At the time appointed, they came to the number of about two hundred, well armed, and he proceeded with them to Maclean's sleeping-place, a "long house," which he had chosen for that purpose, because it was far removed from any other dwelling. Having surrounded the house with his men, Angus went to the door and called upon Maclean to come and take his reposing drink, which he had forgot to offer him before he went to bed. Maclean, who had been in bed

about an hour, and had taken Angus's son to sleep with him, replied that he desired no drink for that time. "That may be," said Angus, "but it is my desire that thou arise and come forth to receive it." Maclean now suspecting the treacherous designs of his brother-in-law, rose from his bed, and, being without arms, he took his nephew upon his shoulder, determined to use him as a defence as long as he could, and went to the door. When, however, the boy saw his father with a drawn sword, and men about in threatening attitudes, he screamed with terror, and begged his uncle to protect him; upon which the latter, setting him down, suffered himself to be taken, and he was carried into a secret chamber, to be left there till the morrow. Then Angus called to Maclean's men to come forth, promising that they should all go uninjured but two, who were near kinsmen of their chief, and the most distinguished men of the clan. The men of Ilay accordingly left their sleeping-house, with the exception of the two men whose lives were threatened, and as these refused to come out, Angus set fire to the building, and they were both burnt with it. The rest were carried away prisoners, and the sanguinary chief gratified his revenge by causing Maclean to be brought forth every day to witness the death of one of his men, who was slain in his presence; and he was informed that when they had been all thus put to death his own turn would come. But the death of Maclean was prevented by an accident; for on the day when he was to be brought forth to be killed, Angus, in great joy and exultation, called for his horse, that he might ride forth and see him die, and he was no sooner on horseback than his horse stumbled, and he was thrown violently, and carried home with his leg broken.

Maclean was now kept in close prison, reserved, apparently, till his enemy should be sufficiently recovered to be able to gratify his revenge by witnessing his death. But information of these events had been carried to the earl of Argyle; and, in consequence of his interference, the king sent a herald to Angus with a letter, ordering him to deliver his prisoner into the hands of the earl, who at the same time assembled his friends to support the king's writ by force. But so great was the lawlessness of these northern chiefs, that the king's herald was not permitted to reach his destination, and the earl of Argyle was glad, after much negotiation, to

obtain Maclean's liberty on conditions very advantageous to the lord of Kintyre. Maclean had no sooner escaped, than he prepared to take revenge for his own injuries, and the murder of his kinsmen and followers. Within a few months he had assembled a large force of what the old chronicler of these events calls "well-disposed persons," and landing in Kintyre, "what by fire, what by sword, and what by water, he destroyed all mankind, none excepted that came in his way, and all sort of beast that served for any domestic use or pleasure of man." In this barbarous warfare, which continued more or less for several years, Angus narrowly escaped from the hands of his enemy, and owed his safety only to the strength of his castle walls. It was not till the year 1591, in spite of repeated summonses of the king, that the two turbulent chieftains were brought to Edinburgh, where they were pardoned and reconciled.

While these scenes were acting in the north, the feud between the Maxwells and the Johnstones continued in the south. "After the death of Johnstone," says the *Historie of King James the Sixth*, "Maxwell [earl of Morton] behaved himself so negligently, that no transgressor was either punished or stayed from evil doing; for the thieves of Annandale and Lyddesdale committed reiff (plunder) and spoil in all the parts of Lothian, even near to the king's palace at Holyrood-house. And therefore it was concluded by the king's council, that the earl of Angus should be chosen lieutenant, to suppress the insolence of these wicked thieves; and also that the lord Maxwell should be charged to compear (appear) before the king and council, to answer *super inquirendis*. But he refused to compear (in the month of September), for secretary Maitland had delated (*accused*) him to the king as one that travailed for liberty of conscience to be granted and obtained in the country, as a pernicious matter to this commonweal; and further, that he had enterprised to kill the secretary himself, which deserved a capital punishment according to the law. And for this cause he persuaded the king to send private writings to certain nobles and gentlemen of Teviotdale, Lothian, Linlithgow, and Stirlingshire, to meet him secretly with their forces and greatest company at Peebles, in the month of April, the next year; which they obeyed. And the king passed very secretly, as he thought, with advice of his secretary, in all suddeny

(*suddenness*) towards Dumfries, where the said lord Maxwell was for the present, to have surprised him upon the sudden; but he was advertised scantily an hour before by a privy courtier, and escaped that present danger, and passed quietly forth of the town. Thereafter the ports (*gates*) were closed by command of John Maxwell, then mayor of the said town, and were not opened till the king came himself, notwithstanding of avant-couriers that umbeset (*surrounded*) the town and ports aforehand. In the month of October, the king, at the instigation of the said secretary Maitland, made journey against the earls of Huntley, Erroll, and Crawford, where they were assembled at the brig of Dee, in the north of Scotland. There the earl of Huntley was traynit (*drawn*) in, and constrained to remain in prison, till he paid a number of French crowns, which were all converted to the use and utility of the said secretary. And although Erroll was compelled to pay another great sum all in gold, yet gat he never rest, credence, or presence in court, or in the town of Edinburgh, till he made homage to the secretary."

Such was the state of Scotland when, in the month of November, the news of the trial of Mary reached the Scottish court. We have already seen the steps which were taken in consequence, and the little effect they produced. On the 15th of December a parliament was held in Edinburgh, which was chiefly occupied with the danger of the queen mother, and a sum of money was granted "for the furnishing of ambassadors to foreign princes to complain against England." When we consider the credit which Mary's friends enjoyed at court at this time, and the turbulence and lawlessness of the borderers who were more or less under their influence, we cannot be surprised at the uneasiness felt by the English government lest the peace between the two kingdoms should be disturbed in that quarter. It may be doubted whether James was not in secret glad of his mother's death, because it made his road to the great object of his ambition, the crown of England, more direct and certain; but the hostile feeling towards England was at this moment so strong that he was obliged to yield to it, at least in appearance. He received the first certain intelligence of the execution from a gentleman of his bedchamber, Roger Ashton, who had been sent to London a short time before, and who arrived in Edinburgh seven days

after Mary's death. The king sent for three of the most warlike of the border leaders, the lord Maxwell, Kerr of Ancrum, and Fernyhirst, whom, with several of his more confidential nobles, he kept with him in the palace several days. It was supposed that these consultations portended some bold movement, but it was perhaps rather a stroke of James's policy, to keep with him the more turbulent of the leaders until the first moment of excitement was over. Outwardly, however, he expressed a determination to revenge the injury he had received; and when Carey, who, as we have stated before, was the bearer of Elizabeth's letter of excuse, reached Berwick, and wrote forwards to demand a passport and a promise of audience on his arrival in Edinburgh, James demanded first whether his mother were alive or dead (he had hitherto concealed the intelligence from the public), and on being told that she was executed, he refused to permit Elizabeth's envoy to pass the border, but he sent sir Robert Melvil and the laird of Cowdenknowes to Berwick to receive the letter, and to them Carey delivered Elizabeth's verbal message. When the news at length spread through Scotland, it created the greatest sensation; the borderers were with difficulty restrained, and some slight inroads were made on the English ground. This hostile feeling was strongest among the nobility; the earl of Bothwell declared aloud that his mourning garment should be a coat of steel, and that his vengeance was only delayed to fall heavier when it came; the lord Claude Hamilton, and his brother the lord Arbroath offered to march into England with three thousand men of their own followers; and it required the positive injunctions of the king to keep the border chiefs from open war.

James's grief and anger seemed for a moment sincere, but various anecdotes have been handed down to us which show that at all events it was not very deeply rooted. We are told that it having been reported to him, before Mary's death, that Alexander Stuart, one of his envoys to England, had secretly assured the queen of England that she might put her prisoner to death without fear; for "if the king at first showed himself not content therewith, they might easily pacify him by sending him dogs and deer," he fell into a "marvellous choler," and swore, that when Stuart came back, "he would hang him before he put off his boots; and if the queen meddled with his mother's

life, she should know he would follow somewhat else than dogs and deer." When Stuart soon afterwards returned to Scotland, James's anger had evaporated, and, satisfied with a slight excuse, he received him into his former favour. We are told that, soon after this, while the king was in deep mourning for his mother, one day when sir Andrew Melvil, the same who had attended upon her at the scaffold, came in to wait upon him, he found him laughing and dancing about the room in a fit of great merriment. Melvil looked on for a while in astonishment, and then, turning to one of the noblemen present, whispered in his ears the following Latin couplet which he had extemporised for the occasion:—

"Quid sibi vult tantus lugubri sub veste cachinnus?
Scilicet hic matrem deflet ut illa patrem."

Which was thus turned into English, more literally than elegantly:—

"Why the loud laugh beneath the vesture sad?
He mourns his mother, as *she* did *his* dad."

It is added that the king, observing the nobleman smile, compelled him to repeat the lines, and he is not said to have shown any displeasure at them. They were certainly as severely satirical on the mother as on the son.

Courcelles, the French envoy, gave it as his opinion that James would not carry his resentment far, unless Elizabeth did something to interfere with his prospects of the succession to the English crown, and this she was not likely under the present circumstances to do. Yet he was obliged to indulge the estates, which were then assembled, with professions of his readiness to seek immediate revenge. In the midst of the king's embarrassment, a long letter arrived from Walsingham, addressed to his favourite minister, the secretary, sir John Maitland of Thirlestane, in which the former argued the question of moderation in a manner especially calculated to make a favourable impression on James's mind. Walsingham said that he was absent from court at the time of Mary's execution, but that on his return he had immediately conferred with Archibald Douglas, and stated to him the opinions of himself and of some of the king's best friends at the English court as to the wisest course for James to pursue to preserve that continued good intelligence between the two countries, which would be as advantageous to the one as to

the other. Although he regretted the execution as an accident, still he considered it as an act of justice, and one which no honest man would look upon as a sufficient cause of war. Leaving this, however, out of the consideration, wise policy forbade any hostile feeling between the two countries at the present moment. Scotland was far too much inferior in force to England to hope to attack her with success single-handed, and the king must see, from the experience of ancient and modern times with which his learning had made him familiar, the danger of relying upon foreign aid. He represented that James's religion alone must forbid his looking for any cordial friendship from France or Spain, neither of whom desired to see the united crown of the two kingdoms on the head of a protestant prince. If, setting aside the question of religion, he turned himself to France, not only would the king of that realm be unwilling to see two kingdoms united which it had hitherto been the policy of himself and his ancestors to keep separate, that they might play the one against the other, but he would look with still greater jealousy on that union in the person of one who was so nearly allied by blood to the house of Guise. The king of Spain would be more likely to join with him cordially in a war against England, but it would only be with a view to reaping for himself all the advantages. Philip pretended a claim before James to the crown of England on two grounds; first as descended from the blood of the house of Lancaster, and secondly by the gift of James's mother, who had made it over to him in case her son persisted in the protestant faith. If, in the mistaken notion of gaining the assistance of the Catholic powers, he should change his religion, they would never look upon him as anything better than a renegade for his private interests, while he would set the nobles of England, who had joined in the condemnation of his mother, as well as the people of England, who were zealous in their religion, in determined hostility to him and his claims. He would thus entirely destroy the prospect of the succession which he now had. James had already, Walsingham said, done enough to assert his honour. While his mother was alive, he had made every effort to save her; and now that she was dead, the accident which caused her death could no longer be remedied, and it was not consistent with the moderation of a wise king to pursue blindly a course of

vengeance which could only turn eventually to his own disadvantage.

These arguments no doubt made a deep impression on James's mind, but, surrounded with intrigues at home, he was obliged to seem to partake the views of those whom at the moment he found most difficult to manage. The northern lords and the borderers insisted upon war, and as the summer approached, the latter broke through all restraint, and several destructive inroads were made into the English territory. In one of these, the warden, sir Cuthbert Collingwood, was attacked in his castle of Eslington, by two thousand borderers under the lairds of Buccleuch, Cessford, and Johnstone, and he escaped only by the fleetness of his horse, having seventeen of his men slain, and one of his sons captured, and the other severely wounded. It is evident, however, by the little care taken to strengthen the northern counties, that neither Elizabeth nor her ministers expected any more serious hostilities.

It was in the midst of this agitation that a not unmerited disgrace fell upon the author of so many intrigues, and one who had done much towards betraying Mary to her fate, the master of Gray. The blow which fell upon this man seems to have been originally designed against secretary Maitland, a younger brother of the Maitland who had perished on the scaffold, and who, inheriting many of the great talents of that minister, was now James's favourite and confidential counsellor. As such, he was hated by the nobility, whose influence he counteracted, and several attempts had been made to ruin or destroy him. When sir William Stuart returned to Scotland in the spring of 1587, he found the master of Gray engaged with lord Maxwell and others in a plot against Maitland; and Gray, thinking he would be a valuable ally, disclosed the design to him, and requested his concurrence. Stuart knew Gray's instability, and, dissimulating for a moment in order to gain further information, he went immediately and repeated the whole to the king. Maitland had also received private intelligence of the plot against him, and, having it thus confirmed, he laid his complaint before the council. The king's favour towards the master of Gray had been considerably cooled of late, and now he allowed him and his accuser to be confronted together before the council. Gray attempted to brave the matter out, denying flatly the whole charge,



Engraved by W. Hall.

JOHN, FIRST LORD MAITLAND, OF THIRLESTANE.

OB. 1595.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{ble} THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

or that he had ever held any such conversation as was alleged with Stuart. The latter, provoked at the other having thus given him the lie, retorted warmly, asserting that Gray's word was not deserving of credit, and that when sent on an embassy to London to save the life of the queen mother, he had secretly advised Elizabeth to put her to death. This statement agreed with a rumour already current, that the master of Gray had written a letter to the queen of England recommending the death of her captive, and that in support of this recommendation, he had quoted the old Latin saying, *Mortui non mordent* (the dead do not bite). The council listened to these charges with no unwilling ear, and they obtained the king's permission that the master of Gray should be placed on his trial. Meanwhile, both the accused and the accuser were placed under ward in Edinburgh castle. When, after three days' imprisonment, they were again brought before the council, sir William Stuart persisted in his former statements, and added another article of accusation, to the effect that the master of Gray had entered into a secret and treasonable correspondence with the duke of Guise, and with the king of France, to whom he had addressed letters informing them of the king's intention to seek their aid in revenging the death of his mother, but advising them to make it a condition of granting any such aid that James should give liberty of conscience to the catholics in Scotland for the exercise of their religion. When the master perceived, by the manner in which he was treated, that he could no longer rely upon the king's favour to carry him through, he became tamely submissive, and, on its being intimated to him that his best hope of obtaining mercy would rest on a candid avowal of his offences, he confessed that he had laboured secretly to obtain a toleration for the catholics, and that, disliking some of the officers of state, he had designed to procure a change; but he declared that he had never failed in dutiful feeling towards the king, and he begged that his errors might be imputed to his youth and to a vain ambition. On being pressed with his letter to the queen of England, he acknowledged that also; but he pretended that all he did was, knowing that Elizabeth was resolved to put her prisoner to death, to advise her to do it in a private rather than a public manner; and he attempted to explain the use he had made of

the Latin proverb in a different way from that in which it was interpreted by his enemies. The master of Gray was immediately found guilty upon his own confession, and he was banished from Scotland, with an express condition that he should go neither to England nor Ireland. He retired to France. It was said that the exiled earl of Arran, who was now seldom spoken of by any other than his original title of captain James Stuart, had contributed in some degree to the disgrace of the master of Gray; and thinking the opportunity favourable for recovering his position at court, he wrote to the king from his hiding-place, offering to prove similar charges against Maitland and his friends as those of which Gray was convicted. But the king's affection for this favourite had long passed away; and, his letter having been laid before the council as a matter of form, he was ordered to surrender himself in ward in the castle of Linlithgow until his charges against the king's counsellors should be proved, in default of which he was to be proceeded against as a public sower of discord. Arran was too prudent to come forward on such conditions; and so entirely did his plot against Maitland fail, that his office of chancellor, which had not been filled up since his flight from court, was now conferred upon that minister.

James had now reached his full majority, and he seemed determined to show by his vigour and activity that he was worthy to be an independent monarch. In the month of May, he assembled a convention of his nobility at Edinburgh; and he sent ambassadors to France and Denmark, to renew the ancient alliance with the former, and to negotiate a matrimonial alliance with the latter. Neither of these embassies met at that time with much success, for the king of France was courting the alliance of England, and received the advances of Scotland with coldness; and the king of Denmark seems to have shown little disposition to yield to James's views. His next measure was one honourable in itself, but difficult to accomplish, the general reconciliation of his nobles, who were still split into innumerable feuds. Some of these family differences, such as those between the master of Glamis and the earl of Crawford, and between the earls of Angus and Montrose, were not accommodated without much difficulty; and the earl of Yester, refusing absolutely to be reconciled to lord Traquair, was thrown into prison in Edinburgh castle. At length al'

was reduced to an outward appearance of friendship; and the king, overjoyed at his success, gave a grand banquet to his reconciled nobles in Holyrood-house, on the 15th of May. After supper, James, in person, headed a procession of the nobles, who walked out in their doublets, two and two; the men who had been formerly hostile to each other now walking hand in hand—and thus they all proceeded to the market-cross, where drink was served, and they pledged each other, and then returned to the palace in the same order. All this was performed amid the continual firing of the castle guns; the citizens celebrated the event with music and every other demonstration of joy, and the “people sang for mirth.”

The nobles, thus reconciled, petitioned the king that he would now proceed earnestly to revenge his mother's death, which he promised them should be done; and, professedly for that purpose, he called a parliament to meet in July. The nobles of Mary's party were indefatigable in their endeavours to raise a feeling of odium against England, and just at this moment of excitement the earl of Bothwell brought forward an English fugitive, whom he said he had arrested in the neighbourhood of his castle of Criceton, and who was made to tell an improbable story, of his being sent by the earl of Leicester to poison the king. His story seems to have received no credit, as he was sent out of Scotland without any further punishment.

When parliament met in July, it found plenty of work to occupy its attention, besides the proposal for a war with England. There were many abuses in the state which called loudly for a remedy; heavy debts weighed upon the crown which it was necessary to provide for; and the affairs of the church, which were in great confusion, called loudly for the mediating interference of the church. The struggle between presbyterianism and episcopacy still continued, and the former held a position more than ever hostile to the court, which was filled, as we have already said, with men favourable even to the catholics. On several occasions the ministers had publicly shown disrespect to the royal authority. Earlier in the year, James had requested the ministers of the kirk to pray for his mother, and they refused, upon which, having appointed a public fast, he directed Adamson, archbishop of St. Andrews, to offer up prayers for the queen of Scots in St. Giles's church. But the re-

cusant ministers caused the pulpit to be pre-occupied by a young minister named John Cowper, and when the king entered the church, he found this man proceeding with the service. Vexed at finding himself thus outwitted, the king addressed him from the gallery, telling him that the place he occupied was intended for another, but adding, that as he had begun the service, he might proceed with it, if he would promise to remember the queen-mother in his prayers. The preacher replied that he should do only as the spirit of God should direct him. As the king naturally took this as a refusal, he commanded him to leave the pulpit, and, as he showed no inclination to obey, the captain of the guard went with the intention of dragging him out. Cowper now left his post, but before he went out of the pulpit, he exclaimed, “This day shall be a witness against the king in the great day of the Lord!” and added some denunciations against the citizens of Edinburgh for their apathy. The archbishop of St. Andrews then ascended the pulpit, and in his prayers he touched upon Mary's misfortunes and danger with so much feeling, that the congregation melted into tears. Cowper was called before the council, and by its orders committed as a prisoner to the castle of Blackness; and the other ministers yielded the point with a bad grace, and agreed to pray for the queen. But the conduct of the ministers on this occasion was not forgotten, and the memory of it was rather aggravated by subsequent acts. Still, however, the ministers had a powerful influence over the middle and lower classes, and it was necessary to keep terms with them. When the general assembly met at Edinburgh on the eve of the meeting of parliament, to consult the interests of the church, the king caused certain proposals to be laid before that body, concerning the ministers who had spoken disrespectfully to or of him, and the reception into their communion of Montgomery, who had been excommunicated. The ministers seized the opportunity of making a demand that the church should be restored to the same liberty that it enjoyed before the year 1584; and they promised, on this condition, to do their best to satisfy the king in regard to his propositions. They, at the same time, appointed commissioners, among whom was the venerable Erskine, of Dun, to watch over the interests of the church in the proceedings of the ensuing parliament.

At the very opening of the parliament, the commissioners of the kirk had an opportunity of executing the duties which had been entrusted to them. The spiritual lords came to take their place in the legislature, as in former days; upon which the commissioners petitioned for their removal, as possessing no authority from the church, and most of them holding no charge in it. The prelates resisted, and the abbot of Kinloss complained somewhat warmly of the conduct of the commissioners: on which the bishop of Caithness, Robert Pont, who had accepted the dignity with the consent of the general assembly, and was a staunch supporter of the reformed kirk, retorted so keenly that the king took offence, and, putting an end to the debate, ordered that the petition should be presented in a regular manner to the lords of the articles; by whom it was, as might be expected, refused, as it was known to be contrary to the king's inclination. It was necessary, however, to conciliate the ministers by some other concessions; and, accordingly, an act was past, ratifying all the laws passed in favour of the protestant religion during the king's minority; and a new and severe statute was enacted against the seminary priests and jesuits. These were followed by another act of still greater importance to the church, into which the king was betrayed by his necessities, and of which he repented at a subsequent period of his life. The revenues of the crown had, of late years, through various causes, become inadequate to the expenditure; and James's extravagance, and his profusion to his favourites kept him always in a state of pecuniary embarrassment. The ordinary means of raising money, that of taxation, promised little relief, for the only body capable of giving much assistance, the nobility, were not willing to be taxed. The kirk seized the opportunity for recommending that the landed property of the church, which was still considerable, but which was attached to the nominal dignities of bishops and abbots, while the ministers did all the work upon small stipends, should be given to the crown. The object of the presbyterians was simple and easily understood—we shall be troubled no longer with idle bishops, they said, if we take away their rich benefices. The proposal was an acceptable one to the nobility—for they nearly all of them held church property, by grants from the regents or from the king in his minority, all of which he might revoke, whereas their

precarious titles would, by this bill, be turned into acknowledged legal rights. The king himself, in his eagerness to obtain money, overlooked the ultimate tendency of the measure; and to people, in general, it seemed but fair that the mass of the property should be taken from those who did not labour, when the real labourers in the church were so ill paid. The king, on his part, gained also an advantage in this parliament, by the admission of a new class, the representatives of counties, who, by assisting to form a counterbalance to the parliamentary power of the nobles, added considerably to the influence of the crown.

Amid all these important acts, the promise of seeking vengeance for the death of Mary was not forgotten; and, in closing the session, Maitland of Thirlestane, the chancellor, made an eloquent discourse on this subject, which was received with the utmost enthusiasm. But it may be doubted if James or his minister ever intended the matter to go further than a rhetorical flourish. The catholic nobles had gained so much power, that it seemed policy to indulge them at least with promises, and events were now approaching that soon absorbed all interest in themselves.

Spain was now in the midst of her vast preparations for the conquest of England, which resulted in the celebrated Armada. As the time approached for the sailing of the expedition, Spanish emissaries were busy throughout the island, but especially in Scotland. Philip, indeed, made direct proposals of friendship to the Scottish king, offering him his daughter in marriage with a share of his anticipated conquest. But James, in this instance, was better instructed in his own interests, and he made no secret of his resolution to stand firm to the protestant cause. Philip, probably, was not very anxious to secure his alliance, for he knew that James's claims were totally inconsistent with his own designs, which, if successful (and of this he does not appear to have doubted), he would gain more directly without him; and he reckoned much more on the treasonable co-operation of the catholic nobles. Under their protection, Scotland was, at this moment, filled with priests and jesuits, and with other missionaries of Spain, who were making extraordinary exertions to seduce James's subjects from their allegiance, and to organise a grand conspiracy which should co-operate with the Spanish enterprise. It was, in reality, the

development of the plot which Mary boasted of having set on foot, in her letters to her agents in France. The earl of Huntley and his friends threw themselves into these intrigues with the greatest eagerness, and entered into direct communication with Spain and the Low Countries. They hoped now, with the certainty of Spanish assistance, to be able at last to revolutionize the country, obtain possession of the king's person, destroy his protestant ministers, and re-establish popery. With Huntley were the lord Claude Hamilton, the earls of Mar, Angus, and Bothwell, and others, who were ready to assemble their followers at a moment's warning, and would thus have presented a force which the king, in his present weakness, could not have resisted. Lord Maxwell, who was under a temporary sentence of banishment, was their agent in Spain; the master of Gray, and sir William Stuart (the brother of Arran) were active in the same capacity in France and the Low Countries; and Archibald Douglas was suspected to be now acting in their interest in England. With so much to contend with, James felt the necessity of dissembling, to prevent an immediate outbreak, and he, as well as his minister, Maitland, were in hourly fear of being assassinated.

Yet, in the midst of these dangers, James showed a resolution and spirit which could hardly have been expected. Singularly enough for a prince of his age, he employed himself during the winter, either to confirm himself or to convert his catholic subjects, in writing a commentary on the Apocalypse, in which he proved that the pope was anti-christ. But as the spring approached, the rumours of impending danger roused him from his theological reveries. The kirk was naturally foremost in warning the nation of the perils which threatened it, and an extraordinary meeting of the general assembly was called, which was attended by an unusual number of members, all impressed with the alarming state of public affairs. After solemn deliberation, it was determined to proceed in a body to the king, for the purpose of requiring that the laws against jesuits and seminary priests should be enforced, and of offering their lives and fortunes to be employed in the defence of their country. The king took offence at this proceeding, which he imagined was a rebuke upon his own remissness; and, asking if they thought to frighten him by their numbers, he refused to receive them. He consented, however,

to admit a deputation to his presence, and, after expressing to them his disapprobation of the form of the proceedings of the assembly as not sufficiently respectful to himself, he told them that, in consideration of the importance of the subject and the necessity of taking immediate steps to counteract the designs of their common enemies, he would appoint certain members of his privy council to confer with a deputation appointed by the assembly on the best means of resisting or averting the public danger. The result of this conference was a bond, to be taken under the sanction of the king, for the mutual defence of the king, the church, and the state, against that detestable conspiracy, the holy league, and its emissaries and complices within the realm. By this bond they engaged to defend and maintain the king and the protestant church and government as then established in Scotland against every attempt, foreign or domestic, and especially against the threatened invasion by Spain; and they promised to assemble with their friends in arms, at whatever time or place the king should appoint, to hazard their lives and properties in this cause. They further engaged to do their utmost to discover jesuits and vassals of Rome, and to lay aside every private interest that they might unite more firmly in their exertions for the public welfare. This bond was recommended by the preachers from their pulpits with the greatest zeal, and it was eagerly entered into by people of all ranks.

Spurred on by the example of the church, James now assumed an unwonted spirit of activity. Lord Maxwell, in the belief that the armada would sail immediately, and understanding that it was to direct its course to the west of Scotland, where a landing would be more easily effected, hastened back to Scotland, and landed at Kircudbright, at the end of April. Encouraged by the news he brought with him, the borderers rose and joined him; and he had soon gained so much strength, that lord Herries, the warden of the western border, finding himself unable to contend with the insurrection, sent information to the king. Lord Maxwell was immediately summoned to appear before the council, but, instead of obeying, he began to fortify the castles of which he had gained possession. James was so provoked at this behaviour, that, without a moment's delay, he collected what forces he could and marched to Dumfries with so

much dispatch that he surprised Maxwell in that town, and the catholic lord narrowly escaped being taken. Next day the king proceeded to summon the castles which were held by Maxwell's adherents; and three of them, Langholm, Treve, and Carlaverock, were surrendered without resistance. But the governor of Lochmaben, aware of the king's want of artillery, set him at defiance. James, however, was soon supplied with artillery by the English warden, and, after a shot or two, the castle surrendered, and James ordered the governor and six of his men to be hanged. Lord Maxwell fled to the coast, but he was pursued and captured by sir William Stuart, who was now with the king, and carried a prisoner to Edinburgh. Thither the king had by this time returned, and his vigorous conduct seems to have disconcerted the catholic conspirators, as much as it encouraged his protestant subjects.

At this moment, stronger rumours came to Scotland of the sailing of the dreaded armada, and James, fully convinced of the danger with which his own realm was threatened, called a hurried meeting of the estates, which he opened with a speech well calculated to impress upon them the sentiments which he himself held. He dwelt upon the necessary connection between the interests of Scotland and England, told his parliament that the causes which brought down this danger upon Elizabeth would draw it upon his realm also, and urged that the invasion of England, as it was an invasion of his acknowledged right, must be regarded as a prelude to the invasion of Scotland. "For myself," he said, "I have ever thought my own safety and the safety of religion to be so conjoined, as that they cannot well be separated; neither desire I to live or to reign longer than while I am able to maintain the same. I know that the opinion of some is, I have now a fair opportunity for revenging the wrong and unkindness done to me by the death of my mother; but, whatever I think of the excuses which the queen has made me, I will not be so foolish as to take the help of one stronger than myself, nor will I seek to gratify my own passions at the expense of religion, and the risk of putting in hazard not only this kingdom but those that belong to me after her decease." After the king had concluded his address, Maitland rose and eloquently supported the view taken by the king. He then proceeded to point out their means of action. He said, that as

Elizabeth had not manifested any want of their assistance in England, they had chiefly to direct their attention to the protection of their own shores. He recommended a general enrolment of the whole population fit to bear arms, and the appointment of noblemen in each district to take the command; and suggested that watches should be appointed at all the sea-ports; and beacons erected on the hills, to carry throughout the country intelligence of the first appearance of a fleet, while the king and council should remain in the capital to direct the movements of the forces. The only dissent to these proposals came from the earl of Bothwell, who still wished to take advantage of her danger to make an attack upon England. But the population of the country, urged on by the preachers, showed a resolute earnestness to carry out the king's recommendations; and James, animated by these encouraging symptoms, wrote to Elizabeth, offering to aid her with the whole of his forces.

Elizabeth had already entered into private communication with the Scottish king. At the beginning of this year (1588), lord Hunsdon, who still commanded at Berwick, had intercepted some of the dispatches of Courcelles, the French ambassador in Scotland, which made him acquainted with the intrigues carried on by the catholic party, and this afforded an opportunity for proposing a conference, to consult for mutual defence. After some interruptions, James appointed the laird of Carmichael to hold a secret meeting with Hunsdon at Hutton-hall, on the borders. Letters had also been intercepted, addressed by the earls of Huntley and Morton and the lord Claude Hamilton to the king of Spain, promising that monarch, in the name of the catholics of Scotland, that the moment they were assured of the landing of his troops, they would march in arms to assist him in the conquest of England; and this made James the more determined to co-operate heartily with Elizabeth. Of this he gave assurance to Hunsdon, declaring that the only reason of his late estrangement was a feeling that she had not cleared herself satisfactorily of the guilt of his mother's death. His vigorous proceedings against the lord Maxwell, had given Elizabeth the utmost satisfaction, and she immediately sent one of her courtiers, Mr. William Ashby, to Edinburgh, to congratulate the king on his success. Ashby was, at the same time, the bearer of a pro-

mise to confer on James an English duchy, with a pension of five thousand pounds a-year, and to raise him a body-guard of fifty Scottish gentlemen, and keep a body of horse and foot on the border, ready to march immediately to his assistance, in case of a revolt of the catholic nobles on the approach of the armada. James was entirely gained over by these promises, and when, in return for his offer of assistance to the English queen, she sent sir Robert Sydney to return thanks, and offer him her assistance in case Scotland should be first invaded, the king received the new ambassador with the greatest cordiality, and told him, in the course of conversation, that the only favour he expected from the king of Spain was, like that promised by Polyphemus to Ulysses, to be devoured last. The friendship between the two crowns was thus renewed, and whatever sore James himself may have received from the death of his mother was healed. "Thus," writes the contemporary compiler of *Historie of James the Sext*, who seems in this respect to have spoken the sentiments of Mary's friends, "all memory of queen Mary's murder was buried. The king received their ambassador, as I have said, and by his persuasion is become their yearly pensioner. What honesty the common weal receives hereby, I think the posterity shall better know than this time can judge; for more just occasion of war had never prince on the earth nor this prince had, and yet he has both neglected the thing that most of all became him, and the thing that should have been a perpetual honour to his common weal; and war, indeed, should never be so eschued, that any slander should ensue upon our negligence; for if peace be just and honest, it is, in very deed, the best of all worldly things; and yet nothing should either be done unjustly, nor yet should we purchase peace in such sort, that by intolerable suffering we conquer unto ourselves perpetual shame and ignominy."

It was not long after the arrival of sir Robert Sydney in Edinburgh, that the dreaded armada appeared upon the English coasts. Its fate is well known to every one. After its object had been utterly defeated, its shattered remains attempted to return home by sailing round the north of Scotland into the western seas; but in this attempt perished miserably by tempests among the Hebrides and on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland. Hundreds of Spanish soldiers and sailors were thrown on the

northern shores of Scotland in a state of utter destitution, and their miserable condition awakened the compassion and gained the hospitality of those against whom they had come as enemies.

So ineffectual had been the pretended reconciliation of the Scottish nobles in the preceding year, that even amid these events, many of them were thinking more of their private feuds than of the public danger. Soon after the capture of Lochmaben castle, and the arrest of lord Maxwell, there was a quarrel in Edinburgh between the earl of Bothwell and sir William Stuart, arising from reproachful words addressed by the latter to the earl in the royal palace. A day or two afterwards, Bothwell and Stuart, with their companies, met accidentally in the streets of Edinburgh, and proceeding from words to blows, Stuart was slain in the scuffle. Bothwell concealed himself for a few days, but as no proceedings were taken against him, he soon appeared again in public. It appears that James's authority was of so precarious a character at this time, that justice was seldom executed on powerful offenders. "The wicked examples of unpunished slaughter," observes the contemporary compiler of the *Historie of King James the Sext*, already quoted, "engendered such insolency in the hearts of the people, that they finding both the king and his officers so slothful and negligent in their offices, that cruelty and murder increased as a popular sickness through the land; an example whereof, conjoined with fraud, I will lay down to your judgment, to discern (*judge*) thereof as the cause requires, for a perpetual testimony of unthankfulness and odious treachery in all respects."

We will give this "example" in the words of the contemporary writer. "There be," he says, "two famous houses of antiquity in the west of Scotland, to wit, Montgomery of Eglintoun, and Cunninghame of Kilmaurs. Betwixt the friends of these two houses there has been of a long time so great emulation and envy, not without effusion of blood on either part, that although both the parties seemed fully to be satisfied and agreed in all points, yet the house of Cunninghame, by the invention of a wicked instrument of that surname, kindled up a new rancour in the hearts of the rest of that family; for, whereas some of the Montgomerys were assembled at a parish kirk upon a sabbath-day, thinking of no evil to ensue, nor yet intend-

ing to invade any man by way of action, they were strangely invaded by a greater force of Cunninghames, and without any just quarrel preceeding, or any injurious words past among them. At first a special man of the Montgomerys was shot with a pistol at unawares, and he turning himself suddenly, rather to eschue a further danger than otherwise, shot again for recompence, and by fortune slew that same man that had first injured him. The rest fled, and left the dead man lying in the kirk-yard; and Montgomery being cited before the justice criminal for the slaughter, he was acquit, because it was done by his own defence. The Cunninghames being grieved hereat, made presently a vow that they should be avenged upon the fattest of the Montgomerys (for these were their words) for that fact. This vow was so acceptable to them all, that a bond was concluded, subscribed with the chiefest of their hands, to slay the young earl by whatsoever mean could be devised, and that whosoever would take the turn in hand and perform it, he should not only be sustained upon the common expenses of the rest, but should also be maintained and defended by them all from danger and skaith. At last one Cunninghame of Robertland took the enterprise in hand, which he accomplished in this manner. Two years before his treasonable attemptate, he insinuated himself in familiarity and all dutiful service to the said young earl, whereby he moved him to take pleasure without any suspicion, till he conquered (*gained*) such favour at his hand, that neither the gold, money, horses, armour, clothes, counsel, or voyage, was hid from him, that this said Robertland was made so participant of them all, even as though they had been his own; and besides all this, the confidence and favour that the earl showed unto him was so great, that he preferred him to be his own bedfellow. Hereat lord Hugo, old earl of Eglintoun, took great suspicion, and therefore admonished his son in a fatherly manner to beware of such society, which, without all doubt, would turn to his skaith; for he knew well the nature of these Cunninghames to be subtle and false, and therefore willed him to give them no trust, but to avoid their company altogether, even as he loved his own life, or would deserve his fatherly blessing. To this counsel the son gave little regard, but that was to his pains; and the domestic enemy was so crafty, indeed, that he would attempt nothing during the life of the father,

for many respects. But within short time thereafter, as the noble earl was passing a short way in pastime, accompanied with a very few of his household servants, and evil horsed himself, Robertland, accompanied with sixty armed men, came running furiously against him upon horseback, and the earl, fearing the thing that followed, spurred his horse to have fled away; his servants all fled another way from their master, and he was left alone. The horsemen ran all on him, and unmercifully killed him with shots of guns and strokes of swords. The complaint of this odious murder being made to the king, he caused the malefactors to be charged to a trial, but they all fled beyond sea. Robertland, who was the first that made the invasion, passed to Denmark, where he remained at court till the king came to queen Anne. And because none of the rest could be apprehended, the king ordained their houses to be rendered to the earl's brother, to be used at his arbitrement, either to be demolished or otherwise; and he swore the great oath that he should never appardon any of them that had committed that odious murder. Yet, how soon his majesty was arrived in Denmark, his pardon was demanded of (*by*) the queen for the first petition, and the same was obtained, and he was received in grace there in presence of them all. Thereafter he came home in the queen's company, and remains as one of her majesty's master stablers."

The destruction of the Spanish armada was, at the moment, a great blow to the catholic party; but it soon recovered its courage, and, in Scotland, became more troublesome than ever, because it was more desperate. When James looked for the fulfilment of Elizabeth's promises, she partly disavowed them, alleging that her envoy had promised more than he was authorised to do. James was mortified and angry, and complained that he was treated like a child; and as every quarrel between the two countries brought more or less disfavour on the Scottish protestants, who were the constant friends of the English alliance, it raised proportionally the hopes of the Catholic nobles. These, encouraged directly by Spain, now urged James to take revenge on the English queen; and the turbulent earl of Bothwell offered to lead an army across the English border, and make Elizabeth's exchequer pay dearly for her parsimony. Finding the king unwilling to follow their counsels, they entered into a formidable con-

spiracy, which was supported by a large sum of money sent them from the low countries by the prince of Parma, through the agency of the jesuits and seminary priests. The leaders in this plot were the earls of Huntley (who had recently conformed to the protestant religion in order to obtain more influence over the king,) Crawford, and Errol, (a recent convert to popery), with the lord Maxwell. All these noblemen were in secret correspondence with the prince of Parma, whom they assured of their great regret at the failure of the armada, urging that a new attempt should be made by landing a body of troops in Scotland, which they promised to join with all their forces, while another Spanish army might be landed in England. Huntley, in a letter to the prince, lamented the necessity which had forced him to conform outwardly to protestantism, but he promised to do some good service by way of atonement; and he assured him that by his conforming he had gained such an influence over the king, that he had been able to change all his guards, and put in their places creatures of his own, who would assist him, when the moment arrived, in overthrowing the power of the heretics, and restoring the catholic religion. The earl of Errol said that since his conversion to the true faith, he had been constantly anxious to prove his devotion to the cause of the king of Spain and the pope. They proposed that Philip should send into Scotland six thousand veteran troops, with money to pay six thousand more, and they engaged that within six hours after their arrival they would be ready to march with them into England. Bruce, one of the principal seminary priests then employed in Scotland, wrote at the same time to inform the prince of the safe arrival of a large sum of money entrusted to Chisholm, one of his agents; and added that they had bought over the earl of Bothwell, who, though a protestant, would join heartily in their enterprise. The packet, containing these letters, was intercepted by the activity of Elizabeth's agents, and copies of them all were immediately sent to James; but he rejected their evidence, and refused to believe in the conspiracy.

Other circumstances, however, soon convinced him of its reality. Instigated partly by the foreign emissaries, and partly by their hostility to his ministers, they entered into a plot to carry out a part of the plan formed by Mary before the discovery of the Babington conspiracy, by seizing upon the king's

person, and putting away from him the chancellor and treasurer. In this enterprise, they calculated upon the assistance of several of the protestant nobles, who nourished personal animosity against the chancellor, who, with Glamis (the treasurer) were to be slain. The earls of Bothwell and Montrose were to assemble a strong body of men in arms at Quarrel-holes, between Leith and Edinburgh, and they were to march from thence suddenly to Holyroodhouse, and come upon the king unawares. But, at the very moment of putting this design into execution, it was disconcerted by an unexpected accident; for that night, instead of remaining in his palace, the king had gone to lodge in Maitland's house, within the walls of the city. When the conspirators were informed of this, they halted, most of them at considerable distances from the palace; and the enterprise was relinquished by all but Huntley, who, with a party of armed men, went to the chancellor's house, and, counting on the king's indulgence, boldly entered the presence-chamber, where he was in conversation with Maitland. The chancellor's friends and attendants who were present, alarmed at the appearance of armed men, closed round him for his protection, and, as James, after a few words with Huntley, had retired, escorted him to his chamber, which was immediately over that of the king. He thence sent a message to the king, representing the insult which had been offered, and the great danger of allowing so many armed men to remain in the house all night. The consequence was a peremptory order to Huntley and his followers to depart immediately. Next morning the earl was sent for; and James having interrogated him on his errand the preceding evening, and the reason of his bringing armed men with him, and received no satisfactory answer, he was committed in ward to the castle. Meanwhile, intelligence arrived that other bodies of armed men had been seen, during the night, approaching the town in different directions; and the whole design was gradually discovered. The earls of Errol and Bothwell were summoned to appear before the council, and, refusing to obey, they were proclaimed rebels. No further steps were taken, and Huntley, though kept in ward for a while, was visited and treated with the utmost affection by the king, who, on his solemn declaration of innocence, and disavowal of any sinister intentions, gave him his liberty.

But Huntley was no sooner free, than, having obtained permission to leave the court, he proceeded northward, and, having joined the earl of Crawford, who had already assembled his forces at Perth, they determined to establish their head-quarters in that town. Hearing, however, that the treasurer was at Meikle in Strathmore, they proceeded first to attack him; and, having driven him into the house of Kirkhill, they set fire to it, and compelled him to surrender. They then marched towards the north; while Bothwell, assembling his forces in the south, threatened to fall upon the rear of the king's army if he should venture to proceed against them. In the meanwhile, Elizabeth continued to intercept their correspondence with Spain; and she sent a message to James reproaching him with his dangerous remissness in allowing the catholics to pursue their designs against him with so much ease. Urged by her remonstrances, he immediately issued a proclamation, ordering all jesuits and seminary priests, especially Bruce, Crichton, and Hay, to leave the kingdom under pain of death. But, instead of obeying, these men fled to the north, and joined the earls of Huntley, Crawford, and Errol, who, in the beginning of April entered Aberdeen, and there issued a proclamation in the king's name, declaring that he was held captive, and calling upon all his loyal subjects to assist those who were assembled in arms to procure his liberation.

The king was effectually roused by these proceedings, and he acted with extraordinary vigour. Under the direction of the chancellor and the young duke of Lennox, the protestant nobles, including the earls of Mar, Morton, Angus, Marshal, and Athol, the three lord wardens, Hume, Cessford, and Carmichael, and the master of Glamis, obeyed the king's call with the utmost alacrity; and an army was soon assembled, with which James marched to Perth, declaring that he would destroy the rebels with fire and sword. But the rebel chiefs were not prepared for this unexpected display of activity, and their hearts misgave them. When James, marching rapidly by way of Dundee and Brechin, had reached the village of Currie, a few miles from Aberdeen, the earls attempted to make head against him, but, having met at the Brig of Dee, which they had appointed as the place of rendezvous, they found nothing but distrust and alarm among their fol-

lowers; and as their forces were fast melting away, they gave up all hopes of success. The earl of Crawford fled. Huntley, who occupied Aberdeen, was soon driven thence, and made his retreat to Strathbogie, where he surrendered himself a prisoner. The earl of Errol's principal castle, Slaines, was captured; and all the lesser chiefs who had been seduced into this rebellion submitted without a struggle. Overjoyed with his success, James returned to Edinburgh, where Bothwell, who had also been deserted by his forces, having sought the intercession of Maitland, threw himself on his knees before the king in the chancellor's garden, and was also committed to ward.

The kirk was now in the ascendant, and the ministers called loudly for judgment upon the popish conspirators. A convention of the nobility was held in Edinburgh, before whom the rebel earls were brought to trial. Huntley and Crawford confessed themselves guilty, and threw themselves on the king's mercy; and, although they were convicted of high treason, they were punished only with imprisonment. Bothwell pleaded innocence, stood upon his defence, and when brought into court he accused and reviled the chancellor. The trial lasted till midnight, and the lords seemed afraid to convict him, until they were encouraged by the king's presence and will. He, also, was condemned to imprisonment. Huntley was imprisoned in Edinburgh castle, Crawford in Blackness, and Bothwell in Tantallon, but after a few months they were all pardoned and released on the payment of fines. The earl of Errol was also heavily fined.

The king's attention was now entirely occupied with his marriage. Negotiations, with a view to a matrimonial alliance, had been begun and broken off with Denmark. When the earl of Arran was in the plenitude of his power, ambassadors were sent from Denmark to treat for a marriage between James and the eldest daughter of the Danish king; but Arran in the meantime having engaged to Elizabeth that the king should remain unmarried for three years, they were received with so much coldness that they immediately returned, and the Danish monarch in disgust gave his daughter in marriage to the duke of Brunswick. He subsequently announced his willingness to give a younger daughter to the king of Scots. But in the meantime a new proposal was made, it was said by the inter-mediation of the queen of England, that

James should marry the princess Anne, sister of the king of Navarre. The celebrated poet, Du Bartas, was sent secretly to Scotland to negotiate this alliance, and James went so far as to send an envoy back with Du Bartas to France to see the princess. But it appeared that this lady, whose heart was bestowed elsewhere, was averse to the match, and James's messenger reported that the princess of Navarre was old and crooked. James now turned his eyes again to Denmark, and he determined to marry the second daughter of the king of Denmark, the princess Anne. The nobility were all opposed to the match with Denmark—one party because they had a strong leaning to France, and wished James to be allied with the catholic powers, and the other because it was understood that Elizabeth, for some reason or another, disapproved of it. On the contrary, the burgh towns and the merchants, with the bulk of the people, were warmly in favour of Denmark. It was said that James only overcame the reluctance of the chancellor Maitland by secretly hiring the mob of Edinburgh to attack his house and threaten his life if he threw any further obstacle in the way of this marriage. In the month of July, the earl marshal was despatched to Copenhagen, with a retinue suited to the importance of the occasion, and full powers to conclude the match; and he found the court of Denmark so ready to listen to his proposals, that without further delay the marriage was solemnized by proxy, hasty preparations were made for the new queen's departure for Scotland, and a noble fleet of twelve sail, with brass ordnance, was fitted out to convey her to her new home. But some delays arose, and when at last the fleet sailed, it encountered such a fearful storm on the way, that the ships, dispersed and scattered, were driven back, and with difficulty reached the coast of Norway, in a condition which, combined with the weather, precluded all hope of making the voyage that season.

Meanwhile, James, in a sort of youthful enthusiasm, had formed a romantic passion for his bride, whom he had never seen, and with love-longings and amorous fancies, so excited his imagination, that he could brook no delay in her voyage, and, before she set sail, had despatched more than one messenger to hasten her departure. He was driven to a kind of agony by the stormy weather which followed; and when at length news came

of the queen's interrupted voyage, of her danger, and of her return to Norway, he shut himself up in his chamber at Craigmillar, and there conceived the design of committing himself to the dangers of a winter voyage in search of his wife. No sooner had he come to this determination, than he caused secret preparations to be made as rapidly as possible; and, on the 22nd of October, 1589, he embarked at Leith, taking with him the chancellor Maitland, his chaplain, David Lindsay, and a few of his courtiers. The day after he set sail, a paper was delivered to the privy council, in which he explained the reasons which had induced him to take this extraordinary step, and declared his will as to the conducting of the government during his absence. The first part of this paper, which was all in his own handwriting, was rather of a puerile character. The king complained that his subjects had very generally spoken of him as a barren stock, careless of marriage, or of leaving children to succeed him, and, which was still worse, that they had considered him as no better than "an impudent ass that could do nothing of himself," and represented him as being led by the nose by his chancellor. He declared that, to show the injustice of people's opinion of him, he had determined to take a wife in Denmark, and bring her home with the least possible delay; and he asserted, on his honour, that he had conceived and put into execution this voyage in search of her on his own mere motion, without consulting the chancellor or anybody else. He then went on to direct that, during his absence, the duke of Lennox, as president of the council, should have the chief authority in the kingdom; and, to conciliate the turbulent earl of Bothwell, he appointed him next in authority after Lennox. In addition to these two noblemen, the council of government was composed of the treasurer, the comptroller, the lord privy seal, the captain of Edinburgh castle, the lord advocate, and the clerk-register. The king also named a committee of noblemen who were to attend in Edinburgh, four at a time, in their turns, to assist in the government; the four first were to be the earls of Angus and Athol, and the lords Fleming and Innermeith, and they were to be followed by the earls of Mar and Morton, and the lords Seton and Yester; and so on in a regular cycle. The lord Hamilton, with the title of lord-lieutenant of the kingdom, was to be

entrusted with the military command; and to be assisted, in case of need, by the lords Boyd, Herries, Maxwell, Home, Cessford, and other border barons. In conclusion, James prohibited all conventions of the nobles during his absence, and enjoined the ministers of the kirk, who had latterly come into more favour at court, to exhort the people to obedience, and to pray for the success of his voyage. Still further to conciliate the preachers, he named Mr. Robert Bruce, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, an extraordinary member of the privy council, and corresponded with him during his absence.

After a rough passage of five days, James landed at a small port near Upsal, where the queen was waiting for the refitting of her fleet; and, unable to control his impatience he hastened to present himself to her. On the 23rd of November, the king was married in the church of Upsal by his chaplain, Lindsay; and James afterwards proceeded with his queen to Copenhagen, where he was persuaded to remain during the winter. In Denmark the king of Scots found much to interest him; he visited Tycho Brahe at Uraniburg, and discussed astronomical questions with him; and he held disputes on predestination and other favourite theological topics, with the celebrated scholar and divine Hemingius. These, with a continual succession of feasts, pageants, and out-door sports, fully occupied him during six months; and it was only on the May-day of the year 1590, that he landed at Leith, bringing home with him his youthful bride, and a splendid train of Danish nobles and ladies. They were there received by the Scottish nobility, headed by the duke of Lennox, the lord Hamilton, and the earl of Bothwell. The crowds assembled around the landing-place welcomed the royal couple with noisy demonstrations of joy; a Latin oration was delivered to the king, who then proceeded to attend worship, and hear a sermon by Mr. Patrick Galloway; and thence the royal party drove in state to Holyrood-house.

It has already been intimated that James had been, since the insurrection of the catholic lords, on better terms with the kirk. Aware of their influence over the middle and lower classes, he had left to the presbyterian ministers the charge of keeping the country tranquil by their preaching, and this they did so effectually that in his correspondence with Bruce he told that

preacher that he looked upon him as worth a quarter of his kingdom, and that he should never forget the services which he and the other preachers had done. At the coronation of the queen, which took place on the 17th of May, Mr. Bruce was appointed to perform the ceremony of anointment. This subject of anointing provoked a rather warm dispute between the king and the ministers, who declared that it savoured of the superstitions of the Jews and papists, and at first refused to countenance it; but when James threatened to call in one of the bishops to perform the ceremony, they yielded a reluctant consent. The ceremony of coronation was performed with great solemnity in the royal chapel at Holyrood-house. Three sermons were first preached in three different languages—Latin, French, and English; after which the royal party retired for a short space of time, and Andrew Melvil recited to them a Latin poem which he had composed for the occasion, and which afforded the king great satisfaction. They then returned into the chapel, where, the countess of Mar having uncovered the queen's shoulder and part of her breast, Mr. Bruce poured the oil upon it, and Mr. David Lindsay (the minister of Leith and chaplain of the king), assisted by the chancellor Maitland, now created lord Thirlestane, placed the crown on her head. The solemnity continued from ten in the morning until five at night. On the Tuesday following, the queen made her public entry into Edinburgh, and she was received, as was usual on such occasions, with a costly pageant. At the gate of the city, a municipal orator greeted her majesty with an address in Latin, and then a gilded globe, which was stuck upon the top of the gate, opened, and his son, a little boy, disguised as an angel, descended from it and delivered to the queen the keys of the city in silver. This was an old device, and the machinery was probably kept in readiness for whatever occasion might offer. On the next Sunday, the king and queen attended service at the high church, and James then addressed the congregation, thanking the ministers for their prayers during his absence; promising that he would reform himself and his government; and that he would take the kirk under his special care, and see it better provided. At the next general assembly, the king attended in person to testify further his good-will, and he then delivered a glowing panegyric upon the presbyterian form of church gov-

ernment. In the midst of his address, he lifted his hands to heaven and praised God that he was born in such a time as in the light of the gospel, and in such a place as to be king in such a kirk, the purest kirk in the world. "The kirk of Geneva," he said, "keepeth Pasch and Yule, what they have for them, they have no institution. As for our neighbour-kirk in England, their service is an evil-said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people,—ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and

barons, to stand to your purity; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook (*enjoy*) my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly (*mortals*).” The congregation were in raptures; and for a quarter of an hour there was nothing heard but praising God and praying for the king. Davidson, one of those ministers who were clearer-sighted in those matters than the rest, said to those who sat next him—"I know well, for all these professions the king makes, that he will not prove sincere, but will bring in the English modes, and rob us of our privileges."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE WITCHES OF LOTHIAN.

WE must now turn to a subject which may, by some, be considered as below the dignity of history, yet which was profoundly mixed up, in the age of which we are speaking, with men's thoughts and habitudes. It is astonishing, when we look closer into the personal intrigues of the Scottish nobles of James's reign, how frequently they had recourse to the supposed agency of witchcraft; and James himself, whose mind was remarkably superstitious, shared fully in the belief held on this matter by his subjects. James appears to have been convinced from the first, that the storms, which had impeded his marriage, were the result of agency of the kind to which we allude; and, soon after his return to Scotland, events occurred which confirmed him in this notion. The story we are going to relate forms one of the dark pages in the national annals.

At the little town of Tranent, on the firth of Forth, about nine miles from Edinburgh, there was, we are told, a man named David Seytoun, who held the office of deputy-bailiff of the town. He had a servant, a young woman named Geillis Duncan, who suddenly became celebrated among the town's-people for her extraordinary skill in curing diseases. Grave suspicions took the mind of her master, which were increased by the discovery that she was in the habit of secretly absenting herself from home every other night. David Seytoun took his servant apart and questioned her closely,

but without effect; and he then presumed upon his office so far as to call in some of his acquaintance and put her privately to torture, but even this produced no confession. They then proceeded to put in practice one of the least fallible methods of discovering a witch, and, having carefully searched every part of her body, they at last found the devil's mark on the fore-part of her throat. Unable to resist the force of such evidence, the poor woman now confessed that she performed her cures through the agency of witchcraft. She was immediately committed to prison, and there made a more full confession, in which a number of persons living in different parts of Lothian were implicated, and several persons were arrested in consequence. Of these, the most remarkable were Dr. John Fian, otherwise called John Cunningham, and three women, Agnes Sampson, Euphame Mackalzeane, and Barbara Napier. Fian was a schoolmaster of Tranent, and gave the following account of his acquaintance with the evil one. He said that the man, in whose house he lodged, at Tranent, having once offended him by not fulfilling a promise to whitewash his chamber, he lay in bed musing and thinking how he might be revenged, when the devil suddenly appeared to him, clad in a white garment, and said—"Will ye be my servant, and adore me and all my servants, and ye shall never want?" The temptation was irresistible, and Dr.

Fian became a servant of Satan, and revenged himself next day by burning the house. The second night the devil appeared in the same guise, and put his mark upon Fian's person. From this time the doctor became a perfect sorcerer; he was often carried away in the night to visit distant parts of the earth; was present at all the nightly conventions of witches, held in the district of Lothian; and rose so high in the devil's favour, that, being a scholar, he was appointed to the office of Satan's registrar and secretary. After the burning of the house, Fian appears to have gone to lodge in the neighbouring township of Preston Pans, from whence he was carried at night, as if, to use his own phrase, "he had been skimming across the earth," to the church of North Berwick, a distance of about fourteen miles along the coast, where he found a number of witches and sorcerers assembled, with a candle in the middle of them, burning blue. Satan, in one of his grim forms, stood preaching to them from a pulpit. He exhorted them to have no fear of him, promising them that as long as they served him they should never want, and that as long as they had their hairs on their bodies they should receive no injury; and, exhorting them to do all the evil they could in the world, and to eat, drink, and make merry. Fian seems to have been an ill-dispositioned man, and to have acted upon Satan's recommendation to the utmost of his power. He appears to have believed fully in the extraordinary powers Satan was understood to have endowed him with, and to have tried at least to exercise them for wicked purposes. He stated, in his examination, that one night, while residing at Trancnt, he went to sup at the miller's, some distance from the town, and, remaining there late, he was conveyed home on horseback by one of the miller's men. The night being dark, Fian raised up, by Satanic agency, four candles, placed on the horse's ears, and one on the staff of his conductor. The night, which was a very dark one, was thus made to appear to them as light as day. Dr. Fian agreed with the other witches in stating that, after the sermon was ended, Satan made them all do homage to him by kissing him behind.

The three women just mentioned were of a better class of persons than the generality of witches. Agnes Sampson is described as a grave matron, and was known, from the place of her residence, as the wise wife of

Keith. She also was celebrated for curing diseases; and it seems, by her confession, which was very wild and extraordinary, that she was employed even by persons of rank. She said that she had learnt the art of knowing and healing diseases from her father; but that, after the death of her husband, the devil appeared to her in the likeness of a man, and, as he promised her riches, and she was herself poor, she consented to renounce her Saviour and become a servant of the evil one. The form in which he generally appeared to her was that of a dog, from which she received answers to her questions. She related how on one occasion, when she was attending the old lady Edmestoun in a grievous sickness, she went out into the garden at night to call upon the evil one, who appeared in his usual shape of a dog, and informed her that the lady would not recover, inasmuch as "her days were gone." He then asked her where the gentlewomen, the lady's daughters, were; and when she answered that she expected them to come with her into the garden, he added that he would have one of them. Agnes, however, replied that this should not be the case; upon which he went away howling into the well, and remained concealed there till after supper. When supper was over, the young ladies came into the garden, and the dog, rushing out and terrifying them all, seized upon one, the lady Torsenye, and attempted to drag her into the well to drown her, when Agnes also seized hold of the young lady and proved stronger than the devil. The latter gave a terrible howl and disappeared. In fact, Agnes seems to have been a woman of spirit, for sometimes she quarrelled violently with the evil one himself. On one occasion she met some other witches on the bridge of Foulstruther; and, wanting some service from Satan, they threw a cord into the river, and Agnes Sampson cried out, "Hail, holoe!" The end of the cord which was in the water became immediately heavy, and when they drew it out, the devil came up at the end of it. He examined them if they had all been good servants to him, and, being answered in the affirmative, he gave them a charm to effect the purpose for which they had consulted him.

Euphame Mackalzeane was a lady of rank, being the only daughter and heiress of the lord Cliftounhall, a distinguished scholar, lawyer, and statesman. She was devoted to the party of the earl of Bothwell, and her love of political intrigue seems to have led

her into the society of the witches. She confessed that she had been first made a witch by means of an Irishwoman, and that she was inaugurated into the art by a witch who dwelt in St. Ninian's-row, in Edinburgh. She also was evidently a wicked woman, for she was accused of having recourse to poison as well as sorcery; and it was believed that by these means she had procured the deaths of her own husband, her father-in-law, and various other persons. She had become acquainted with Agnes Sampson at the time of the birth of her eldest son, having applied to her to ease her of her pains in childbirth, which she did by transferring them to a dog. On the birth of her second son, Agnes was again called in for the same purpose, and she then transferred her pains to a cat. Barbara Napier was also a woman of some station in society. The others were persons of low condition; one of whom, a poor peasant whom they nicknamed Gray Meal, was keeper of the door at the meetings of the witches.

The favourite place of meeting was the church of North Berwick. One Allhallow-eve (which was a great night for such unholy doings), Agnes Sampson said "she was accompanied with a great many other witches, to the number of two hundred, and that all they together went to sea, each one in a riddle or sieve, and went into the same very substantially, with flagons of wine, making merry and drinking by the way, in the same riddles or sieves, to the kirk of North Berwick, in Lothian; and that after they had landed, they took hands on the land, and danced this reel or short dance, singing, all with one voice—

"Commer, gae ye before, commer gae ye,
Gif ye wall not gae before, commer, let me."

At which time she confessed that Geillis Duncan did go before them, playing this reel or dance upon a small trump called a Jew's-trump, until they entered into the kirk of North Berwick." On another occasion, Dr. Fian, with Agnes Sampson, one Robert Greirsoun, and others, went out to sea in a boat from Preston Pans, and entering a ship they therein drunk good wine and ale; after which, as they quitted the ship, they caused it to sink, with all that were in it. At another time, as we learn from the confession of Agnes Sampson, a party of them went out from North Berwick in a boat like a chimney, the devil leading them in the form of a rick of hay; and that in

this manner they encountered a ship called the "Grace of God," which they immediately entered, and there they made good cheer; and, as it would appear from the sequel of the story, they took the ship's money. When they left the ship, the devil raised a hurricane, and, placing himself beneath, he threw it over so that it sank. Dr. Fian stated, that, in the summer of 1589, the fiend told them, beforehand, of the leak which would endanger the queen's ship, and force her to take refuge in Norway. And when they knew that the queen was actually on her way from Denmark, they held a convention at the Broom-hills, whence the whole company went out to sea in riddles, Robert Greirsoun being their "admiral," or leader; and on this occasion they again entered a ship, in which they regaled themselves, and made merry. Before quitting it, they threw a dog overboard, with certain ceremonies—the consequence of which was that the ship turned over and sank, and a great storm was raised which helped to drive the queen back.

The great storm which endangered the queen's fleet was raised by extraordinary ceremonies, which was fully detailed in the confessions of these unearthly conspirators. A meeting of the witches and sorcerers was held expressly for this purpose, in the house of a webster at Preston Pans. Among others there were present Agnes Sampson, Dr. Fian, and Geillis Duncan, the servant of David Seytoun, by whom the whole was brought to light. They there proceeded to baptize a cat, a ceremony which, according to the confession of Agnes Sampson, was performed in the following manner:—"First, two of them held one finger in the one side of the chimney crook, and another held another finger in the other side, the two nibs of the fingers meeting together; then they put the cat thrice through the links of the crook, and passed it thrice under the chimney." They next tied four joints of dead men to the four feet of the cat; and thus prepared it was conveyed to Leith, where, at midnight, the witches took it to the pier-head and threw it into the sea. Another party of the witches threw a cat into the sea at Preston Pans the same night at eleven o'clock. By these combined preparations so dreadful a storm was raised, that the boat between Leith and Kinghorn perished, with all on board. The queen having, however, escaped the supposed effects of their malice, the witches determined to try their arts

upon the king. Another eat was thrown into the sea to raise a storm during the king's voyage to Denmark; and, previous to his return, a new convention was held, at which the fiend himself was present, and he promised to raise a mist on James's homeward voyage which should cause him to be carried into an English port. For this purpose, as Dr. Fian confessed, Satan threw a thing like a football into the sea, from which vapours and smoke arose when it touched the water. It was now evident that James was proof against witchcraft by sea, and Satan himself was obliged to confess, using a French phrase, that the king was *un homme de Dieu*, and that he had little power over him.

James, as we have seen, arrived safe at Leith on the 1st day of May, 1590. Not long after his return, a new plot was laid against him. On Lammas eve (the 31st of July, 1590), a grand convention was held at a spot named the Fairy hills, at Newhaven. Among those present were nine of the principal sorcerers, including Dr. Fian, Agnes Sampson, Euphame Mackalzeane, and Barbara Napier. Their whole number amounted to thirty; and the devil made his appearance amongst them in the shape of a black man. When they had taken their place, Agnes Sampson opened the proceedings by proposing that they should consult for the destruction of the king. The devil told them their designs were likely to be frustrated; nevertheless, he promised them an image of wax; and he directed them to hang up and roast a toad; and they were to lay the drippings of this toad, mixed with strong wash, an adder's skin, and the tiling in the forehead of a new foaled foal, in the way where the king was to pass, or hang it in a position where it might drop on his body. Agnes Sampson was appointed to make the image, which she gave to the fiend, who took it with him, promising to prepare it and give it them back for use within a short time. In the meantime the toad was duly prepared, and the dripping was to have fallen on the king "during his majesty's being at the Brig of Dee, the day before the common bell rang for fear the earl Bothwell should have entered Edinburgh;" but James disappointed the conspirators on this occasion by suddenly taking a different way from that by which he was expected to go.

All this time the image of wax went on very slowly, Satan alleging that the extreme

piety and wisdom of king James presented a formidable obstacle to the progress of his incantations. In the last night of October—the eve of Hallowmass, 1590—there was an unusually large and solemn meeting in the church of North Berwick. According to the account given in the confessions, there were no less than a hundred present, in which number there were only six men. Agnes Sampson said that she went thither on horseback, and that on her arrival, at about eleven o'clock at night, they all danced across the churchyard, Dr. Fian as usual leading the way, and Geillis Duncan playing on the trump or Jew's harp. On arriving at the church door, the women first paid their homage, turning six times round "widderschinnes," or in a direction contrary to that of the course of the sun; and after them the men performed the same ceremony nine times. Dr. Fian then blew open the church doors, and having passed into the church, he blew in the lights, which were like great black candles, each held in the gristly hand of an old man, and ranged round the pulpit, in which the devil suddenly rose up in the form of a black man, with a black beard sticking out like that of a goat, and a high-ribbed nose falling down like the beak of a hawk. He wore a black gown, with a black skull-cap on his head, the latter of which was described in the confessions of the witches as being "ill-favoured." Dr. Fian stood beside the pulpit as clerk, and Robert Greirson stood next to him. Of the rest of the company, some sat and others stood. Satan began by bringing forth a black book, from which he read the names of those who had been summoned to this meeting, and each person answered to her or his name, "Here, master!" It must be remarked that in these meetings each person was called by a nickname, and not by the true name, which it was considered a great breach of etiquette to use. Satan at this meeting seems to have been vexed or put out of his way, for when he came to the name of Robert Greirson, whose nickname was Rob the Rower, he called him by his own proper name instead of using the nickname; and, to make matters worse, the fiend made the same mistake immediately afterwards in the names of Euphame Mackalzeane and Barbara Napier. These mistakes excited much clamour and tumult, and they all "ran hirdie-girdie," as they expressed it, and became very angry. As soon as this tumult could be appeased,

Satan made a short sermon, exhorting them all to be good servants, and to persist in doing as much evil of every description as they could. A new and great uproar now took place about the image of wax, which was not forthcoming. Robert Greirsoun, urged on by the women, said, "Where is the thing ye promised?" As Satan appears at first to have hesitated in replying to this question, the tumult became greater, and, to appease it, he was obliged to promise that "It should be gotten the next meeting, and he would hold the next assembly, for that cause, the sooner; it was not ready at that time." This excuse was considered anything but satisfactory; and Robert Greirsoun, who seems to have been offended by the mistake about his name, shouted out rudely—"Ye promised twice, and deceived us!" Some of the women now raised their voices in the matter, and became so mutinous, that the fiend was compelled by their importunity to enter into a promise that he would not wait for another meeting, but that the image should be delivered very shortly to Barbara Napier and Euphame Maekalzeane. The company seems now to have been quieted again; though another subject of offence had arisen from the indiscretion of Gray Meal, the door-keeper, who was imprudent enough to say in the midst of the tumult—"Nothing ailed the king yet, God be thanked!" for which the fiend gave him a great blow. The business of the evening was now considered to be over, and the company indulged in a wild revel, after which they opened two graves within and one without the church, and took the joints of the dead, which were shared among them, to make charms of. Before they departed, each saluted the evil one with a kiss behind.

All these strange stories were avowed by about thirty persons, who had been seized and subjected to examination; and, as the king took the matter under his own special care, they afforded him amusement during the winter. We are told that he "took great delight" in the examinations, and that the various confessions put him "in a wonderful admiration." His vanity was highly gratified by Satan's confessions to the royal piety and wisdom. He even took a pleasure in making Geillis Duncan play before him on her trump the same tune to which the witches had danced in their meetings. Little justice, however, was observed in the manner of conducting the examina-

tions; and we are not surprised at any confessions made by people subjected to such tortures, as were here applied, under the king's own direction and eye. The very firmness with which some of them suffered for a while, rather than confess, was only looked upon as diabolical obstinacy, and provoked severer punishment. The torture to which Dr. Fian was subjected was too horrible to be described. Agnes Sampsoun was examined before the king at Holyroodhouse, and bore the torture, which was of a very cruel description, firmly and without confession; upon this, she was stripped naked, the hair shaved from her body, and the search for the devil's mark carried on in such a manner that she confessed anything rather than submit to further indignities.

On the 26th of December, Dr. Fian was found guilty and condemned to be burnt, and the sentence was put in execution at the beginning of the January of 1591. Agnes Sampsoun received her sentence on the 27th of January, and she was burnt on the castle-hill of Edinburgh, after having been first strangled at the stake. Most of the minor offenders were, at different times, put to death in the same manner. Agnes Sampsoun had confessed that Bothwell had consulted her on the probable duration of the king's life; and she added that her spirit, in the form of a dog, had told her that the king was proof against incantations. The two other women, Euphame Mackalzeane and Barbara Napier, were reserved till the summer of 1591, in the hope of obtaining from them further revelations with relation to the earl of Bothwell and his accomplices. More particulars, calculated to eriminate Bothwell, were extorted from a notorious sorcerer named Richard Graham; who confessed that the earl had consulted with him on some means to be used to hasten the king's death. He said that Bothwell had informed him that it had been predicted by a necromancer in Italy, that he (Bothwell) should become great in power and in temporal possessions; that he should kill two men, and fall into trouble with the king for two capital crimes; but that he should be pardoned for the first, and suffer for the second. Up to a certain point he believed the prophecy to have been fulfilled. He had become a great baron; he had killed sir William Stuart and Davie the devil, the nickname of David Hume of Manderston; he had been once pardoned,

and now he or the king must go. Graham gave the king a particular account of the charms employed ineffectually to compass his destruction. Euphame Mackalzeane was not condemned until the 7th of June, when it was cruelly ordered that she should be burnt alive, instead of being strangled first. When Barbara Napier was put upon her trial, the jury appears not to have been satisfied with the evidence, and acquitted her of the chief articles of the charge against her. The king was highly provoked by this proceeding; he determined to punish

the jurors, and on the 7th of June he went to Falkland to preside in person at their trial. They all tried to avoid the king's further displeasure by pleading guilty, and throwing themselves upon his mercy; whereupon he made a long oration, dwelling upon the evident existence of witchcraft, the heinousness of the crime, and the necessity of rooting out the offenders. He ended by pardoning the erring jurors, who were overjoyed at their escape. From this time, James set himself up for an oracle in all matters connected with sorcery.

CHAPTER XXIV.

JAMES'S PROJECTS OF REFORM; MURDER OF THE EARL OF MURRAY; THE KIRK; CATHOLIC CONSPIRACY; INSURRECTION OF THE NORTHERN NOBLES.

THE strange story related in the last chapter had more real connection with the political state of the kingdom than might appear at first sight. The belief in witchcraft was at this moment so general and so profound in Scotland, that the turbulent chieftains did not hesitate to consult with its professors in their intrigues; and, in the state of the law and the tone of public opinion, such consultation, if proved, was sufficient to raise a powerful prejudice, and was itself a ground for criminal prosecution of a very severe description. Such a cause was just now wanting. During James's absence in Denmark, he had held long consultations with chancellor Maitland on the subject of curbing the insolence of the nobles, and raising the influence of the crown. The result of these consultations was, that, after his return to Scotland, James began with great spirit and skill to carry his projects of reform into execution. But he was surrounded on every side by difficulties, which, to use the expression which came from his own lips, "it would take three kings' lives to overcome." For a short time, the king's mind was chiefly occupied with the feasting and revelry caused by the presence at court of the Danish nobles and others who had accompanied the queen to Scotland; but these having left at the end of May, James began resolutely to pursue his object. He introduced, for a while, a strict system of

economy into the royal household, following in every thing the course most likely to replenish his treasury, while he attempted to enforce a more respectful bearing towards himself from the nobles. But, even these slight beginnings did not pass unnoticed, and the earls and great barons began again to league together against the crown. The whole country, which had been so tranquil during the king's absence, was now filled with turbulence; and outrages of the most daring description were committed with impunity, under protection of the great political factions. It had been James's policy to balance these factions against one another; or it is perhaps more strictly correct to say, that he had been under the necessity of doing so; and, even when a criminal had been brought to trial and condemned, the interference of the leader of the faction, whose protection he claimed, was generally sufficient to obtain his pardon. James was too much afraid of giving direct offence to one faction or the other, to venture upon a refusal. He now, however, had professedly entered upon a new course; and, strong in his protestant marriage with Denmark, and in a close friendship, into which he had entered with Elizabeth, who sent him the garter, and assisted him with loans of money, he declared his intention of reducing to obedience and good behaviour both the turbulent earls of Huntley and Bothwell, and

the whole confederacy of the catholic lords, and expressed his readiness to enter into an alliance even against the king of Spain himself. So far was James's friendship to the queen of England now carried, that when an Irish insurgent chieftain, named O'Rourke, was discovered in Glasgow secretly obtaining men to recruit his forces in Ireland for insurrection against the English government, the king had him immediately arrested and delivered up to Elizabeth's officers.

The most troublesome of all James's nobility, both on account of his great power and his insolent recklessness, was Francis Stuart, earl of Bothwell. This man set the laws at defiance; he had been known to enter a court of justice with an armed force, and carry off a friend or retainer out of the hands of the judges; and no favours could conciliate him. The confessions of the witches seemed to offer a favourable opportunity of proceeding against him with greater severity, and he was arrested and committed to ward in the castle of Edinburgh; but, while the king and his council were hesitating on the degree of rigour with which it would be prudent to treat him, he contrived to corrupt his keeper, and make his escape to the border, to meditate new treasons. Having leagued with some persons about court who were hostile to the chancellor Maitland, Bothwell made a bold attempt in the later days of the December of 1591, to surprise the palace, and gain possession of the persons of the king and his minister. The plot was well laid; and the earl and his followers, whom he had furnished with hammers necessary for breaking open the doors of the king's and queen's apartments, were secretly admitted through the stables of the duke of Lennox. But it failed of success through an act of imprudence. It was to James Douglas of Spot, who lodged in the palace, that Bothwell seems to have owed chiefly his easy access into Holyrood-house. This man had been accused of participating in, if not instigating to, the murder of his father-in-law; and the king had caused three of his men to be placed under arrest, and had declared his intention of having them put to the torture the morning after the night fixed for their enterprise, to extort a confession which might implicate their master. Bothwell had no sooner made his way into the palace, and reached, unobserved, the inner court, than Douglas insisted that, before they proceeded any further, they must release his

men from their confinement. To do this, they were obliged to use their hammers on the doors; and the noise they thus made caused an alarm, which was instantly carried to the king, who was at supper in the queen's apartment. James, expecting of course that the conspirators would proceed direct thither, hurried away, and took shelter in a strong turret. Bothwell, as was expected, proceeded with one part of his men to the queen's apartments, where he reckoned on finding the king, while he sent the rest to the apartments of the chancellor; but, the alarm having been given at both, they were strongly barricaded, and offered more resistance than was expected. Maitland, moreover, kept his assailants at bay by a free use of fire-arms. Bothwell called for fire to burn the doors; but valuable time had been lost; and the alarm having spread, sir James Sandilands, one of the gentlemen of the king's bedchamber, procured assistance, and, entering the palace through the chapel, attacked the conspirators, and compelled them to make a speedy retreat. An equerry, named Shaw, was shot by Bothwell, in an attempt to arrest his flight. Nine of Bothwell's men, who were captured, were hanged next morning.

An act like this could hardly fail to provoke public indignation; yet Bothwell soon recovered himself to form new alliances for further enterprises, and the public feelings were suddenly occupied by a tragic event which provoked general sympathy. The inheritor of the earldom of Murray, a young Stuart, possessing many of the virtues and the great qualities of the regent, was endeared to the people by this circumstance, as well as by his inheritance of the name of that great man. He was one of the bravest and handsomest men of his time, of great stature and strength of body, and noble bearing, so that he was popularly spoken of as the "bonnie earl." Although a favourite at court, he was personally disliked by the king, for which different reasons were alleged; it was even said that James was jealous of the partiality shown to him by his young queen. The severe justice which the regent, Murray, had exercised upon the old earl of Huntley had given rise to a bitter feud between the Gordons and Murray's family, and this, increased, it would appear, by some individual causes of offence, fell with accumulated force upon the head of the young earl. The circumstances which had now offended Huntley furnish a melancholy

illustration of the condition into which the north of Scotland had now fallen. It appears that a servant of one of the Gordons had been killed in a private quarrel by one of the Grants, and Huntley, taking the law into his own hands, had proceeded into the lands of the Grants to seize the offender, and attacked and taken their chief house by force. This was taken as a great insult to the clan, and alarmed some neighbouring clans, and they joined together for mutual defence, and sought the more powerful protection of the earl of Murray, and his kinsman, the earl of Athol. The two earls agreed to meet these clans at Forres. When the earl of Huntley was informed of this meeting, he hastily gathered a number of his followers in arms, and proceeded to Forres to prevent it; but when he arrived there it had already been held, and the chiefs who were parties to it had separated, and returned to their homes. Huntley marched with his men to the earl of Murray's house, which he surrounded, and addressed threats of such an insulting kind to the earl, that they were replied to by a volley of fire-arms, by which, singularly enough, the Gordon whose servant had been killed by a Grant was slain. The excitement on both sides was now great; each chief armed his followers, and there was open war between Murray and Huntley, until lord Ochiltree, a Stuart and a friend of Murray, exerted himself, with apparent success, in bringing about a reconciliation between the two earls. This occurred at the beginning of the year 1592, while Huntley was attending at court; and it was generally believed that James, pretending to promote this reconciliation, was actually aiding in a treacherous plot for the destruction of the young earl of Murray. Lord Ochiltree had been employed to tell Murray that his friendly advances were accepted, and the young earl, totally unsuspecting of treachery, left his fastnesses in the north, and came with a small retinue to his mother's house of Dunibersel, on the opposite side of the frith from Queensferry. On the 7th of February, the king went out to hunt, and lord Ochiltree, by the direction of the earl of Huntley and, apparently, of the king, rode to Queensferry, to pass over to Dunibersel, for the purpose of arranging a meeting between the two earls. On his arrival at Queensferry, he was surprised to find that a royal order had arrived that morning, ordering all the boats to be kept on that side of the frith, and forbidding any

one to pass without the king's order. There was at this time a hot pursuit of the earl of Bothwell, and lord Ochiltree, naturally enough, ascribed the stoppage of the boats to this cause, and returned to Edinburgh. Meanwhile the earl of Huntley had assembled his followers, to the number of forty horsemen, under pretence of accompanying the king to the chase; but, while the king was employed in this amusement, Huntley suddenly told him he had just received certain news of the place of Bothwell's concealment, and obtained permission to proceed against him. He hastened to Queensferry, with the royal order, pressed the boats for his services, and having beset the house of Dunibersel, summoned the earl of Murray to surrender. Murray refused, and successfully resisted all his efforts to force the house until nightfall, when Huntley's men collected the corn-ricks from the neighbouring fields, and, piling them against the walls of the house, set it on fire. When the flames had gained entire possession of the house; the inmates made a desperate sally, in which the sheriff of Murray was slain, but the young earl, all blackened with the fire, and his long hair and cap in flames, rushed upon his enemies with the force and courage of a lion, and making his way through them, fled to the sea-shore. But the sparks from his head-gear betrayed his flight, and he was traced by his enemies into a cave, where he sought refuge, and was there basely and cruelly murdered. It was Gordon, of Buckie, who gave him his mortal wound; when he had struck him, as he turned away he saw the earl of Huntley himself drawing back, upon which he reproached him for not going as far as he had made his friends go, and thus spurred on, the earl turned and struck Murray in his face with his dagger. The dying nobleman reproached him with his baseness, and told him he had spoilt a better face than his own.

This atrocious murder had more serious effects than was anticipated. Not only Murray's friends, but all who were discontented with the government, joined in the cry for vengeance. The lord Forbes, one of the most attached friends of the murdered nobleman, placed his bloody shirt on the head of a spear, and paraded it through his territories, while the lady Doune carried the body of her son, with that of the sheriff of Murray, to the church of Leith, and there exposed them to the gaze of the multitude. The lord Ochiltree, who, in his earnest

desire to promote a reconciliation between Murray and Huntley, had been made an instrument to bring about the sad catastrophe, was the loudest of all in denouncing the perpetrators. At this critical moment, instead of pursuing the murderers, the king showed an extraordinary indifference, which could not fail to raise suspicions against himself; and these were by no means diminished, when Huntley, who, to conceal himself from the popular odium, had fled, first, to lord Roslin's castle of Ravensheugh, and thence to his own country in the north, declared that he had the king's commission for all he had done. The earl was thereupon summoned to surrender himself to the king's justice; which he obeyed at once, and entered into ward at Blackness, but, after a very slight investigation, he received the royal pardon. This act of partiality increased the public irritation, and the turbulent earl of Bothwell seized the occasion of joining the friends of the murdered earl, who were already in arms in the north, where the earl of Athol, the Mackintoshes, Grants, Lovats, and other clans, invaded the lands of the earl of Huntley with fire and sword. In the south, matters were in not much better condition, for every day brought new circumstances to light, which increased the suspicion that the chancellor Maitland was directly implicated in the murder, and the feeling against him became so strong, that he was soon obliged to retire from court; while the ministers of the kirk, who had been deeply offended at the favour recently shown to Huntley, the head of the Scottish catholics, joined heartily with the party now opposed to the court. But James was most embarrassed when he found that Elizabeth, who also had been alarmed at the favour shown to Huntley, now favoured the discontented lords, and that she had even entered into secret correspondence with Bothwell.

With his habitual craftiness, James saw the necessity of gaining over some one of the parties now arrayed against him, and the one which promised to serve his turn most effectually at this moment was the kirk. In his anxiety to secure the alliance of the presbyterian clergy, the king overshot himself, and granted concessions of which he afterwards bitterly repented. Parliament had been summoned to meet at Edinburgh in the beginning of June (1592), and the ministers, who were not slow at seeing and pursuing their advantage, held an assembly

a short time before, in which they determined on certain articles to be demanded as the price of their alliance, and appointed a deputation to wait on the king and admonish him solemnly of the errors into which he was falling. Maitland, who still ruled at court, though absent, and who was no less anxious than the king to secure the friendship of the kirk, exerted all his influence in support of their demand, which amounted to no less than a legal establishment of the presbyterian form of government, and a repeal of all statutes which interfered with the liberty of the church. When parliament met, on the 5th of June, the petition of the kirk was immediately brought forward. It consisted of four articles—1, that the acts passed in 1584, aimed against the discipline, liberty, and authority of the church, should be annulled, and that the present discipline, whereof the church had had the practice, should be ratified; 2, that the act of annexation should be rescinded, and the patrimony of the church restored; 3, that abbots, priors, and other prelates representing the church, and without power and commission acting for it, should no longer be suffered to vote for the same, either in parliament or in any other convention; and, 4, that the country, which was polluted with fearful idolatry and blood, should be purged. These articles seem to have met with very little opposition, and an act was passed which is still looked upon by the kirk as the charter of its liberties. It ratified the general assemblies, provincial synods, presbyteries, and particular sessions, and declared them, with the jurisdiction and discipline belonging to them, to be in time coming most just, good, and godly, notwithstanding all acts made to the contrary. By this act, the powers of the provincial synods and presbyteries were defined, and the times and manner of meeting for the higher courts settled; it was enacted that general assemblies should be held once a year, or oftener, as circumstances should require; the king or his commissioners, if present, were at each assembly, before it dissolved, to appoint the time and place for the meeting of the next; or, if they were not present, the assembly was to appoint the time and manner of meeting, according to the usual custom; provincial synods were to be held twice a year; all acts in favour of popery which had not already been rescinded, were repealed; and it was further declared that the act of 1584, respecting the king's

supremacy, should be in no wise prejudicial to the privilege God had given to the spiritual office-bearers in the church, concerning heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, appointment or deprivation of ministers, or any such essential censures, having warrant in the word of God. It was further declared by this act, that the act of 1584, which granted commissions to bishops and other judges, constituted, in ecclesiastical causes, to receive the king's presentations to benefices, and to give collation, to be expired of itself, and to be null and of no avail in time coming; and it was therefore ordained that all presentations to benefices should be directed to the particular presbyteries, with full power to give collation, and to manage all ecclesiastical causes within their bounds, provided they admitted such qualified ministers as were presented by the king or other patrons.

The triumph of the kirk was soon followed by other events of importance, and new intrigues and conspiracies of different kinds came to disturb the peace of the court and people; among the busiest of the intriguers was the earl of Bothwell, who failed in another attempt to seize the king's person. After the conclusion of the parliament, James had retired to Falkland to hold his court there, and Bothwell, who had still many friends about the king's person, concerted his plan with them, and they were to admit him and his followers by night into the castle. He had entered into a league with the earl of Angus, and with some of the southern chiefs, who were to come to his assistance. James received intimation of his danger through the treachery of some of Bothwell's friends, but he was led by others who were complices in the plot to disregard the warning; and on the very night in which it was to be carried into execution, he received a person who was sent to inform him of his danger so contemptuously, that the latter rode away from court in the utmost disgust. On his way over the Lomond hills he fell in with Bothwell and his followers, and, favoured by the darkness of the night, he returned in their company as if he had been one of them. When they approached Falkirk, he rode hastily forward, and rushing through the gate of the castle, he instantly caused it to be made fast, and hurrying in called on the king to throw himself into the strong tower as a place of safety. The court was soon alarmed, and as Bothwell's

friends inside were now afraid to throw off the mask, he found the gates closed against him. His followers were weary with a long march, without sleep and with very little food, and after a few useless shots, they broke open the stables, stole the horses, and fled. Some of them were found asleep on the hills in the morning, and were captured, but they were set at liberty as the mere constrained followers of their chief. Bothwell himself fled to the border, and thence took refuge in England. Several of the courtiers were discovered to be implicated in the conspiracy, some of whom were gentlemen of the king's chamber; but with a strange remissness, they merely went through a form of examination or of displeasure to be restored at once to favour. One of these, Wemyss, of Logie, a gentleman of the king's chamber, was placed under temporary ward in the palace; but having been engaged in an amour with one of the maids of honour, who succeeded in deceiving his guard, she let him down from the window by means of a cord, and he escaped. When this stratagem was discovered, so far was the lady from incurring the king's displeasure, that the whole matter was made a subject of merriment, and Wemyss was sent for back, married to his mistress, and restored to his post. In the mirth occasioned by this event, Bothwell and his conspiracy seem almost to have been forgotten.

Still, Bothwell was popular with the borderers, and, in the month of October, James was under the necessity of marching to Jedburgh, in order to awe the border chieftains into obedience. During his absence a quarrel arose at court, which contributed not a little to embarrass him. It appears that the king had granted to the chancellor (Maitland, lord of Thirlestane), the lordship of Musselburgh, which had formerly belonged to the abbey of Dunfermline. The rents of this abbey had since been settled upon the queen, and, at the instigation of some of the chancellor's enemies, she insisted upon his surrendering Musselburgh to her. The chancellor refused, and the queen being offended joined his opponents, and formed a faction against him so strong that he found it necessary to retire from court. The king at this moment could ill afford to dispense with his counsels, for feuds had arisen which were producing confusion in every part of the realm. In the north the friends of the late earl of Murray,

and especially the Mackintoshes of the Clan Chattan, continued to pursue their feud against the earl of Huntley, until, in a savage encounter at a place called Staplegate-hill, the Mackintoshes experienced a signal defeat, and the earl of Huntley pursued his advantage with characteristic ferocity. The general confusion encouraged the banished earl of Arran, who was now only spoken of by the generality of people as captain James Stuart, to show himself again in public, and he subsequently made an attempt to regain his favours at court. He might probably have succeeded, for the king seemed willing to receive him, but the kirk, which he attempted to conciliate, took a violent part against him, and soon afterwards he was slain by James Douglas, of Parkhead, a nephew of the earl of Morton, who thus seized an opportunity of revenging the death of his uncle. The year 1592 witnessed the death of another man who had acted a prominent part in Scottish history, but whose character was of a purer description. This was the venerable John Erskine of Dun, one of the earliest, most constant, and bravest supporters of the protestant cause in Scotland. He died on the 16th of October, in the eighty-second year of his age.

As might be expected, the recent triumph of the presbyterian party drove the catholics again to desperate measures, and the Spanish missionaries were ready enough to give them encouragement. Elizabeth had already given the Scottish king warning of some plots which were in agitation, when her ambassador, Bowes, who was assisting the ministers of the kirk in their searches after papists, obtained information, at the end of the year, that a catholic gentleman, named George Kerr, brother of the abbot of Newbottle, was on his way to Spain, carrying with him letters of an important character. Bowes communicated this intelligence to Andrew Knox, minister of Paisley, one of the most zealous of the preachers, who immediately pursuing with a body of armed men furnished by the lord Ross, traced Kerr to Glasgow, and thence to the Cumrays, and finally seized him on board a vessel in which he had embarked for the continent. He was conveyed in triumph to Edinburgh, where his arrival caused an extraordinary excitement, and the letters seized in his luggage having been examined, there were found among them a number of blank sheets of paper, signed with the names of

the earls of Huntley, Errol, and Angus, with the seals of those noblemen attached. These, when laid before the council, were immediately recognized as authentic, and it was at first supposed that the papers were written on with ink of white vitriol, which only became visible when a certain application was made, but this was found not to be the case, and Kerr was subjected to a severe examination. At first he denied everything; but, on the application of torture, he confessed that he had received from the earls a verbal commission to fill up those blanks when he had reached the Spanish dominions, and that they formed part of an extensive conspiracy, the object of which was to bring a Spanish army into Scotland, for the purpose of overthrowing the existing government, and crushing the protestant party. From the circumstance of the blank commissions, this was popularly called the plot of the Spanish blanks. According to Kerr's confession, thirty thousand Spanish troops were to be landed on the western coast of Scotland, where they were to be joined immediately by the catholic lords, with all the forces they could bring into the field. While one-half of the Spanish troops remained in Scotland, the rest, with the Scottish lords, were to march into England, where they probably expected to co-operate with other foreign troops to be landed in the south. At the moment when Kerr was under arrest, the earl of Angus, totally ignorant of what had taken place, had just arrived in Edinburgh, and he was placed under arrest, and committed to ward in the castle. Graham, of Fintry, one of Kerr's associates, was also thrown into prison. A proclamation was made, commanding all jesuits, seminary priests, and excommunicates, to depart from the city within three hours, on pain of death; and sir John Carmichael and sir James Hume were despatched to the king at Stirling, to inform him of what had taken place, and to request his immediate presence in the capital.

The king, who was busy in his Christmas recreations, received the two barons rudely, and expressed his displeasure at the magistrates of Edinburgh, who, he said, had encroached upon his prerogatives, in presuming to place under arrest a nobleman of the rank of the earl of Angus. He, however, proceeded immediately to Edinburgh, where the barons and ministers there assembled waited upon him in a body at

Holyrood-house. James still continued to show his displeasure, and at first he admitted only two of their deputation to a private interview, in which he lectured them for an hour and-a-half. He then admitted the others, and began by reprimanding them sharply for having met irregularly, and without waiting for a summons from him. They, in reply, urged the authority of the privy council, and pleaded the extraordinary dangers under which the state then lay, as a sufficient excuse for any errors of form into which they might have fallen, in their zeal to avert them. James then pretended to be pacified, and declared that it was his intention to punish all persons concerned in this new conspiracy with the utmost rigour. A proclamation was accordingly issued, declaring that a conspiracy of the papists having been providentially discovered, the object of which was to introduce strangers into the kingdom, for the purpose of overthrowing the throne and the protestant religion, and subjecting it to Spain, the king was determined to bring to trial and punish the conspirators in such a manner as to be an example to all posterity; and his subjects were commanded, under pain of treason, to avoid all intercourse with popish emissaries, and to hold themselves in readiness to proceed against the traitors by force of arms. A convention of the nobility and gentry had been called immediately after the arrival of the king in Edinburgh, and these now offered to raise a guard of three thousand horse to protect the king's person until the present danger was past. James proceeded to act in accordance with his threats, and followed up his proclamation by commanding the earls of Huntley and Errol, and Gordon of Auchendown, another of the principal conspirators, to surrender themselves at St. Andrews' on the 5th of February. By another proclamation, the whole force of Scotland was summoned to meet the king in arms at Aberdeen, on the 25th of the same month, in order to march against the northern earls, if they disobeyed the king's command to surrender themselves. Committees were appointed for examining all suspected persons, and everything seemed to announce that the catholic party was now to be crushed.

The kirk was overjoyed at these proceedings; but it was soon evident that the king had a concealed object both in the eagerness he now showed to punish the catholic chiefs who were implicated in the conspiracy, and

in the displeasure he had previously shown against the ministers and members of the kirk, for taking the initiative. The presbyterians, in their alarm at the favour which had been recently shown at court to the catholic nobles, had indirectly favoured and supported the earl of Bothwell, and James had received certain information that that nobleman, who, since his last attempt to seize the king, had retired to England, was favourably entertained by Elizabeth. In return for the vigour with which he now pursued the catholic conspirators, the king insisted that Bothwell should be abandoned by the kirk; and the ministers could not, under the circumstances, do otherwise than yield to his wishes. He then received the English ambassador, sir Robert Bowes, and reproached him so harshly with the favour shown by Elizabeth to the fugitive nobleman, that Bowes hardly knew how to reply, except by denying positively that his mistress had given any support or encouragement to Bothwell. James, however, soon allowed his anger to subside; and a letter having arrived from Elizabeth, full of friendly offers and good counsels, he gave the ambassador another and more friendly audience, complaining only that the queen of England had been sparing of her money, and representing strongly his present need. He declared that it was his resolution to make a severe example of the catholic noblemen who were concerned in the plot recently discovered, and spoke of sending an ambassador to the English court to explain the present state of things to the queen.

Meanwhile, the proceedings against the prisoners went on slowly. Kerr, for whom powerful intercession was made and backed by the queen, was suffered to escape; but Graham of Fintry was kept in close confinement. Angus, to whose forfeiture all the courtiers were looking confidently, escaped from prison with the connivance of his keeper, and hurried to join his friends in the north, who, instead of obeying the king's mandate to surrender, retired to their castles and assembled their followers. James was provoked at their disobedience, and he immediately hurried on the trial of Graham of Fintry, who was found guilty and executed in Edinburgh on the tenth of February. This, however, was but a small sacrifice to the demands of the presbyterian party; and on the night following the execution a placard was posted in the streets of the capital, intimating that all the king's

professions would have no effect, as the greatest criminals would be allowed to escape by the connivance of the court. The king, nevertheless, proceeded in his course with apparent earnestness. At the time appointed he went to Aberdeen, to place himself at the head of his forces, and march in person against the northern rebels. It appears that even this show of activity was not enough to convince people of James's sincerity; for a number of the nobles and gentlemen who joined in this expedition, signed, it is believed at their suggestion, a bond for the defence of religion, the king's person, and government, and the liberty of the country, and all concerned in any attempt against it—enumerating as such those concerned in the late treasonable conspiracy, and including expressly those who were concerned in the attack on Dunibersel and the murder of the earl of Murray. The king, on his part, promised in this bond, on the word of a prince, that he would neither grant favour nor pardon to any of the earls, without the special advice and consent of the lieutenant and commissioner for the time, and of six of the principal barons who had subscribed the bond. A resolution was subsequently passed by the council, forbidding any one to solicit the king in favour of the conspirators, and authorizing his chaplains to administer an oath to the officers of the household, by which they engaged not to intercede with him for indulgence to any person implicated in the popish conspiracy.

All these precautions, however, were in vain, for James's anger against the conspirators soon evaporated. On his arrival at Aberdeen, Huntley and Errol retired into the wilds of Caithness, while their wives repaired to court to intercede with the king and surrender their castles into his hands. The earl of Athol and the earl Marshal, both related by marriage to Errol, were appointed lieutenants in the north, to reduce that remote part of Scotland to obedience; while the catholic earls, in punishment for

their disobedience, were declared forfeited. Their castles and estates were seized and given to the temporary keeping of the earls of Athol and Marshal, and other officers of the crown, except that the countess of Huntley was allowed to retain her husband's chief estate, and the house of Logie-Almond was left to Errol's mother. The estates of the earl of Angus were distributed provisionally among two or three of the court favourites; but they were all merely held at the king's pleasure, and few people believed that he had any serious intention of confiscating them.

Meanwhile a new English ambassador, lord Burgh, had arrived in Scotland, to congratulate the king on the discovery of this formidable conspiracy, and to offer him Elizabeth's assistance, if necessary, in crushing the conspirators. When, on James's return from the north, lord Burgh was admitted to an audience, he pointed out to him his former remissness in allowing his popish nobles to retain the power to molest him, urging him now to pursue them until they were no longer in a condition to give him trouble or uneasiness, and recommending that he should pardon Bothwell, and take him into favour as a counterbalance to these more dangerous enemies. In reply, James declared that it was his intention to proceed to extremities against the catholic conspirators, and begged that Elizabeth would assist him with an advance of money, but he peremptorily refused to listen to any intercession in favour of the earl of Bothwell. He even intimated that, if Elizabeth continued to support that "vile traitor" in England, he might himself be driven to break the alliance with England and to court the friendship of Elizabeth's enemies. Indeed, it was evident that the king's hatred of Bothwell was now much greater than his anger against the earls who were implicated in the recent conspiracy, and people in general became daily more convinced that the latter would at last receive nothing but lenient treatment.

CHAPTER XXV.

DISSATISFACTION CAUSED BY JAMES'S LENITY TO THE CATHOLICS ; SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT OF BOTHWELL TO GAIN POSSESSION OF THE KING'S PERSON ; THE KING RECOVERS HIS POWER ; PROGRESS OF EVENTS UNTIL THE BANISHMENT OF THE CATHOLIC CHIEFS.

THE king's lenity towards the catholic lords gave great offence to the ministers of the kirk, and indeed to all the protestant party. The kirk, supported by the lesser barons and the burghs, now were to be satisfied by nothing less than the entire destruction of the catholic party, and at a convention of the estates held in April, they made certain demands in form of petition as the price of their alliance with the crown. These demands were, in the words of the petition itself, "that all papists within the realm may be punished according to the laws of God and of the realm; that the act of parliament might strike upon all manner of men, landed or unlanded, in office or not, as it at present strikes against beneficed persons. That a declaration be made against all jesuits, seminary priests, and trafficking papists, pronouncing them guilty of treason; and that the penalties of the act may be enforced against all persons who conceal or harbour them, not for three days, as it now stands, but for any time whatsoever; that all such persons as the kirk had found to be papists, although they be not excommunicated, should be debarred from occupying any office within the realm, as also from access to his majesty's company, or enjoying any benefit of the laws; that upon this declaration, the pains of treason and other civil pains should follow, as upon the sentence of excommunication; and that an act of council should be passed to this effect, which in the next parliament should be made law." The king could not be brought to listen to these demands, but in the parliament which followed, and which had been called expressly for the trial of the popish lords, some measures were introduced to conciliate the ministers. An act was passed to exempt their stipends from taxation; a new act against the celebration of mass was introduced; and it was ordered that strict search should be made for papists and seminary priests. But the full indignation of the kirk was aroused by the king's proceedings against the rebellious nobles. As Kerr had been permitted to escape, the chief witness against them was wanting, and the

king's advocate, David Makgill, was directed to declare that, the summons being informal and the evidence insufficient, the prosecution of the trial could not be carried any further that parliament. All the conspirators were thus virtually released. The ministers, in their anger, again sounded the alarm from the pulpit, denouncing the meeting of the estates as a "black parliament," and intimating their belief that the king himself was relapsing into popery.

Thus did James lose the cordial support of the church at a moment when he needed it more almost than on any previous occasion; for his favourite maxim of ruling his nobles by dividing them had been lately producing bitter fruits. It was indeed long since the realm had been thrown into so much confusion by the factions and feuds of the nobility, pitted one against another. The earl of Athol and his friends, who formed a very powerful party, carried on with the utmost bitterness their feud against Huntley and those who were concerned with him in the murder of the earl of Murray. There was a violent feud between the duke of Lennox and the lord Hamilton, arising out of their rival claims to be considered the next in succession to the crown. The earl of Argyle, the lord Ochiltree, and another strong party, who were warmly supported by the queen, pursued a feud no less bitter against the lord chancellor Maitland, lord Thirlestane, who was supported by the lords Hume and Fleming, and other barons. The king alone had no party in the midst of this scene of contention, and, under the necessity of pursuing his policy of balancing them against one another, was able to control none. As the time for the meeting of parliament approached, the confusion increased, and the king sought counsel and advice from the chancellor, whom he visited in private. This was immediately taken as a sign that the restoration of lord Thirlestane to his former power at court was in contemplation, and his enemies, with the support of the queen, united, and even began to make common cause with Bothwell, who hated the chancellor because he believed, and per-

haps with truth, that it was he who had trumped up the accusation against him which was most difficult to deal with, that of witchcraft. The nobles and barons again resorted to the ancient practice of repairing to the conventions and even entering courts of justice with their retainers in arms, and the streets of Edinburgh were crowded with ruffians, who committed all sorts of violence and outrage. About the middle of June, a trial was to come on of one of the Campbells for murder, and as he was about to marry one of the Hamiltons, the latter assembled in force to support him. The lord Thirlestane seized this as a pretext for displaying his power, and he marched into the capital at the head of his party, accompanied by the lord of Arbroath, the earls of Montrose, Seton, Livingston, Glencairn, and Eglintoun, and other powerful barons. The duke of Lennox took the alarm when he heard that the chancellor was assembling his friends, and he collected his enemies, including the earls of Mar and Morton, the lord Hume, the master of Glammis, sir George Hume, and others, and marched into Edinburgh to make a counter-demonstration. It was known that the two border-chiefs, the lords Maxwell and Cessford, were also on their march to the capital; and in the general alarm the lords of session who were to preside at the trial raised a body of a hundred men for their protection, and the citizens kept under arms night and day. In fact everything threatened some violent commotion, had not the king, roused to exertion by the perilous situation in which he was placed, made a successful effort to avert the danger. The chancellor had been persuaded to make concessions to the queen, which for the present appeased her anger; and James not only brought about a reconciliation between him and the queen, but it was agreed that, at the conclusion of the parliament, the chancellor should be recalled to court and restored to power. It was indeed evident that he was the only man possessed of the political wisdom required to contend successfully with the confusion which reigned throughout the kingdom.

But though the chancellor's enemies had no longer the support of the queen, they were not the less resolved to hinder his restoration—and the dissatisfaction of the kirk encouraged them to enter into a formidable conspiracy for bringing back Bothwell, who, supposed to be the only person

at this moment capable of overthrowing the influence of the catholic party, was secretly supported both by the kirk and by queen Elizabeth. The duke of Lennox, the earls of Athol and Mar, the lord Ochiltree, and other powerful barons, were parties to this plot, and the English ambassador, Bowes, was certainly no stranger to it. Bothwell himself secretly repaired to Edinburgh, where he met Mr. John Colville, and Henry Lock, Colville's brother-in-law, who had been sent by Elizabeth on a mission to Scotland, was present. The night chosen for the execution of this design was that of the 23rd of July, a day or two after the close of the parliamentary session, when the duke of Lennox and the earl of Athol took possession of the gates of the palace, and placed their own guard upon them. The countess of Athol had introduced Bothwell into the house of her mother, the lady Gowrie, which adjoined Holyrood-house; and early the following morning she conveyed the earl and John Colville by a back passage into the ante-room of the king's bed-chamber, where she concealed them behind the arras, having taken the precaution to lock the door of the queen's bed-chamber, by which James might have made his escape, and remove the weapons of the guard, which he might have used. About nine o'clock in the morning of the 24th, James awoke, and was proceeding to dress himself, when he heard a noise in the ante-chamber, which immediately excited his suspicion. He rushed out from his room undressed, with his hose hanging about his heels and his undergarments in his hand, and perceiving Bothwell with his drawn sword, and Colville standing by him, he immediately shouted "treason! treason!" and made for the door of the queen's room. Finding this locked, and thus all means of escape cut off, the king turned and confronted the earl, whom he accused of intending to murder him, and called upon him to put his design in execution. As he was speaking, Bothwell and Colville fell on their knees before him, to disavow any design against his person, and at the same time the duke of Lennox and the earl of Athol entered the apartment. The king continued to address the earl passionately; "kneel not, man," he said, "and thus add hypocrisy to your treason." "I," he added, "am your anointed king, twenty-seven years old, and no longer a boy or a minor to be made the property of every faction; you have plotted my death,

and I now call upon you to execute your purpose, that I may not live a prisoner and dishonoured!" The king then sat down, as if exhausted, and looked on with mute anger; but Bothwell, still on his knees, took his sword by the blade and, after kissing the hilt, offered it to the king, at the same time baring his neck, and placing his head under the king's foot, in order that, as he said, James might strike it off, if he really believed him capable of any such designs as those of which he had accused him. Lennox and Athol, with the lord Ochiltree, who had now joined them, interceded very earnestly for the earl, and the king, pretending to be somewhat appeased, raised him and led him aside into the recess of a window to converse. Meanwhile, Alexander Hume, the provost of Edinburgh, having heard of the attempt against the king, assembled the citizens and led them to his rescue, and now, having occupied the palace-yard, and perceiving the king at the window, he called upon him to give a word or a sign that he wanted their assistance, when they would burst open the doors and deliver him from traitors. But James, who was a great coward when he believed his own person was really in danger, feared that he might himself be sacrificed in case the two parties came to blows, and he thanked the provost, but commanded the citizens to disperse. Then professing himself reconciled to Bothwell, he fixed a day for his trial, stipulating that until it was over he should retire from court. Bothwell accordingly left Edinburgh, and rode to Berwick; and next day his peace was proclaimed with all due solemnity at the high cross, amidst the rejoicings of the populace, with whom the earl was generally a favourite.

From Berwick, the earl of Bothwell proceeded to Durham, where he arrived on the 2nd of August, and was entertained by the dean, Dr. Toby Mathews, one of the council of the north. To this dignitary Bothwell gave a long account of the recent events, a report of which was immediately forwarded by the dean to lord Burghley. According to Bothwell's account of the conversation which had passed between him and the king in the recess of the window in the ante-room, James "used all means, rough and smooth, to sound and pierce him thoroughly, as to what favours had been done him, what sums of money sent him, what promises made him, what advice or direction given him from her majesty or council, or other English, to get access in court to

possess the king. Whereunto the earl made answer by utter denial, saying that her highness had a princely consideration of his distressed estate, so far only as to yield him to take the benefit of the air of her country for the preservation of his liberty and life." The king continued to press him to acknowledge what assistance and encouragement he had received from Elizabeth in the prosecution of his enterprise, but Bothwell as constantly denied her interference. "The more violently the king sought to sift him," writes the dean, "the more resolute was the earl, not only peremptorily to disclaim every particular thereof, but in sort, as he could, to charge the king with much unkindness and unthankfulness causelessly to carry such jealousy and suspicion of her majesty, who had hitherto been so gracious a lady, yea, a very mother unto him, and under the providence of God the only supporter of his estate that ever he had or is like to find upon earth. 'Now hear, O Francis,' quoth the king, 'and have you then so soon forgotten my dear mother's death?' 'In good faith,' quoth the earl, as he saith, 'if you, my liege, have forgiven it so long since, why should not I forget it so long after? the time of revenge being by your own means, and not mine, so far gone by. A fault can but have amends, which her majesty hath made you many ways; and so hath she made me amends of all amisses, this once for all; to whom, with your pardon, sire, I will ascribe not only my lands and living, but my life, with liberty and honour, which is most of all, not only as freely bestowed upon myself, but extended to all mine and my posterity; so as it shall never be seen or heard that ever earl Bothwell, for all the crowns of France, for all the ducats of Spain, for all the silver and gold in the Indies, east and west, for all the kingdoms in Europe, Africa, and Asia, shall utter one word in council, or bear arms in field, against the amity of the two realms and princes, and the religion now by them authorised. And farther, I make God a vow,' quoth he to the king, 'that if ye, king Jamie, yourself shall ever prove false to your religion and faith to your God, as they say the French king hath done, to his shame and confusion, I shall be one of the first to withdraw from your majesty, and to adhere to the queen of England, the most gracious instrument of God, and the ornament of the Christian world.'" Bothwell had previously assured the dean that "he acknow-

ledged himself most bounden to her majesty for the permission he had enjoyed in Northumberland and thereabouts, notwithstanding the king's importunity and practice of his enemies to the contrary; and protested with all solemnity before the majesty of God, that her highness in regard thereof shall ever have him a loyal and most faithful Englishman hereafter, albeit heretofore he were thought, never in opinion a papist, yet in affection and faction a Spaniard."

The day fixed for Bothwell's trial for witchcraft was the 10th of August; previous to which Bothwell had sent James a present of hounds and horses, which he knew were the offerings most calculated to conciliate his favour. But the king was acting with his characteristic dissimulation; and, while outwardly he seemed satisfied with the course of events, nothing was farther from his thoughts than to receive Bothwell cordially into his favour. He had entered into secret communication with the earl of Huntley, who was raising men for his assistance in the north, as well as with the lord Hume and the master of Glamis; and it was arranged that, by means of three Erskines and a Lesley, and an Ogilvy, all gentlemen of the king's bedchamber, who engaged to undertake the arrangement of the plot, the king should be rescued on his way from Edinburgh to Falkland immediately after the trial. James was to elude his guards, and, mounted on a fleet horse, which was to await him at the gate of the park, hasten to join his friends, while the lord Hume with a strong force of armed men would attack the party of the lords who held him captive, and seize or slay the leaders. Trusting to the skill and strength of his friends, the king awaited anxiously, but in apparent cheerfulness, the day of the trial.

On the 10th of August, as it was arranged, the trial of Bothwell commenced at mid-day. The evidence against him consisted of the confessions of Richard Graham, who had been executed many months before, and who had accused Bothwell of using witchcraft in order to procure the king's death, and of some statements of the women his colleagues, who were also executed. Bothwell's advocate, Craig, not only showed that the statements of Graham were contradicted by those of the women, but he proved that he had been induced to make these accusations against Bothwell by a promise of the king's pardon, and threats of the torture. Bothwell made an able and eloquent de-

fence of himself, and, as might be expected, he was acquitted, after the trial had lasted from one till ten o'clock at night. Next morning, by agreement with Bothwell and his friends, the king was to leave Edinburgh and proceed to Falkland. At three o'clock in the morning, Lesley, who was one of the gentlemen of the king's bedchamber, was passing silently through the court-yard, when he was observed by the watchman, who awoke Bothwell. The earl hastened down, Lesley was seized and examined, and there were found on his person the king's signet, and a letter which he was carrying to the lord Hume. The letter disclosed the whole plot for the king's escape; upon which the other gentlemen concerned in it were arrested and given in custody to the guard. The earl then went to the king, accused him of breaking his promise, and informed him that it was necessary the journey should be postponed. James, who was now ready to take horse, insisted upon proceeding on his journey, and when he was told that this could not be permitted, he burst into a torrent of passion, accused Bothwell of breach of promise, and complained that his servants were imprisoned, and himself treated as a captive. "Did you not swear," he asked Bothwell, "that I should return to Falkland after the trial, and that you would yourself withdraw from my company?" "It is true I did," said the earl, "and what I promised shall be done; but I must first be relaxed from the horn, restored to my lands and offices, and see the foul murder of the earl of Murray punished. They who slew him are known; as well as those who signed the warrant for the slaughter, namely, the chancellor Maitland, sir George Hume, and sir Robert Melvil." The king interrupted him, to say that a better man than himself should answer to Melvil. "That," said Bothwell, "I deny, unless the man you mean be your majesty's self." This bold and pointed rebuke, followed by a charge against the Erskines of having planned the king's escape, excited the indignation of the latter to such a degree, that he would listen to no terms, and even the ministers of the kirk attempted in vain to appease him. At length the English ambassador, Bowes, was called in, and after two days had been expended in labouring for a reconciliation, during which the king assumed such a tone, and threatened so highly, that it was evident he reckoned upon strong friends to assist him

by the intermediation of the ministers, the judges of the session, and the magistrates of the city, James consented to certain terms, according to which he was to pardon Bothwell and his associates for all attempts against his person, and the lord Hume, the chancellor Maitland, the master of Glamis, and sir George Hume were to be banished from court until after a convention, which was to meet at Stirling within a month or six weeks. This accord was drawn up in writing, and duly signed on the 14th of August, 1593. To conceal his ultimate designs, and hide the dissimulation with which he was acting, the king apparently gave himself up entirely to his amusements, and he accepted the hospitality of the earl of Bothwell's house at Leith, where he was treated to a banquet.

James no doubt reckoned that in gaining time he should profit by the instability of the nobles, and that any change would most probably be for his advantage—and he was right in his calculations. The resolution and spirit he had shown acted in his favour so far, that it made the waverers and the selfish incline to his side as the one on which ultimately there was the best prospect of gain; and symptoms of this wavering were soon seen, even among those who had taken a most decided part in the recent violent measures against the king. Among these waverers was the duke of Lennox, and it was soon evident that Bothwell could count on few of his late supporters, and that the reaction was daily increasing. Elizabeth and her ministers were alarmed at these symptoms; and, still believing that Bothwell was necessary for the support of the English interests, she entered into new intrigues for the purpose of gaining over to his faction the catholic nobles, and even allowed a secret communication with Huntley and his friends. Meanwhile Bowes was instructed to assure the king of her continued sympathy with him, and openly to declare to him her abhorrence of the late outrage on his person and her surprise at the facility with which such an attempt could be accomplished, urging at the same time a vigorous prosecution of the traitors in the north, and intimating that she had heard of sudden and capricious changes in his policy which did not increase her opinion of his royal judgment. James dissimulated with Bowes as he had dissimulated with Bothwell, and he expressed his satisfaction at, and his confidence in, Elizabeth's protestations of friendship.

The king appears to have acted craftily with regard to the convention which was to meet at Stirling on the 9th of November. He pretended that the only object of the meeting was to consult on the means of appeasing some disturbances which had arisen on the Highland borders; and Bothwell and his friends were so entirely thrown off their guard, that they seem not even to have sought to make any display of their strength. When the day of the meeting approached, their suspicions were further lulled by a command from the king that Bothwell should absent himself from court till the 14th of November, which day he had fixed for the meeting of parliament, and he intimated that it was his intention then to grant the earl a full pardon and restore him to his estates. Thus Bothwell remained quiet, relying upon the king's promises. But no sooner had the convention met, than the lord Hume, the master of Glamis, sir George Hume, and others of their party, marched into Stirling at the head of a strong force, and were received by the king with open arms. James now threw off the mask. As a matter of form, the business of the highlands was entered upon, but the king interrupted it to inform the assembly that he had called them together for an object of greater importance. He then enumerated the indignities he had suffered at various times from the earl of Bothwell, and asked if it was their opinion that he was bound by the conditions which, though mediated by magistrates, judges, and councillors, had been extorted from him under the influence of fear. The convention at once gave it as their opinion that the conditions were not binding, and they declared that Bothwell was guilty of treason, and that his pardon must depend entirely on the king's pleasure. James, gratified with this decision, obtained a public act of the convention declaring the whole transaction to be unlawful.

The king was now again in the full enjoyment of his liberty, and all his acts showed the spirit which ruled in him. He called the countess of Huntley to court, and soon showed marks of returning favour to the catholic earls. It was even reported and believed that he had been secretly visited by the earl of Huntley himself. Soon afterwards, about the middle of September, the chancellor Maitland rode to the court, escorted by Cessford and two hundred horse. Just before his arrival, the lord Hume, who

was notoriously a catholic, was appointed captain of the king's guard; and even Kerr, the man who had been seized with the Spanish blanks, and had fled from Edinburgh castle, was allowed to reappear in public, and hold out threats against his prosecutors.

The kirk, as might be expected, was quick at taking the alarm, and the provincial synod of Fife was immediately called at St. Andrews' to consider the perils which threatened it. The meeting was opened with a solemn debate on the state of the kingdom, which seemed, by its sins, to have drawn down upon itself punishment from heaven. The ministers exhorted each other to do their duty on this trying occasion; and it was finally determined to pronounce the solemn sentence of excommunication against the lords of the popish party. As this sentence affected, indirectly, many civil disabilities, and as it prohibited the protestant population from holding any communication with the offenders, the punishment was much more than a verbal one. The synod went on to recommend a solemn fast and humiliation to be observed throughout the land, as a propitiation to God, and in the hope of averting his wrath. The following were the matters which were declared to be chiefly the causes of his apparent displeasure. "1. The impunity of idolatry, and the cruel murder committed by the earl of Huntley and his complices. 2. The impunity of the monstrous, ungodly, and unnatural treasons of Huntley, Angus, Errol, the laird Auchendown, sir James Chisholm, and their complices. 3. The pride, boldness, malice, blasphemy, and going forward of these enemies in their most pernicious purpose, arising out of the said impunity, and their sufferance by the king; so that now they not only have no doubt, as they speak plainly, to obtain liberty of conscience, but also brag to make the kirk fain to come to their cursed idolatry before they come to the truth. 4. The land defiled in various places with the devilish and blasphemous mass. 5. The wrath of God broken forth in fiery flame upon the north and south parts of the land with horrible judgments, both of souls and bodies, threatening the mid-part with the like or heavier, if repentance prevent not. 6. The king's slowness in repressing papistry and planting of true religion. 7. The defection of so many noblemen, barons, gentlemen, merchants, and mariners, by the bait of Spanish gain; which emboldeneth their enemies; and, on

the other part, the multitude of atheists, ignorant, sacrilegious, blood-thirsty, and worldly, outward professors, with whom it is a strange matter that God should work any good turn; the consideration whereof upon the part of man may altogether discourage us. 8. The cruel slaughter of ministers [alluding to the murder of two ministers which had recently been perpetrated.] 9. The pitiful estate of the kirk and brethren of France. 10, and lastly. The hot persecution of discipline by the tyranny of bishops in our neighbour-land." Not content with these general anathemas, the ministers proposed also to excommunicate by name the lord Hume, who had been appointed captain of the king's body-guard, unless he immediately recanted, and joined the kirk; and they rebuked publicly the earl of Morton, for associating with two of the excommunicated noblemen, Angus and Errol, declaring that no christian could, without manifest error, associate with such backsliders.

The king was highly provoked at these bold proceedings of the kirk, but he was not in a condition to break with the ministers at present, and he contented himself with sending for Mr. Robert Bruce, and requiring him to hinder the publication of the sentence in Edinburgh. When told that this was not possible, he gave vent to his anger in threats against the kirk, which were remembered long afterwards; and he is said to have sounded some of the minor barons to ascertain if they would join with him against the ministers. Disappointed, however, in his hope of gaining these over, he seems to have turned his thoughts again towards the catholic lords, and it was believed that he had communicated with them secretly, and that he had arranged with them a plan for their coming to his presence and seeking his pardon, which about this time they carried into effect. Bothwell, seizing advantage of the general excitement, instead of waiting for the king's pardon, entered into new intrigues, in which he was supported by the borderers, and by Athol, Gowrie, Montrose, and others. At the beginning of October, James prepared to suppress Bothwell's party by force of arms; and, to conciliate the kirk at this moment, he again talked of his unchangeable resolution to treat the catholic lords with severity. The earls of Athol, Gowrie, and Montrose, having assembled some five hundred horse at the Doune of Menteith, probably with the design of drawing the king's attention

from the proceedings of Bothwell's friends in the south, James suddenly marched with a strong force from Stirling, and taking them by surprise, captured Gowrie and Montrose. The earl of Athol narrowly escaped, and took refuge in his own country. On his return to Edinburgh, the king prepared to chastise the borderers, but on his way to Lauder, the three catholic earls suddenly presented themselves before him at Fala, and throwing themselves upon their knees, begged that they might be brought to a trial, protesting their innocence of the conspiracy of the Spanish blanks. James received them with an outward appearance of great displeasure, and declared that for their boldness in entering his presence without leave, they should be the worse handled in the sequel; but the members of the council who were present interceded for them, and he finally appointed an early day for their cause, and ordered them to repair to Perth, where the trial was to take place on the 24th of October, and there await his further pleasure.

The ministers of the kirk were thrown into the utmost consternation when they learnt that the popish lords had been admitted to an interview with the king, and they were the more alarmed, as they had received certain intelligence that the three earls were assembling their forces, so as to occupy the place of trial in such strength as would force the court to acquit them. An ecclesiastical convention of ministers, barons, and burghs, was held in Edinburgh, on the 17th of October, at which six commissioners were appointed to wait on the king for the purpose of expostulating. These commissioners were James Melvil and Patrick Galloway, to represent the ministers; Napier of Merchiston (the celebrated inventor of logarithms) and Maxwell of Calderwood, to represent the barons; and commissioners from Edinburgh and Dundee, to represent the burghs. These commissioners were directed to remonstrate against the haste with which the trial was now to be hurried on, and to pray that it might be delayed till the "professors of the gospel," who "had resolved to be the principal accusers of these noblemen in their foul treasons," should be "ripiely advised what was meetest for them to do." They were further to request that the earls should be imprisoned until a meeting of parliament had been held to consult on the manner of their trial; and to represent that, as men excommunicated

by the kirk, they had no claim to the protection of the laws, until they had been reconciled to it and received back again. Further, the convention having resolved that, if the three earls came to Perth in such array as was expected, they would meet them in arms, the commissioners requested that on this occasion the "professors of religion" might come armed and form the king's body-guard, in order that his royal person might be protected from violence, and that they might be free to "accuse their enemies to the utmost," adding, "this we are minded to do, although it should be with the loss of all our lives in one day; for certainly we are determined that the country shall not hold us and them both, so long as they are God's professed enemies." So determined were the kirk to carry this resolution into effect, that they had sent orders to every presbytery, that the noblemen, gentlemen, and others, should be warned to appear in warlike array at Perth on the day of the trial. Twelve commissioners remained in Edinburgh to receive the king's answer to this deputation.

James was at Jedburgh, when the commissioners from the convention arrived. He received them in an angry manner, and refused to acknowledge a convention which he said had met without his permission, or to return any direct answer to their petition. He conversed, however, for some time with the commissioners, answering them evasively, but still professing the intention of bringing the earls to justice, but declining the offer of the kirk to form a guard for his person. The two parties were now fiercely exasperated against each other, and each announced the intention of making an appeal to arms, so that it was evident that, if the trial were allowed to take place at Perth on the day appointed, it would end in open war. James himself saw the necessity of countermanding it, and accordingly a proclamation appeared, in which the king excused himself of tardiness in pursuing the popish earls by throwing the fault on Bothwell's treasons and the state of the country, and he announced that he had summoned a convention of the estates to meet at the end of the month for the purpose of taking into consideration the proper method for bringing them to trial, and the best means of maintaining the true religion and preserving the tranquillity of the country. All convocations of the subjects were forbidden on pain of being considered seditious, and all persons

who had already met by reason of any such convocations were commanded to return to their homes. As the time for the convention approached, a proclamation was made, forbidding any to attend it who were not specially called; commanding the three earls to dismiss their forces, and await peaceably in Perth the king's determination; and ordering that, in the meantime, none should presume to molest them. The convention was held at Linlithgow, and was, as might be expected under the circumstances, thinly attended. The king delivered a long address on the affair of the three catholic earls, pointing out the danger of proceeding to extremities against noblemen possessed of so much power and influence in the kingdom; and it was finally agreed that the case should be laid before a committee of the nobles, barons, and burghs. The nobles were represented in this committee by the duke of Lennox and the earl of Mar; the lords, by the lord chancellor and the lord Livingston; the barons by four of their number; and the burghs by five burgesses; and six of the leading ministers represented the kirk as petitioners, but without a seat or vote in the committee.

The committee met in the month of November, and, after it had concluded its deliberations, the king adopted a course by which he calculated on appeasing the kirk, and at the same time conciliating the three earls. For the former, he sanctioned an act of council, which was termed the "act of abolition," and which declared that the true religion, as professed and established in the first year of his reign, should be the only religion professed in Scotland; that the full penalties of the law should be inflicted on all who were found guilty of receiving or "resetting" priests or jesuits; and that all such as had never professed, or had fallen off from their profession, should conform to the established religion before the 1st of February next following, or depart from the realm to such parts beyond sea as he should direct, not to return until such time as they should embrace the religion established in Scotland, and be reconciled to the kirk; but during their banishment they were to continue to enjoy their lands or livings. The sentence pronounced by the king on those concerned in the Spanish conspiracy was, that all proceedings against them should be dropped, and that they should be "free and unaccusable," in all time coming,

of all such crimes, unless they should prove themselves unworthy of pardon by a renewal of their treason. If they chose to embrace the religion of the kirk of Scotland, they would be allowed to remain in the kingdom, to enjoy their estates and honours, on condition of their finding security for their remaining in that profession of faith, and abstaining from any intercourse with jesuits; but they must announce this determination on or before the 1st of February. If, on the contrary, they preferred remaining catholics, and going into exile, they were required to give security against entering into any intrigues, with papists or others, against their native country.

During these proceedings, the kingdom was a prey to disorder, and torn with feuds and private hostilities. In the south-western districts there was open war between the Maxwells and the Johnstons, and the latter having in the summer plundered the lands of Sanquhar and Drumlanrig, and killed eighteen of those who pursued in order to recover the spoil, the king sent a commission to lord Maxwell to proceed against the criminals. It appears that, though lord Maxwell held the high office of a border-warden, there was some suspicion of his partiality on account of a bond of mutual defence into which he had previously entered with the chief of the Johnstons; and no sooner were the lairds of Sanquhar and Drumlanrig, and their friends, aware of the commission, than they determined to be beforehand with their enemies, by waiting upon the warden, and offering to assist him with their whole power in humiliating the Johnstons, who formed one of the most powerful clans in the south. Maxwell saw in this a means of establishing his own supremacy in Nithsdale, and he immediately embraced their offer, and signed a bond with them. The Johnstons, hearing of this confederacy, entered into a counter-alliance with the Scots, Elliots, and Grahams, and both sides gathered their forces for war. Hostilities were begun by the Johnstons, who attacked a party of men sent by the warden to Lochmaben, in Annandale, defeated them, with the slaughter of their captain and several of his men, and having set fire to a church, in which they had taken refuge, made the rest prisoners. Maxwell, enraged beyond measure at this insult, marched into Annandale, with the king's banners displayed and a force of two thousand men, and announced his in-

tention of destroying the laird of Johnston's castles of Lockwood and Locherby. Johnston, on his part, placed his men, who were much inferior in number to those of the warden, in ambush, and succeeded in drawing on a part of Maxwell's men, who were attacked unexpectedly with great fury, and driven back upon their main body, which was thus thrown into some confusion. Upon this the laird of Johnston rushed upon his enemies with all his forces, and defeated them with considerable slaughter. Maxwell himself was slain in the confusion of the flight. Such were the scenes going on within seventy miles of Edinburgh.

The middle course pursued by the king pleased neither the kirk nor the catholic nobles. The former were not at all willing that men who remained obstinate papists should be allowed to leave the kingdom and live abroad under no constraint, while they drew large revenues from their country, which might be employed in promoting the designs of its enemies; while the catholic leaders, who were still intriguing with Spain, sought nothing less than the re-establishment of popery. The consequence was, that the king's leniency towards the latter failed entirely in its object; they continued their intrigues with Spain, and allowed the time fixed for the announcement of the choice of the alternatives offered them to pass without taking any notice of it. On the other hand, no opportunity was lost by their opponents to aggravate the king's feelings of anger towards them, and at this moment, Elizabeth, whose skilful and active agents were continually giving her intimations of the intrigues of Spain in Scotland, and who was provoked at James's want of resolution and energy in prosecuting the great conspirators, sent lord Zouch as her ambassador to remonstrate with him. Lord Zouch was the bearer of a private letter from the English queen to the king of Scotland, replying to one in which he had informed her of his sentence on the earls, and conceived in the following words:—"My dear brother, to see so much, I rue my sight, that views the evident spectacle of a seduced king, abusing council, and wry-guided kingdom. My love to your good and hate of your ruin, breeds my heedful regard of your surest safety. If I neglected you, I could wink at your worst, and yet withstand my enemies' drifts. But be you persuaded by sisters. I will advise you, void of all guile, and will not stick to tell

you, that if you tread the path you choose (*i.e., which you are now choosing*), I will pray for you, but leave you to your harms. I doubt whether shame or sorrow had the upper hand when I read your last lines to me. Who, of judgment, that deemeth me not simple, could suppose that any answers you have writ me should satisfy, nay, enter into the opinion of any one not void of four senses, leaving out the first. Those of whom you have had so evident proof, by their actual rebellion in the field, you preserve, whose offers you knew then so large to foreign princes; and now at last, when, plainest of all, was taken the carrier himself, confessing all before many commissioners and divers councillors, because you slacked the time till he was escaped, and now must seem deny it (though all men knew it), therefore forsooth no jury can be found for them! May this blind me, that knows what a king's office were to do? Abuse not yourself so far. Indeed, when a weak bowing and a slack seat in government shall appear, these bold spirits will stir the stern and guide the ship to greatest wreck, and will take heart to supply the failure. Assure yourself no greater peril can ever befall you, nor any king else, than to take for payment evil accounts; for they deride such, and make their prey of their neglect. There is no prince alive, but if he show fear or yielding, but he shall have tutors enough, though he be out of his majority. And when I remember what sore punishment those so lewd traitors should have, then I read again, lest at first I mistook your mind, but when the reviewing granted my lecture true, Lord! what wonder grew in me that you should correct them with benefits, who deserve much severer correction! Could you please them more than save their lives, and make them shun the place they hate, where they are sure that their just deserved haters dwell, and yet as much enjoy their honours and livelihoods, as if for sporting travel they were licensed to visit other countries? Call you this a banishment—to be rid of whom they fear, and go to such they love? Now, when my eyes read more, then smiled I to see how childish, foolish, and witless an excuse the best of either three made you; turning their treasons' bills to artificers' reckonings, with *items* for many expenses, and lacked but one billet which they best deserved, an *item* for so much for the cord whose office they best merited. Is it possible that you

can swallow the taste of so bitter a drug, more meet to purge you of them, than worthy for your kingly acceptance? I never heard a more deriding scorn; and vow that, if but this alone, were I you, they should learn a short lesson. The best that I commend in your letter is, that I see your judgment too good to affirm a truth of their speech, but that alone they so say. Howbeit, I muse how you can want a law to such, as whose denial, if it were ever, could serve to save their lives, whose treasons are so plain; as the messenger who would for his own sake not devise it, if for truth's cause he had it not in his charge; for who should ever be tried false, if his own denial might save his life? In princes' causes, many circumstances yield a sufficient plea for such a king as will have it known; and ministers they shall lack none that will not themselves gainsay it. Leave off such cloaks, therefore, I pray you; they will be found too thin to save you from wetting. For your own sake, play the king, and let your subjects see you respect yourself, and neither to hide or to suffer danger and dishonour. And that you may know my opinion, judgment, and advice, I have chosen this nobleman, whom I know wise, religious, and honest; to whom I pray you give full credit, as if myself were with you; and bear with all my plainness, whose affection, if it were not more worthy than so oft not followed, I would not have gone so far. But blame my love, if it exceed any limits. Beseeching God to bless you from the advices of them that more prize themselves than care for you, to whom I wish many years of reign."

This letter was presented to the king on the 13th of January, 1594. He suppressed any anger he might have felt at the tone of Elizabeth's rebuke, and contented himself with some general professions, but he seems to have taken a great dislike to lord Zouch, over whom a close watch was kept by the agents of the court. It is not to be wondered at, if, amid the dangers which then threatened the island by the catholic league, Elizabeth, seeing the "slackness," as she called it, of James, in repressing the catholic party in Scotland, felt the necessity of supporting the party in that kingdom which was opposed to them. In following this object, she seems to have been deceived in the capabilities of Bothwell, and there can be no doubt that the lord Zouch had private directions secretly to support that nobleman.

The king was looked upon by all parties with distrust, and each party had one object in view, to get him into their power, that they might use his name and authority against their opponents. The very existence of such a feeling, and such plots, was a proof of the weakness of the monarch, whose duty it was to govern. It was, indeed, at this moment that a new conspiracy was formed, in the execution of which Bothwell was to recover possession of the king's person by surprise; while the earls of Argyle and Athol were to march to Edinburgh with the force of the north, and there join with that collected by Bothwell himself, Montrose, Ochiltree, and the laird of Johnston. They were then to drive away the king's present counsellors, destroy the catholic party, and revenge the murder of the earl of Murray. Just, however, as this plot was ripe for execution, it was betrayed to the king, who, by the seizure and examination of one of lord Zouch's men, became acquainted with the designs of the conspirators. It appears that Bothwell had been collecting his strength on the border, and as he was expected to advance by Kelso, James ordered Hume, Cessford, and Buccleuch, to proceed to that place with all the forces they could get together, in order to intercept him. Having taken this precaution, and knowing that the danger was imminent, the king, who had already given orders for arresting some of the more violent of the ministers, proceeded to the high church of Edinburgh, on the morning of the second of April, and there, at the conclusion of the sermon, he addressed the people. He told them what he had learnt of Bothwell's designs, urged them to arm immediately, and assist him in resisting the rebels, and promised them that, if they did so, he in return would promise to pursue the popish earls, who had already forfeited his protection, to the utmost extremity. As he closed his address, intelligence arrived that Bothwell had passed the forces sent to Kelso, and reached Leith, where, with some six hundred horse, he was about to establish himself, and await the coming of his northern allies. The king immediately proceeded against him with a force of nearly three thousand men, of which a considerable portion was formed by the citizens of Edinburgh, who, encouraged by the king's promises, and urged by their ministers, fled to arms with the greatest alacrity. Bothwell, who had been closely followed by the forces

under lord Hume, saw that it would be madness to attempt to resist the force now brought against him; and, quitting Leith, he made an orderly retreat to a good position near Niddry. The king, meanwhile, fearing lest the capital might be occupied by the troops from the north, sent Hume with his cavalry to pursue the rebels, while he returned with the main body of his army, and passing through the capital, encamped on the horough-muir. When Hume arrived at Niddry, he showed some hesitation in attacking Bothwell; upon which the latter, after making his men pray on their knees, advanced with the shout of "God and the kirk!" in order that it might appear that he was fighting only for the protection of the protestant cause, fell boldly upon his opponents, and put them to flight; pursuing them almost to where the king was. Some twelve of lord Hume's troopers were slain, and his cornet and trumpet was captured by Bothwell, who set him at liberty, and gave him two rose nobles to be his bearer of a challenge to the lord Hume. In the scuffle, Bothwell himself was thrown from his horse and hurt, but he was soon remounted, and, with a flourish of trumpets, he drew off his men by way of Craigmillar, without any hurt. The spot where this skirmish took place is called Edmiston-edge.

Bothwell saw that his enterprise was now hopeless, and having retreated to Kelso, he there dispersed his followers, and repassed the border into England. The earls of Athol and Argyle seem not to have made their appearance on this occasion; yet the king, when informed of Hume's defeat, is said to have galloped into Edinburgh in the greatest terror. He subsequently laid hold of Bothwell's war-cry as a subject of recrimination against the ministers, whom he accused of knowing and concealing the designs of the rebels, and it was even pretended they had applied money raised for the assistance of the suffering church of Geneva to the payment of Bothwell's soldiers. The ministers seem to have cleared themselves easily of this charge, and after some little bickering, James left them to take his revenge on the queen of England, of the complicity of whose servants in this attempt he now entertained no doubt. Immediately after the events just described, James sent as his ambassadors to England—Colville, of Easter Wemyss, and Bruce, the Edinburgh preacher, with the following private letter to Elizabeth, in which he tried to imitate the style of

irony which she had adopted in her previous epistle to him. This letter was written on the 13th of April. "So many unexpected wonders," James writes, "madame and dearest sister, have of late so overshadowed my eyes and mind, and dazzled so all my senses, as in truth I neither know what I should say, nor whereat first to begin; but thinking it best to take a pattern of yourself, since I deal with you, I must, repeating the first words of your last letter, (only the sex changed) say I rue my sight that views the evident spectacle of a seduced queen. For when I enter betwixt two extremities in judging of you, I had far rather interpret it to the least dishonour on your part, which is ignorant error. Appardon me, madame; for long approved friendship requires a round plainness. For when first I consider what strange effects have of late appeared in your country; how my avowed traitor hath not only been openly reset (*protected*) in your realm, but plainly made his residence in your proper (*own*) houses, ever plainliest kything (*showing*) himself where greatest confluence of people was; and, which is most of all, how he hath received English money in a reasonable quantity; waged both English and Scottish men therewith; proclaimed his pay at divers parish churches in England; convened his forces within England, in the sight of all the borders; and therefrom contemptuously marched, and encamped within a mile of my principal city and present abode, all his trumpeters, and divers waged men, being English; and being by myself in person repulsed from that place, returned back in England with displayed banners; and since that time, with sound of trumpet, making his troops to muster within English grounds: when first, I say, I consider these strange effects, and then again I call to mind, upon the one part, what number of solemn promises, not only by your ambassadors, but by many letters of your own hand, ye have both made and reiterated unto me, that he should have no harbour within your country, yea, rather stirring me farther up against him than seeming to pity him yourself; and upon the other part, weighing my desires towards you, how far being a friend to you I have ever been an enemy to all your enemies, and the only point I can be challenged in, that I take not such form of order, and at such time, with some particular men of my subjects, as peradventure you would, if you were in my room; when thus I enter in

consultation with myself, I cannot surely satisfy myself with wondering upon these above-mentioned effects; for to affirm that these things are by your direction or privy, it is so far against all princely honour, as I protest I abhor the least thought thereof. And again, that so wise and provident a prince, having so long and happily governed, should be so fyled (*defied*) and contemned by a great number of her own subjects, it is hardly to be believed; if I knew it not to be a maxim in the state of princes, that we see and hear all with the eyes and ears of others, and if these be deceivers, we cannot shun deceits. Now, madam, I have refuge to you at this time, as my only pilot to guide me safely betwixt this Charybdis and Seylla. Solve these doubts, and let it be seen ye will not be abused by your own subjects, who prefer the satisfying of their base-minded affections to your princely honour. That I wrote not the answer of your last letters with your late ambassador, and that I returned not a letter with him, blame only, I pray you, his own behaviour; who, although it pleased you to term him wise, religious, and honest, had been fitter, in my opinion, to carry the message of a herald, than any friendly commission betwixt two neighbour princes; for as no reason could satisfy him, so scarcely could he have patience even to hear it offered. But if you gave him a large commission, I dare answer for it he took it as well upon him; and therefore have I rather chused to send you my answer by my own messengers. Suffer me not, I pray you, to be abused with your abusers; nor grant no oversight to oversee your own honour. Remember what you promised by your letter of thanks for the delivery of O'Rorick. I trust you will not put me in balance with such a traitorous counterpoise, nor willingly reject me; constraining me to say with Virgil, *Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo*. And to give you a proof of the continuance of my honest affection, I have directed these two gentlemen unto you, whom I will heartily pray you to credit as myself in all they have in charge; and because the principal of them goes to France, to return the other back with a good answer with all convenient speed."

The particular object of this embassy was to announce to Elizabeth the birth of James's first child, and to invite her to send her representative to the baptism, and the laird of Easter Wemyss was to proceed on the

same errand to France. Ambassadors were sent at the same time, and for the same purpose, to the United Provinces and to Denmark. Bruce, who was more especially directed to Elizabeth, was commissioned further to press that princess for money, and she sent him away with a promise that she would extend her liberality to the king as soon as she saw him proceeding in earnest against the catholic lords. James had now resolved to leave her no excuse on this head. When the time was passed, which was fixed for their coming in to claim the king's indulgence, he declared the catholic lords excluded from its benefits, and summoned them to appear in person to stand their trial for high treason. At the same time he made some important changes in his council, and summoned a parliament to meet at the end of May. Circumstances soon occurred which irritated the king more and more against the earl of Huntley and his confederates. So far from obeying the king's summons, he received information, about the time of Bothwell's invasion, that a ship had arrived on the northern coast, bringing them letters and money from Spain. The ministers of the kirk, as soon as they heard of this arrival, met in assembly in Edinburgh, to consult of measures to be taken against the designs of the papists, and they began by confirming the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the synod of Fife. They next sent two commissioners to the king at Stirling, to represent to him the dangers of his kingdom from its papistical enemies, and to suggest such remedies as they thought expedient to adopt. James promised to attend to their suggestions; but, with his usual jealousy of the ecclesiastical body, he sent to the assembly sir Robert Melvil and Hume of North Berwick, to protest against their taking the lead in advising measures which it belonged to his prerogative to judge, and he desired them rather to look to the enforcing of their own resolutions against speaking irreverently of the king from the pulpit, particularising by name one or two individuals as deserving of their censure. The assembly, in this respect, complied with the king's wishes.

At length, on the 30th of May, parliament assembled, but, from the circumstances of the times, it was thinly attended. Its principal business was to pronounce sentence against the earls of Huntley, Angus, and Errol, who were declared traitors, and stripped of their estates. A commission



Engraved by W. Hinde.

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

OB. 1612.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MYTENS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF DORSET.

was given to the earl of Argyle to collect the whole strength of the north and proceed against them. Having once entered into a vigorous course against the catholics, the parliament went on to pass an act, by which all persons detected in saying mass, were made liable to capital punishment and the confiscation of their estates. The catholic countess of Huntley was dismissed from court, and lord Hume recanted and signed the confession of faith. The king declared his resolution to proceed against the rebels in person, but this was postponed until after the baptism, with the preparations of which the court was now entirely occupied.

Elizabeth sent as her representative to be gossip at this ceremony, the young earl of Sussex, who arrived at the Scottish court on the 27th of August, bringing with him friendly letters and rich presents. The other countries in alliance with Scotland, with the exception only of France, sent also their ambassadors on this occasion. The baptism took place on the 30th of August, in the royal chapel at Stirling. As we are told by the chroniclers of the time, the infant prince was brought from its own chamber and laid on a bed of state in the queen's chamber of presence, were the ambassadors, or gossips, were introduced. The countess of Mar, accompanied by a train of ladies, then took up the prince and delivered him to the duke of Lennox, who presented him to the ambassadors. The earl of Sussex received him and carried him in his arms to the chapel; attended by the lord Hume, carrying the ducal crown, lord Livingston, carrying the towel or napkin, lord Seton, with the basin, and lord Semple, with the laver. A canopy was held over Sussex's head, carried by the lairds of Cessford, Buccleuch, Duddope, and Traquair, the train of the prince being supported by the lords Sinclair and Urquhart. They thus walked in procession to the chapel, followed by the court, a guard of the youths of Edinburgh, well arrayed, standing on each side of the way. As they entered the chapel, the king rose from his seat and received the ambassadors at the door of the choir. The prince was then delivered again to the duke of Lennox, who gave him to the nurse, and the ambassadors were led to their seats on each side of the king. On James's right hand, an empty chair represented the king of France; the earl of Sussex was seated on his left. After the preliminary service was ended, the ambassador of England rose from

his seat, and taking the infant prince again, presented him to Cunningham, bishop of Aberdeen, who performed the ceremony of baptism. The prince was then carried back from the chapel in the same order he went, and being replaced on the bed of state, after the king had knighted him (the earl of Mar, touching him with the spur) and a rich ducal crown had been placed on his head, the lion king of arms proclaimed his name and titles as the right high, excellent, and magnanimous prince, Frederick Henry Henry Frederick, by the grace of God, knight and baron of Renfrew, lord of the isles, earl of Carriek, duke of Rothesay, prince and great steward of Scotland. During this time the cannons of the fortress boomed continually, and when it was ended, money was thrown through the windows to the populace without. A great part of the night was passed in revelry, and the pageants and feasting were continued with great splendour during several days, the king himself acting a part, disguised as a knight of Malta.

Meanwhile, Elizabeth, who had probably herself become convinced that nothing was to be done through the instrumentality of Bothwell, had refused to admit him any more into England, and James at the same time had conciliated the kirk, as well as the queen of England, by the active measures he was at last taking against the catholics. He was thus enabled to proceed against the northern earls with a union of strength which it was in vain for them to think of resisting long. They had, however, been strengthening themselves, and were able to make a formidable appearance; and Bothwell, abandoned by England and the kirk, now joined the catholic party, and proposed to raise the south, while Huntley and his friends made head against the king in the north. James first called a convention at Stirling, and was preparing to march to the north, when the fertile ingenuity of the earl of Bothwell plotted a new enterprise against his person. He prepared to attack the court by surprise, put to death the king's favourite, sir George Hume, imprison the king himself in the castle of Blackness, the governor of which was in league with the conspirators, and take possession of the infant prince, while the catholic lords hastened from the north to assist in revolutionizing the government. But before the plot was ripe for execution, it was brought to light by the capture of one of Bothwell's followers, named Orme, who, with the gov-

ernor of Blackness, was executed immediately. The king then entered on his progress to the north.

James had already given his commission to the young earl of Argyle, the personal enemy of Huntley, to raise the forces of the north and march against the rebels. Argyle, though it is said that he had intimated a wish to be excused, now showed no want of alacrity in obeying the king's commands. Having collected about six thousand fighting men, consisting chiefly of highlanders, and with no cavalry, he took the field on the 21st of September. Not more than half of these troops were disciplined, or even well armed, but Argyle expected to be joined by lord Forbes and other barons, with their followers well-horsed, which would supply his deficiency in that respect. Having advanced to Aberdeen, he caused the lion herald to proclaim the royal commission in the market-place with sound of trumpet, and he was immediately joined by the Macintoshes, Grants, Campbells, and other clans hostile to the Gordons, who increased the numbers of his army without adding to its efficiency. In fact, in all this host, which now amounted to about ten thousand men, there were not above fifteen hundred disciplined harquebusiers, chiefly brought by sir Lauchlan Maclean, of Duart, whom the earl had made his second in command. In the chivalrous fashion of the day, Argyle had sent a challenge to Huntley, telling him he proposed to pay him a visit at Strathbogie, his chief mansion, and it was thither that he now directed his march, intending to ravage that district, and then proceed southward to form a junction with the force under lord Forbes, who was already on his way to meet him. On his way through Badenoch, Argyle laid siege to Huntley's castle of Ruthven, but it being bravely defended by the Maephersons, and being himself unprovided with artillery, he was obliged to relinquish this enterprise, and he continued his march to a place called Drimmin, in Strathdown, where he encamped on the second day of October.

At Strathbogie, the earls of Huntley and Errol, and their friends, had collected an army of not more than two thousand men, but most of them brave soldiers, perfectly armed and accoutred, and well officered. He had, moreover, six pieces of artillery, under the command of captain Gray, a soldier of experience. On the morning of the 3rd of October, Huntley advanced with

his whole force to sir Patrick Gordon's house of Auchendown, where he learnt that Argyle's army was near at hand. A small body of cavalry, under captain Kerr, was immediately sent to rencontre, and found the royal forces stationed near Glenlivet, among the mountains of Strathaven. Kerr, who was an experienced officer, and had ascertained what sort of troops the earl of Argyle had under his banner, returned to Huntley and advised him to make an immediate attack. Accordingly, the first division, under the command of the earl of Errol, with sir Patrick Gordon, and other chiefs, and captain Kerr, lost no time in commencing its march. It was followed by the rest of the little army, commanded by Huntley himself, and accompanied by the artillery, which were so masked by the cavalry, that they were brought to a position very near to Argyle's camp, before he or his men were aware of their existence. They were pointed at Argyle's standard, and by the first discharge the standard-bearer, Campbell of Lochnell, and a brave officer of the Macneill's, were slain. The highlanders, who were scarcely acquainted with the use of cannons, were thrown into astonishment and consternation, but encouraging one another with their usual yell, they raised their broadswords and axes and rushed forward to throw themselves upon Huntley's cavalry, when they met a second discharge of the artillery, upon which they turned round and fled with the utmost rapidity from the field. Still the best of his troops remained with the earl of Argyle, who was advantageously posted on the top of a hill, while a marshy bottom, difficult for the passage of cavalry, separated the two armies. Errol, with one part of the vanguard, made a circuit to avoid the marsh; but sir Patrick Gordon of Auchendown, impatient for the attack, dashed with the remainder into the marsh, and with some difficulty cleared it. Here they were exposed to a heavy fire from Maclean's harquebusiers, whom that chieftain had placed skilfully in a low wood, which protected them from the attack of cavalry. Enraged at the havoc thus made among his followers, the laird of Auchendown was spurring his horse forward to encourage his men, when he fell pierced by a bullet; and the highlanders who were with Maclean rushing in, immediately cut off his head and raised it up in triumph. The Gordons were now rendered furious, and Errol's di-

vision having reached the scene of strife, threw themselves upon their enemies without order or caution. Maclean took advantage of this, and moving forward his men, enclosed the whole of the enemy's vanguard between himself and Argyle's division, in such a manner that it must inevitably have been destroyed, had not Huntley, with the rear-guard, come to its rescue. The battle now raged with great fury, and was obstinately contended on both sides. Errol, whose pennon had been captured by Maclean, was severely wounded in the arm with a bullet and in the leg with a barbed highland arrow. Gordon of Gicht, one of Huntley's near kinsmen, was mortally wounded. On the other side, Fraser, the lion-herald, who rode beside Argyle with his tabard on, became a mark to the Gordons, who rushed upon him and slew him with their spears. Huntley's horse was shot under him, and he was thrown to the ground, where the highlanders, who had rushed to the spot, were about to kill him with their dirks, when he was rescued by the laird of Innermarkie, and supplied with another horse. Rendered more furious by this narrow escape, Huntley rushed forward again, and the impulse thus given to his followers decided the fate of the battle, for the highlanders began to fly tumultuously, until not more than twenty men remained about their chief. Still Argyle would have renewed the battle, had not Murray, of Tullibardine, anxious for his personal safety, taken his bridle and led him off the field, shedding tears of anger at the disgrace and at the desertion of his men. Maclean, seeing that the battle was lost, withdrew his harquebusiers from the wood with very little loss, and marched off in good order. But the Gordons turned all their rage against the highlanders, whom they pursued fiercely till the steepness of the mountains no longer permitted cavalry to advance. As many as seven hundred highlanders are said to have been slain in their flight. On Huntley's side, besides sir Patrick Gordon of Auchendown, twenty gentlemen were slain, and some forty or fifty severely wounded.

Thus was gained the battle of Glenlivat, a useless victory to the catholic chiefs, who were obliged to retreat into the mountains on James's approach, for their followers soon showed unwillingness to bear arms against the king's person. Argyle joined the royal army at Dundee, carrying to the

king the first news of his defeat. James was now at the head of a powerful army, and his anger, already sharpened by Andrew Melvil and the other ministers of the kirk who accompanied him in his march, was doubled by the personal insult implied in the slaughter of his herald, and he swore that his death should be severely revenged on the rebels who had dared to attack the royal forces. James continued his advance to Aberdeen, and marched thence into Strathbogie, where he caused Huntley's magnificent palace to be burnt and blown to pieces with gunpowder. Nothing but the ruins of the massive old keep-tower was left standing. Its lord, deserted by most of his followers, sought refuge in the wilds of Caithness, and the earl of Errol, also obliged to conceal himself, lay disabled by his wounds. Errol's chief castle, Slaines, in Buchan, experienced the same fate as Strathbogie; and several other fortresses belonging to Huntley's friends were similarly destroyed. The further work of destruction was stayed by the want of provisions, which began to be felt in the royal army, and by the intercession of chancellor Maitland and the master of Glamis; and the king led his army back to Aberdeen, where he caused some of Huntley's men who had been active in the recent acts of rebellion to be executed. Before leaving Aberdeen, James proclaimed a general pardon, on the payment of certain fines, to all the commons who had taken part against the earl of Argyle in the battle of Glenlivat, and he appointed the duke of Lennox as his temporary lieutenant in the north, with a council to consist of the earl Marshal, the lord Forbes, sir Robert Melvil, sir John Carmichael, the lairds of Dunipace, Findlater, and Balquhan, and five ministers of the kirk, David Lindsay, James Nicolson, Peter Blackburn, Alexander Douglas, and Duncan Davison. A body of two hundred horse and a hundred foot were left under the command of Carmichael, and the barons and gentlemen in the north were compelled to sign a bond to assist in supporting the king's authority. These occurrences took place at the beginning of November, 1594, and on the 14th of that month James reached Stirling, on his return from this successful expedition against his enemies.

Although the north seemed now to be reduced to tranquillity, the calm was not of long continuance, for a discovery of an extraordinary kind laid open a series of con-

spiracies among the nobility which added new bitterness to their personal feuds. One of the young earl of Argyle's kinsmen, John Campbell of Calder, was assassinated in his own house in Lorn, by a man named M'Kellar, who shot him through the window. The assassin had been employed, or at least furnished with weapons for the occasion, by sir James Campbell of Ardinglass. The latter, for some cause or other, probably to save himself, made a revelation to the earl of Argyle, which led to the immediate arrest of M'Kellar and another of the Campbells, who, on the application of torture, made a full confession of a grand conspiracy which had been entered into at the time of the murder of the earl of Murray. It appears that one of the principal conspirators was Archibald Campbell of Lochnell, the same who was killed at Glenlivet, who was the next heir to the earldom of Argyle, after Colin Campbell of Lundy, the only brother of the present earl. Campbell of Lochnell, with Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, the laird of Ardinglass, and Macaulay, of Ardincaple, had entered into a secret bond with the earl of Huntley, the lord Maxwell, and Maitland the chancellor, and this bond, with the signatures of those concerned in it, fell, through the confessions just mentioned, into the hands of Argyle himself, who thus became acquainted with the whole design. It appears that the conspirators proposed to slay both the earls of Murray and Argyle, and the lairds of Lundy and Calder, whereby Campbell of Lochnell would have obtained the earldom, and large portions of its princely domains were to be distributed among the other conspirators as a reward for their assistance, while they were each of them forwarding their own private views of revenge or ambition. It was discovered that the sudden flight of the highlanders was a part of this conspiracy, Campbell of Lochnell, to whom Argyle had entrusted his standard, having been in communication with Huntley, who expected that Argyle, deserted by his troops, would fall into his power. The laird of Lochnell would probably have fled with the earl's standard, had he not been killed in the first discharge of Huntley's artillery. The young earl of Argyle was stung to fury by this discovery, and hurrying to the north, he assembled his vassals, and attacked all who had been parties to the bond or who had been allied with the conspirators, as well as those who had

deserted his banner at Glenlivet. Huntley, meanwhile having, after the king's departure from the north, recovered his courage and somewhat of his power, resumed the offensive, and threatened to hang any of his retainers who should presume to pay the king's fine. The earl of Mar joined with Argyle, and the north was thus overrun with private warfare, and outrages of the most atrocious description were perpetrated with impunity on all sides, until the country was literally laid waste with fire and sword.

James found himself again under the necessity of acting in person and with vigour. He began by imprisoning the nobles who chiefly, on either side, directed the private warfare in the north. Argyle, Glenurchy, and others, were committed in ward to the castle of Edinburgh; the earl of Athol, with Lovat and M'Kenzie, were imprisoned at Linlithgow; Tullibardine was committed to the castle of Dumbarton; and others were confined in Blackness, and they were thus made responsible for the excesses of their retainers and followers. The new acts of defiance of Huntley added fuel to James's anger against the catholic chieftains, and he directed an active pursuit of them and their adherents. Bothwell, especially, was pursued with implacable bitterness; his lands and castles had all been seized, his chief strong-hold, the Hermitage, being in possession of his enemy, lord Hume; and some of his staunchest friends had been slain and executed. After being tracked to the extremity of Caithness, he suddenly disappeared; and it was rumoured that he had made his escape to France. At this moment a new accident happened, which brought final ruin to the cause of the earls of Huntley and Errol. It appears that they had been all along supplied with money from Rome and Spain, and that both those powers were dissatisfied with the small results which had attended their repeated contributions. A Scottish jesuit, of the name of Morton, brother to the laird of Cambo, had been sent from Rome to Scotland to expostulate with the northern lords, and give them some private directions for their future conduct. This Morton, who travelled as a Scottish gentleman returning home for the sake of his health, had taken his passage in a Dutch ship bound for Leith, one of the passengers on board which was a son of Erskine of Dun, and therefore, as may be supposed, a rigid protestant. Erskine had soon guessed the character of his fellow-

passenger, and on his arrival at Leith he communicated his suspicions to that zealous minister of the kirk, Mr. David Lindsay. The consequence was the immediate arrest of Morton, who attempted to escape detection by tearing to pieces his secret instructions with his teeth. The fragments were however gathered together, and the king himself arranged and deciphered them. The ministers wished father Morton to be put to the torture, but he seems to have had little moral courage, and when he found that he was discovered, he confessed everything. In the course of the examination, it is related that James gave his courtiers a sample of his own wit. A very small carved tablet was taken from Morton's person, representing the crucifixion. The king, on seeing this, asked the prisoner what it was, and what was its use; to which he replied, that it had been originally a present from the cardinal Cajetano to the Scottish queen, and that he used it to remind him, when he looked at it and kissed it, of our Lord's passion. "See," he said, "how lively the Saviour is represented hanging between the two thieves, and the soldier below piercing his side with a lance. Oh! that I could see your majesty kiss it but once before you lay it down!" "Nay," said the king, "God's word is enough to remind me of the crucifixion; and this image is so small that I could not kiss Christ without kissing at the same time the thieves and the executioners." Huntley and Errol were entirely

discouraged by the miscarriage of Morton and the discoveries to which it led, and in spite of the urgent solicitations of some of the more violent partizans of Spain, and especially of Huntley's uncle, a Romish priest, who performed mass under their protection in the cathedral of Elgin, they determined, as their last resource, to leave the country. Errol accordingly set sail from Peterhead on the 17th of March, 1595, and Huntley, with his uncle, father Gordon, and a few friends, sailed from Aberdeen on the 19th of the same month. Soon after their departure, Bothwell reappeared for a moment, first skulking about Perth, and then, with some of the more desperate of his followers, on board a ship of his own in the Orkneys. What were his designs or subsequent movements is unknown, but in the following June he was in Paris in active communication with another unprincipled intriguer, Archibald Douglas. Thus was Scotland delivered from some of the restless spirits which for several years had kept it in continual uneasiness. Bothwell's lands were confiscated and divided among his enemies, the laird of Buccleuch receiving as his share of the spoils, Crichton, while the abbey of Kelso was given to Kerr, of Cessford, and that of Coldingham, to lord Hume. The catholic lords were allowed to retain their estates on the condition that while abroad they should engage in no designs against the kirk or the tranquillity of the kingdom.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FROM THE BANISHMENT OF THE CATHOLIC LORDS TO THE DEATH OF CHANCELLOR MAITLAND; JAMES'S QUARREL WITH THE KIRK.

JAMES had now rid himself of the most troublesome of his turbulent subjects, and had reduced the northern parts of his kingdom to tolerable tranquillity, but it was only to find himself involved in new intrigues and dissensions at court. The two great factions had ranged themselves under the earl of Mar, the king's favourite, and chancellor Maitland—and several circumstances had occurred of late to make

the division stronger and more definite. To Mar, who appears to have been in no way undeserving of the king's confidence, and who had been made governor of the two important fortresses of Edinburgh and Stirling, James had given the custody of the young prince, as his governor, much to the displeasure of the queen, who pleaded that she ought herself to have the keeping of her child. The king met her demand

with a peremptory refusal. There were other causes of displeasure between the king and his consort, who seem at this time to have lived far from cordially together. It has been already hinted that James was jealous of the young earl of Murray, and that he was suspected of having at least connived at his murder. His jealousy was now transferred to the duke of Lennox, and had been expressed more than once in coarse terms, during the summer of 1594. James was even heard to declare his belief that he was not himself the father of the young prince, and to regret the ceremonies which he had given at the christening; and he is said to have now taken a dislike to the infant, which was strongly exhibited in after-times. Under these circumstances, the queen, who had formerly meddled little with politics, began to place herself in opposition to her husband, and to league herself with the court factions. As her animosity lay chiefly against the earl of Mar, on account of the possession of her child, she now entirely laid aside her dislike to Maitland, and joined heartily with him against Mar. The chancellor was supported by several powerful barons, among whom were the lairds of Buccleuch and Cessford, and the master of Glammiss.

In the month of June of the year 1595, an event occurred which served to increase the mutual animosities of the two parties. There was a private quarrel between the laird of Dunipace and David Forrester, bailiff of Stirling, who was one of Mar's retainers; in consequence of which Forrester, on his return one day from Edinburgh to Stirling, was set upon by the laird, assisted by the Bruces and Livingstones, whose lands lay there, and slain. As these two families belonged to Maitland's faction, the earl took up the murder as a personal quarrel, and, assembling a body of six hundred horse, paraded in a hostile fashion through the lands of the Bruces and Livingstones, carrying with him the body of the murdered man, and displaying a picture of the slaughter raised on two spears. The resolute interference of the king alone prevented a collision between the two factions; yet, though James appointed a day for the trial of the murderers, the two parties went on strengthening themselves. Maitland now gained to his side the powerful house of Hamilton, and with the alliance of lords Hume, Fleming, and Livingstone, as well as the barons already mentioned and the support of the

queen, he was more than a match for Mar. Things were at this moment carried so far, that a plot was ripe for execution, with the queen's knowledge, the principal actors in which were to be the lairds of Buccleuch and Cessford and the master of Glammiss, and the object to place the king's person under restraint, take the infant prince from the custody of the earl of Mar, and accuse that nobleman of high treason. It is said that the chancellor's heart turned at the last moment, and that he restrained his colleagues from carrying out their design. The queen had seized the moment when their confederacy was most formidable to repeat her application for the custody of her child; and, finding her husband still deaf to her demands, anger and vexation, combined with her situation on the eve of her confinement with another child, threw her into an illness which confined her to her bed. James at first paid no attention to her, professing to believe that her illness was merely feigned; but, having assured himself by examination by a jury of matrons that this was not the case, he rode from Falkland to visit her at Holyrood. There he found to his annoyance that the lairds of Buccleuch and Cessford, two of the most turbulent of Maitland's faction, were closeted with her; but they left before he entered the apartment, and, after violent recrimination on both parts, the king and the queen became outwardly reconciled, though he still refused positively to allow her to have the keeping of her child. The ministers of the kirk, who had taken no part in these divisions, also came forward to assist in the reconciliation, and they remonstrated with the queen on the impropriety of a woman joining in plots against the authority of her husband. She was prevailed upon, though with some difficulty, to be reconciled to Mar; and within a few days James was seen riding lovingly beside his consort at Falkland. Yet they were still engaging in petty intrigues against each other, and James was trying to break up the queen's party by gaining them over in detail. Among those whom he believed he had gained over was the chancellor Maitland, who was beginning to profess a neutrality between them. One of the English agents in Scotland wrote on the 15th of August, 1595, shortly after the reconciliation between the king and queen — "The lord Hume hath promised to follow the king, and is presently (*now*) with him; so as it is

held that the queen's faction is breaking. Always some think, that as the king intends by policy to win the queen, so the queen intends to win the king for the advantage of that side; and I pray God that this prove not too true, that in these fair flowers there prove not yet sharp pricks. As to the slaughter of David Forrester, my lord of Mar, I think, shall give assurance, and keep on fair terms with such of the Livingstones and Bruces as were not executioners of David's murder; which executioners, for this cause, are to be banished the country by their own friends." Such was the spirit in which justice was administered in Scotland under James VI.

The queen of England was apparently at this time taking little part in Scottish affairs. When James marched against the rebels, he had sent as his ambassador to England sir Robert Cockburn, the main object of whose embassy was to obtain money. Elizabeth's habitual parsimony was in this case combined with a profound distrust of James, whose penury was really caused by his own profligate expenditure and his careless management in financial matters. She would have helped him to suppress the rebellion of the northern lords, but when she found that he had succeeded in overcoming them, she sought an excuse to avoid any advances of money, believing perhaps that it would be thrown away, and considering, at all events, that the greater his necessities were the more he would necessarily be at her devotion. His ambassador, therefore, was kept in England under various pretences until the result of the northern campaign was known, and then Elizabeth caused a paper of "Scottish payments" to be drawn up by her treasurer, by which it appeared that James had received since the year 1586 various sums of money amounting together to a sum which exceeded, to the extent of six thousand five hundred pounds, the allowance of three thousand a-year which she said was that given to her sister Mary and herself by their father Henry VIII. Thus she brought in James as a considerable debtor to her exchequer, instead of having any claim upon her liberality; though he appealed to her promises of support, and declared that she had given him reason to expect an allowance of four thousand a-year, which she denied. Her influence in Scotland was indeed really more direct by the wonderful political agency which had been organized by herself and her ministers,

than by the alliance of the king, and this was exhibited in more than one circumstance at this time. The celebrated earl of Tyrone, urged on and supported by the emissaries of Spain and Rome, was preparing to strike at Elizabeth's power in Ireland, and he calculated for a great part of his strength on the forces he expected to draw from the Scottish isles. The most powerful of the island chiefs, after the earl of Argyle, was Lauchlan Maclean of Duart, the same who had shown so much military skill, and inflicted the greatest loss on Huntley's army, in the battle of Glenlivet. Maclean was in direct communication with Elizabeth's ministers, through one of his confidential servants named Achinross, who had assured them, in the March of 1595, that not only were Maclean and Argyle prepared to stop the islanders who were assembling to assist the earl of Tyrone, but that, when the war broke out, Maclean himself was willing to sail with his own men into Ireland, and there join the English army against her enemies. His means of action were much checked by Elizabeth's slackness in advancing money, and the main fleet of the islanders sailed in the summer to join their forces with those of the earl of Tyrone. But a thousand of them landing incautiously on the Mull to pass the night, Maclean came upon them suddenly, made them all prisoners, threw their leaders, who were some of the bravest of the island chiefs, into chains, and seized upon their ships for his own use. Elizabeth was highly gratified with this service, and, in conveying her thanks to him, sent him a present of a thousand crowns. She at the same time sent a present to the earl of Argyle, and the two chiefs became more devoted to her than ever, so that by their mediation even the troops who had sailed for Ireland were persuaded to enter into an arrangement and return to their homes.

This affair was hardly over, when an event occurred of much greater importance to the Scottish state. At the beginning of September, while actively engaged in projects of ambition, the chancellor Maitland was suddenly attacked with a mortal disease. For awhile he struggled hard against it, but it soon overcame him, and after languishing awhile, this extraordinary man expired on the 3rd of October. Most of the leading men in the Scottish court, and it was generally said the king himself, rejoiced at his death for he had not only made himself

obnoxious to them by assuming a proud air of superiority, but many of them had personal griefs against him, and the part which he was now universally believed to have taken in the murder of the earl of Murray, had drawn upon him much popular odium. The ministers who attended his death-bed, reported that he died penitent of all his offences. He disappeared at a time when his was the only hand capable of giving any substantial force to the government of his country.

James had begun to overlook Maitland's service as a minister and counsellor, in his dislike to the influence which he exerted, or tried to exert, in the government of the state, and it is said that privately he expressed himself glad at being rid of him; but his abilities were soon missed, and after his death the country fell into great disorder. The border wardens were more occupied with their own feuds, than in controlling the disorders of others; the north was still far from tranquil, while, even after the departure of the catholic earls, people still continued to think James insincere in their prosecution, and to believe that they would soon return; while the court was disturbed by the rivalry of the competitors for Maitland's places and honours. The king himself was overwhelmed with pecuniary embarrassments, and could not conceal his ill-humour with Elizabeth for her parsimony; the more so as at this moment his fears were excited by new rumours of great preparations for invasion by the Spaniards—and while he was assuring the kirk of his resolution to prepare against it, and to make common cause with England, he knew not how to meet the expenditure which would be required by the slightest attempt to put the kingdom in a state of defence. No one was ignorant that the real cause of James's poverty was his utter disregard of economy; but a sudden fancy at this time caused him to change the whole of his financial administration. We are told that the queen, who, out of her small dower, always managed to be well supplied with money, came to the king on the new year's day of 1596, and offered him as his new year's gift a purse filled with money, which she shook playfully and jeeringly in his face. James asked with some surprise where she had obtained the money, an article which he found so difficult to get. She replied that she had it from her councillors, who had just delivered her a thousand pieces, and asked in

return when his councillors would do the like. The king on the impulse of the moment dismissed his collector and comptroller, and appointed the four councillors of the queen—the lord Urquhart, Mr. John Lindsay, Mr. John Elphinstone, and Mr. Thomas Hamilton—to have the entire management of his household and revenues. Subsequently, four others—the prior of Blantyre, Skene (the clerk-register), sir David Carnegie, and Mr. Peter Young—were added to the number, which thus consisting of eight individuals, these officers were popularly called the *Octavians*. To this body James gave very extensive powers, which were looked on with considerable jealousy by the rest of the courtiers. They were to appoint and discharge all the inferior officers, such as chamberlains, secretaries, and clerks, with entire power over the whole exchequer and household. He bound himself never to increase their number, or to fill vacancies which might be caused by death or otherwise without the agreement of the survivors; and that no act of his, alienating any property of the crown, or granting pensions, gifts, or licenses, should be held valid, unless subscribed by at least five of the eight. The acts and decisions of these men were to have the same force as the sentence of judges in civil causes, and they were authorised to arrest and distrain without the interference of any ordinary court. The appointment of this council promised to bring immediate and great reforms in the financial condition of the kingdom, but it caused discontent among all parties, and nowhere more than among the courtiers, who saw themselves thus cut off from many sources of emolument, and who represented it as an open acknowledgment of James's incapacity to manage his own affairs. The ministers of the kirk were in general dissatisfied with the appointment, because they suspected several of the Octavians of a leaning towards popery, and feared that their power might be exerted against the church as then established. These mutual jealousies were eventually the cause of much trouble and heart-burning.

In the midst of these transactions, in the month of January, 1596, sir Robert Bowes came again to Scotland as Elizabeth's ambassador, carrying with him letters in the handwriting of that princess, addressed to James and to his queen. The latter was blamed, though in general terms, for not consulting with Elizabeth in her late dis-

agreement with her husband about the custody of the infant prince, and Bowes was to put her on her guard against the crafty designs of the papists, it having been rumoured abroad that they had succeeded in turning her from the protestant faith. The queen received these messages without any symptoms of displeasure, declaring herself highly gratified with the friendly terms in which Elizabeth addressed her. She acknowledged that attempts had been made to convert her to Romanism, but she had withstood them, and was resolved to remain a staunch protestant. She excused herself for not having communicated with the queen on the domestic divisions between herself and the king, on the ground that they fell out on a sudden, and she had not trusty messengers to send; but she threw all the fault on chancellor Maitland, who, she said, had first moved her to get her child out of Mar's custody, and then set the king against her, persuading him that if he took the prince out of the earl's hands, he would endanger not only his crown but his person. She told him of the plot to seize upon the king's person, and pretended that it was herself who gave him notice of his danger, and enabled him to avoid the snares of his enemies.

James expressed the same friendly sentiments in his interview with Elizabeth's ambassador, though he spoke rather feelingly of his own pecuniary circumstances, and of his disappointment at the little assistance he had received from England. He contrasted Elizabeth's parsimoniousness with the profusion with which the courts of Spain and Rome lavished their money to carry out their views. He complained of some books which had recently been written against his title to the succession, a subject on which, at this moment, he was particularly sensitive; in reply to which, Bowes assured him that the books in question were the works of Parsons, the jesuit, one of the most active of the agents of Spain. James, also, at this moment showed unusual energy of character, and assured the ambassador of his intention of reforming his kingdom, and even of reducing the islands to order; and he professed the strongest desire to co-operate with Elizabeth in suppressing the disorders of the unruly borderers.

Several orders and proclamations had been issued for this latter purpose, when an unexpected event occurred to throw all into confusion. One of the most daring,

as well as the most notorious, of the freebooters on the Scottish side of the border was William Armstrong, of Kinmont, popularly known as Kinmont Willie, whose four sons were all distinguished by the same sort of notoriety. Their names are said to have been dreaded along the whole border, and on both sides of it, for their feuds among their Scottish neighbours were not less numerous than their depredations on the English ground. Nevertheless, or perhaps on this account, Kinmont Willie was a great favourite of sir Walter Scott, of Buccleuch, a fierce and able soldier, who was at this time James's warden of the western marches. In the absence of their principals, the two deputy wardens, English and Scotch, held a warden court, according to custom, for the trial of border causes, at which Kinmont Willie was present. This man no doubt enjoyed much of his impunity through the favour of the Scottish warden, whose retainer he was, and the English officers, who had perhaps made complaints against him without redress, determined to seize upon him and execute justice themselves. When the court was ended, Kinmont Willie, unsuspecting of evil, was proceeding home with some three or four of his company, and had arrived at a spot on the borders of the two countries, when he was suddenly attacked by a body of two hundred English borderers, captured, and carried in triumph to Carlisle castle, where lord Scrope, the English warden, caused him to be heavily ironed and thrown into the common prison. This was looked upon as an outrageous violation of border law, and the laird of Buccleuch lost no time in sending to lord Scrope to demand his release, but the only answer he received was, that the prisoner could not be released without the queen's authority. Buccleuch next laid his case before the English ambassador in Scotland, with no better success; and when he applied to the king, James, probably looking on the whole as an untoward event which he would gladly get over with as little trouble as possible, acted coldly in the matter, and Kinmont Willie remained in Carlisle prison without any immediate prospect of release. Buccleuch, in a rage, swore that in spite of queen or warden he would bring his retainer out of Carlisle castle, dead or alive.

He first ascertained that the castle was badly guarded, and easily surprised, and he chose a dark night in the month of April for the execution of his enterprise. Late at

night, on the 13th of April, two hundred of the bravest of the borderers, including Kinmont Willie's four sons, assembled at Morton Tower, on the debateable land, about ten miles from Carlisle, where the laird of Buccleuch placed himself at their head. They were well horsed and armed, and furnished with scaling ladders and all the implements necessary for bursting open doors or breaking through masonry. Favoured by the darkness, they crossed the Esk and the Eden unobserved, and reached a little stream called the Caday, close by Carlisle, where the laird caused his men to dismount, and selecting eighty of them, he led them to the outer wall of the castle on foot. Their approach was concealed by the extreme darkness of the night, which was stormy, the rain falling in torrents, but when they placed their ladders to the walls, they found, to their extreme mortification, that they were too short. After a moment's consideration—we now use the words of a contemporary narrative of this event—"order was given to make use of the other instruments that were carried, for opening the wall a little, hard by the postern, the which being set in the way, the lord of Buccleuch seeing the matter was likely to succeed well, and that no discovery was, did retire himself, for the surety of them that he had set on the castle against the forcing of the town, and so put himself and the horsemen betwixt the postern of the castle and the next port (*nearest gate*) of the town, upon the plain field, to assure the retreat of his own from the castle again, who were sent also in such competent number as was known to be able to master them that was within, upon their entry; who did thereupon also correspond upon the first sound of the trumpets, with a cry and noise, the more to confirm his own that were gone upon the castle, and to terrify both castle and town, by an imagination of a greater force. They enter the castle, the first of them single by the overture (*opening*) that was made, and then brake open immediately the postern, with such instruments as was fit to make passage to the greater number. There did occur to them (*i.e., they met*), at their first entry, allanerly (*only*) the watchmen or sentinels, and some others after, upon the alarm, with the weapons they had. But after they were put back and scattered, the rest that was within doors hearing the noise of the trumpets within, and that the castle was entered, and the noise of others without, both the

lord Scrope himself and his deputy, Salkeld, being there with the garrison and his own retinue, did keep themselves close. The prisoner was taken out of the house where he was kept, the which was known to the lord of Buccleuch, by his sending a woman upon pretext the day before, who reporting what place he was kept in, there lacked not persons enough there that knew all the rooms there, and so went directly after the rencounter with the watchmen, and some other with them that came to the alarm to the place, and brought him forth, and so by the postern got away; some other prisoners were brought out that were taken in the rencounter, the which were presently returned into the castle again by the lord of Buccleuch, or any other spoil or butting (*booty*) also hindered, that not so much as any other door that was open within the castle was entered, but that where the prisoner was, the which was broken up; nor other that was shut so much as knocked at, though they that entered might have taken prisoners the warden and all the prisoners that was there, and made prey of the whole goods, seeing they were masters of the castle; such was the regard of the lord of Buccleuch, and the strict order that he gave, being present himself, that he would not have any circumstance to fall out in that action, in so far as it could have been eschued, that could have given the least cause of offence either to the king his master, or to the queen. By which bringing forth of the prisoner, the town and castle was in great fear and alarm, and was a putting of themselves in arms; drums were beating, bells ringing, and beals (*signal fires*) put on the top of the castle to warn the country. The day was broken, and so the enterprise having so well succeeded, the lord of Buccleuch, after that those that went upon the castle and the prisoner were retired and horsed, marched close by the Sarkage again to the river at the Stainiebank; where, upon the alarm in the castle and town, some were assembled in the far side in the passage; and so having to that time retired himself, close and without any noise from the castle, he caused sound up his trumpet before he took the river, it being both misty and dark, though the day was broken, to the end both to encourage his own and to let them that were abiding him on the passage know that he looked for and was ready to receive any charge that they should offer him; whereupon

they made choice to look to him and give him way, and not adventure upon so doubtful an event with him, who behaved to retire him homewards, and not living (*remaining*) there, if he could choose, after such an usage of his host. So having past the river, the day began to grow light, and he did retire himself in order through the Grahams of Esk and Levin, and came back to Scottish ground at about two hours after sun-rising, and so homewards."

While the borderers were within the castle, lord Scrope, entirely deceived as to their numbers, and believing, as he himself declared, that five hundred Scots at least were in possession of the fortress, kept close; and it is said that as they passed the warden's window, the freebooters merrily wished him "good night." No serious attempt appears to have been made to pursue them, and, as Kinmont Willie's irons which still hung about his legs were both heavy and painful, when they reached the boundaries of the two countries they halted at a smith's house and roused its inmates, in order that he might be relieved of them. We learn from sir Walter Scott,

* The following is a copy of this curious border ballad, as printed in Scott's *Border Minstrelsy* ;—

KINMONT WILLIE.

O HAVE ye na heard o' the fause Sakelde ?
O have ye na heard o' the keen Lord Scroope ?
How they hae ta'en bauld Kinmont Willie,
On Haribee to hang him up ?¹

Had Willie had but twenty men,
But twenty men as stout as he,
Fause Sakelde had never the Kinmont ta'en
Wi' eight score in his cumpanie.

They band his legs beneath the steed,
They tied his hands behind his back ;
They guarded him, fivesome on each side,
And they brought him ower the Liddel-rack.*

They led him thro' the Liddel-rack,
And also thro' the Carlisle sands ;
They brought him to Carlisle castell,
To be at my Lord Scroope's commands.

"My hands are tied, but my tongue is free,
And whae will dare this deed avow ?
Or answer hy the Border law ?
Or answer to the bauld Buccleuch ?"—

"Now haud thy tongue, thou rank reiver !
There's never a Scot shall set thee free :
Before ye cross my castle yate,
I trow ye shall take farewell o' me.

¹ Haribee is the place for the execution of criminals at Carlisle.

* The Liddel-rack is a ford on the Liddel.

* *Hostelrie*—Inn.

that "a cottage on the road-side, between Longtoun and Langholm, is still pointed out as the residence of the smith who was employed to knock off Kinmont Willie's irons, after his escape. Tradition preserves the account of the smith's daughter, then a child, how there was a *sair clatter* at the door about daybreak, and a loud crying for the smith ; but her father not being on the alert, Buccleuch himself thrust his lance through the window, which effectually bestirred him. On looking out, the woman continued, she saw, in the grey of the morning, more gentlemen than she had ever before seen in one place, all on horseback, in armour, and dripping wet—and said that Kinmont Willie, who sat woman-fashion behind one of them, was the biggest carle she ever saw—and there was much merriment in the company."

This was one of the last, and certainly one of the boldest, of the border exploits ; and it excited so great a sensation among the wild freebooters of the district, that it was recorded in a ballad that has been sung there down to the present day, and, as might be supposed, the story loses nothing in the telling.* With queen Elizabeth, this

"Fear na ye that, my lord," quo' Willie :
"By the faith o' my body, Lord Scroope," he said,
"I never yet lodged in a hostelrie,"³
But I paid my lawing⁴ before I gaed."

Now word is gane to the bauld Keeper,
In Branksome Ha', where that he lay,
That Lord Scroope has ta'en the Kinmont Willie,
Between the hours of night and day.

He has ta'en the table wi' his hand,
He garr'd the red wine spring on hie—
"Now Christ's curse on my head," he said,
"But avenged of Lord Scroope I'll be !

"O is my basnet⁵ a widow's curch⁶ ?
Or my lance a wand of the willow-tree ?
Or my arm a ladye's lilye hand,
That an English lord should lightly⁷ me !

"And have they ta'en him, Kinmont Willie,
Against the truce of Border tide ?
And forgotten that the bauld Buccleuch
Is keeper here on the Scottish side ?

"And have they e'en ta'en him, Kinmont Willie,
Withouten either dread or fear ?
And forgotten that the bauld Buccleuch
Can back a steed, or shake a spear ?

"O were there war between the lands,
As well as I wot that there is none,
I would slight Carlisle castell high,
Though it were builded of marble stone.

⁴ *Lawing*—Reckoning.

⁵ *Basnet*—Helmet.

⁶ *Curch*—Coif.

⁷ *Lightly*—Set light by.

outrage on her territory was a subject of great indignation, and she directed her ambassador to make a strong expostulation. Accordingly, at a convention held in Edinburgh on the 22nd of May, he presented himself before the king, and demanded that

"I would set that castell in a low,¹
And aloken it with English blood!
There's never a man in Cumberland,
Should ken where Carlisle castell stood.

"But since nae war's between the lands,
And there is peace, and peace should be;
I'll neither harm English lad or lass,
And yet the Kinmont freed shall be!"

He has call'd him forty Marchmen bauld,
I trow they were of his ain name;
Except Sir Gilbert Elliot, call'd
The Laird of Stobs, I mean the same.

He has call'd him forty Marchmen bauld,
Were kinsmen to the bauld Buccleuch;
With spur on heel, and splent on spauld,²
And gleuves of green, and feathers blue.

There were five and five before them a',
Wi' hunting-horns and bugles bright:
And five and five came wi' Buccleuch,
Like warden's men, array'd for fight.

And five and five, like a mason gang,
That carried the ladders lang and hie;
And five and five, like broken men;
And so they reach'd the Woodhouselee.³

And as we cross'd the Bateable Land,
When to the English side we held,
The first o' men that we met wi',
Whae sould it be but fause Sakelde?

"Where be ye gaun, ye hunters keen?"
Quo' fause Sakelde; "come tell to me!"
"We go to hunt an English stag,
Has trespass'd on the Scots countrie."

"Where be ye gaun, ye marshal men?"
Quo' fause Sakelde; "come tell me true!"—
"We go to catch a rank reiver,
Has broken faith wi' the bauld Buccleuch."

"Where are ye gaun, ye mason lads,—
Wi' a' your ladders, lang and hie?"—

"We gang to herry a corbie's nest,
That wons not far frae Woodhouselee."—

"Where be ye gaun, ye broken men?"
Quo' fause Sakelde; "come tell to me!"—
Now Dickie of Dryhope led that band,
And the nevir a word of lear' had he.

"Why trespass ye on the English side?
Row-footed outlaws, stand!" quo' he;
The nevir a word had Dickie to say,
Sae he thrust the lance through his fause bodie.

¹ Low—Flame.

² Splent on spauld—Armour on shoulder.

³ Woodhouselee; a house on the Border, belonging to Buccleuch.

⁴ Lear—Lore.

⁵ Spait—Flood.

the laird of Buccleuch should be delivered up to the queen of England to be punished at her pleasure. Buccleuch, when charged with the offence, pleaded that he went not into England with the intention to assault any of the queen's houses, or to do wrong

Then on we held for Carlisle toun,
And at Staneshaw-bank the Eden we cross'd
The water was great and meikle of spait,⁶
But the nevir a horse nor man we lost.

And when we reach'd the Staneshaw-bank,
The wind was rising loud and hie;
And there the Laird garr'd leave our steeds,
For fear that they should stamp and nie.

And when we left the Staneshaw-bank,
The wind began full loud to blaw;
But 'twas wind and weet, and fire and sleet,⁷
When we came beneath the castle wa'.

We crept on knees, and held our breath,
Till we placed the ladders against the wa';
And sae ready waa Buccleuch himsell
To mount the first before us a'.

He has ta'en the watchman by the throat,
He flung him down upon the lead—
"Had there not been peace between our lands,
Upon the other side thou hadst gaed!—

"Now sound out, trumpets!" quo' Buccleuch;
"Let's waken Lord Scroope right merrilie!"
Then loud the warden's trumpet blew—
O wha dare meddle wi' me?"

Then speedilie to wark we gaed,
And raised the slogan ane and a',
And cut a hole through a sheet of lead,
And so we wan to the castle ha'.

They thought King James and a' his men
Had won the house wi' bow and spear;
It was but twenty Scots and ten,
That put a thousand in sic a stear!⁸

Wi' coulters and wi' forehammers,
We garr'd the bars bang merrilie,
Until we came to the inner prison,
Where Willie o' Kinmont he did lie.

And when we cam to the lower prison,⁹
Where Willie o' Kinmont he did lie—

"O sleep ye, wake ye, Kinmont Willie,
Upon the morn that thou's to die?"—

"O I sleep saft,¹⁰ and I wake aft;
It's lang since sleeping was fley'd¹⁰ frae me!
Gie my service back to my wife and bairns,
And a' gude fellows that spier¹¹ for me."

Then Red Rowan has hente him up,
The starkest man in Teviotdale—
"Abide, abide now, Red Rowan,
Till of my Lord Scroope I take farewell.

⁶ [Query—"flyand (flying) sleet?"]

⁷ The name of a Border tune.

⁸ Stear—Stir.

⁹ Saft—Light.

¹⁰ Fleyed—Frightened.

¹¹ Spier—Inquire.

to any of her subjects, but only to relieve a subject of Scotland unlawfully taken and still more unlawfully detained; that, in the time of a general assurance, in a day of truce, he was taken prisoner against all order, nor did he attempt his relief until redress was refused; and that he had carried the business in such a moderate manner, as no hostility was committed, nor the least wrong offered to any within the castle; and he offered, according to the ancient treaties observed between the two realms, to be tried by commissioners appointed by the two countries, and submit to their award. The convention judging this to be a reasonable proposal, communicated it to the English ambassador; but Elizabeth refused indignantly to listen to it, declaring that when such an act of hostility had been committed against her state, it was not a matter for commissioners to consider of, and repeated her demand so earnestly, that James was at last obliged to yield. The laird of Buccleuch was committed to ward in the castle of St. Andrews, and thence sent to England, where he was allowed to remain on parole. It is said that Elizabeth, who, in spite of her anger at the insult, admired bold actions, sent for Buccleuch to court, and, when he entered her presence, demanded of him, with a proud look, how he dared to storm her castle? "What is there, madame," he replied, "that a brave man dare not do?" The queen, pleased with his courage, is said to have remarked to one of her attendants, "With a thousand such men, our brother of Scotland might shake the firmest throne in Europe." However, Buccleuch was not long retained in Eng-

"Farewell, farewell, my gude Lord Scroope!

My gude Lord Scroope, farewell!" he cried—

"I'll pay you for my lodging maill,¹

When first we meet on the Border side."—

Then shoulder high, with shout and cry,

We bore him down the ladder lang;

At every stride Red Rowan made,

I wot the Kinmont's airns play'd clang!

"O mony a time," quo' Kinmont Willie,

"I have ridden horse baith wild and wood;

But a rougher beast than Red Rowan

I woen my legs have ne'er bestrode.

"And mony a time," quo' Kinmont Willie,

"I've prick'd a horse out oore the furs;"

But since the day I back'd a steed,

I never wore sic cumbrous spurs!"—

¹ *Maill*—Rent.

² *Furs*—Furrows.

[This striking ballad is still preserved in memory on the west borders.]

land, for it was soon found that he would be more useful to both courts if sent back to his own country to keep the borderers in restraint.

During this time events of no slight importance were passing at the Scottish court. Since the death of Maitland, the king had shown himself far less conciliatory towards the kirk, and the Octavians were believed to lean towards popery, and to be hostile towards the presbyterian ministers. The courtiers, who had hated the Octavians from the first, lost no opportunity of exasperating the ministers against them, and took care that all that was said in their councils that was likely to irritate them, and perhaps a good deal more, should be carefully conveyed to their ears. But that which alarmed the kirk most was the report that the king and the Octavians had resolved upon the recall and restoration of Huntley and the popish lords. The general assembly of the kirk met in Edinburgh in the month of March, when the king came in person, informed them of his pecuniary wants and of the necessity of placing the kingdom in a state of defence against the Spaniards, and proposed that a general contribution should be levied for this purpose. The ministers, in reply, urged that the king's purpose would be best served by the appropriation of the forfeited estates, and represented that the banished lords deserved no mercy at his hands, but that they ought to be prosecuted to the utmost. James urged that it would be the wisest course to use gentle means towards them, and he spoke in a manner which increased the alarm of the ministers. To meet the danger which seemed to

We scarce had won the Staneshaw-bank,

When a' the Carlisle bells were rung,

And a thousand men on horse and foot,

Came wi' the keen Lord Scroope along.

Buccleuch has turn'd to Eden Water,

Even where it flow'd frae bank to brim,

And he has plunged in wi' a' his band,

And safely swam them through the stream.

He turn'd him on the other side,

And at Lord Scroope his glove flung he—

"If ye like na my visit in merry England,

In fair Scotland come visit me!"

All sore astonish'd stood Lord Scroope,

He stood as still as rock of stane;

He scarcely dared to trew his eyes,

When through the water they had gane.

"He is either himsell a devil frae hell,

Or else his mother a witch maun be;

I wadna have ridden that wan water

For a' the gowd in Christentie."

threaten their liberties, the ministers of the kirk, after deliberating upon their position, determined upon a solemn renewal of the covenant, a measure which could not fail to be offensive, as showing a profound distrust of the court. The adherence to the covenant had formerly been declared by subscribing, but it was resolved that it should be done now by simply uplifting the hand. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 30th of March, the members of the assembly met in the little church, where John Davidson (the minister of Prestonpans), preached and prayed with so much fervour, that the congregation burst into tears, and when he had done, they all rose from their seats, and, with the greatest enthusiasm, raised up their right hands as a token of their zealous renewal of the covenant. The same form of renewal was observed with the utmost unanimity throughout the realm. The assembly went still further, for it appointed a permanent committee of sixteen ministers in the capital to watch over the proceedings of the government.

Before the meeting of the assembly, James's design of bringing back the popish earls was more than suspected by the ministers of the kirk, and about this time he had held a private conference on the subject with Bruce, one of the ministers, who, by his moderate conduct, had conciliated the king's friendship, and who, as we have before seen, was his correspondent while in Denmark. The king represented to Bruce that the kingdom was weakened by the division among its nobility. He said, that as the queen of England was now advanced in years, her death might soon be expected, in which case, as there might be a rival claimant to the English crown, he should want the united strength of his kingdom to assist him. Moreover, he complained that, by keeping so many nobles in banishment, his strength was not only weakened at home, but by their representations he gained an ill name abroad. He proposed, therefore, that on condition of their embracing the protestant religion and reconciling themselves with the kirk, there could be no objection to their recall. Bruce declared that he was of the same opinion as the king, as far as regarded the earls of Errol and Angus, but he represented that Huntley's offences were so great and so numerous, that he had shown himself so unworthy of trust, and that he had rendered himself so obnoxious to the people in general, that any favour shown to him

would give the greatest dissatisfaction. The king, who had made up his mind to recall the lords, and who was apparently more inclined to show his favour to Huntley than to any of them, was displeased at Bruce's reply. He said that he saw no reason why, if that nobleman consented to the same conditions as the others, he should be made an exception; moreover, he was particularly anxious for his return, because he had married a lady who was his kinswoman and whom he looked upon as his own daughter. Bruce probably saw now that the design had been chiefly brought about by the countess of Huntley, and he remained unconvinced, upon which James desired him to take time for consideration, and give him his answer on another day. In this subsequent interview, Bruce assured the king that he considered the recall of Huntley to be a measure of the greatest imprudence.

The king, however, remained obstinate in his design, and this was so well known to the exiles themselves, that in the beginning of summer the earl of Huntley landed in disguise at Eyemouth, and proceeded to his estates in the north. He was followed by Errol, who was soon known to be with him at the Bog of Gieht, the castle which the countess of Huntley had been allowed to retain, and Angus also had shown himself again at Perth. Soon afterwards, Huntley presented a petition to the king through his countess, in which he pleaded that during his exile he had had no communications with the enemies of the kirk for any designs against it, and that he was now ready to listen to conviction, if the ministers of the kirk thought proper to labour for his convenience, and would give him a reasonable time to satisfy his conscience. In the meanwhile he required permission to return to Scotland, and a release from the sentence of excommunication, offering to surrender himself and submit to trial if any charges should be brought against him. He offered, further, to remain in any place the king should think proper to appoint for his residence, and to give security for his good behaviour. A convention of the nobles was held at Falkland, in the month of August, to which the king invited a few of the more moderate ministers who he thought might be gained over, and he then laid before them Huntley's petition. After some discussion, it was agreed that Huntley might be recalled, on certain conditions which were

to be drawn up by the king and his council. Another convention was subsequently held at Dunfermline, at which the Falkland resolution was confirmed.

When these proceedings were known, the kirk was thrown into a state of excitement, in which the most violent ministers naturally gained the upper hand. The permanent committee appointed by the general assembly, met at Cupar, in Fife, and it was resolved that a deputation should immediately proceed to the court to expostulate with the king. The commissioners were received with strong marks of James's displeasure, but, following his usual system of "king-craft," he dismissed them with promises of satisfaction which he never intended to keep. Immediately afterwards, as if to show his resolution to act independently of the kirk, the king invited the countess of Huntley to act a prominent part in the baptism of his infant daughter, and appointed to be governess of the young princess, the lady Livingston, a Roman catholic. This was a new cause of alarm to the kirk, and the commissioners, with deputies from the provincial synods, met and drew up a paper to be sent to all the presbyteries, exhorting the ministers to omit no occasion of impressing on the minds of their congregations the dangerous state of the kingdom, to recommend the propitiation of God by a general repentance and reformation, and to renew the sentence of excommunication against the popish lords, and proceed summarily against all their confederates or partisans. As a further measure of precaution, the representatives of the kirk appointed a certain number of ministers from each of the four quarters of the kingdom, who were to sit permanently in the capital with the Edinburgh ministers, so as to form a standing council for the protection of the reformed faith. This council assumed powers which were certainly not consistent with the independent action of the secular government. One of their first measures was to summon the president of the court of session, Seton, who was one of the Octavians, to appear before the synod of Lothian, and answer the charge of having advised the recall of the earl of Huntley. Seton refused to obey this summons, as being illegal, but he finally made a compromise with the ministers, and, on the withdrawal of the summons, he came forward voluntarily, and cleared himself of the matters with which he had been accused.

James now became alarmed at the difficult position in which he had placed himself, and was willing to enter into negotiations, with the object of effecting a compromise; but the leaders of the kirk were unwilling to yield, and by pushing their pretensions too far, they lost their advantage. They absolutely refused to listen to any suggestions by which favour might be shown to the earls, and the king, provoked more and more at their obstinacy, spoke of the ministers everywhere with contempt, and declared that it was impossible for a king to submit to the dictation and tyranny which they attempted to exercise over him. Some of the more moderate ministers, alarmed at the course things were taking, and wishing to avoid an open rupture with the king, proposed that a deputation of ministers should be sent to request to be informed of the cause of his displeasure, with a view to conciliation. But they failed in their object, through the injudicious conduct of the persons who composed the deputation, and who made it an occasion for repeating all their complaints. The king assumed a high tone, told them that their railings against him and his measures in their sermons, had been carried to such a degree, that it was no longer to be borne, and declared that it was now necessary to settle a definite limit between the jurisdictions of the crown and the kirk. He demanded that in future they should cease to introduce public affairs into the pulpit, unless they had previously consulted with him and received his approval of the observations they intended to make; that the assembly should not be convened without his authority, and that their acts should not be valid without receiving the sanction of the king, in the same manner as an act of parliament; and that the ecclesiastical synods or courts should take no cognizance of any matters which came within the reach of common law. This, however reasonable it might seem in itself, was simply to strike at that power for which the ministers had ever stickled so zealously, and it was evident too, that in the then state of things in Scotland, it was to destroy the only barrier against the arbitrary power of the crown. Both sides were now equally irritated, and were equally unwilling to listen to moderate councils.

In the middle of this agitation a circumstance occurred which served as a spark to kindle the flame. Mr. David Black, one of the most zealous of the presbyterian minis-

ters, and not the most prudent, preached a sermon in his church of St. Andrews, in which, it was said, in the warmth with which he described the rampant state of idolatry at home, he inveighed against the establishment of prelacy in England, and so far forgot himself as to say that queen Elizabeth was little better than an atheist, that the religion professed in that kingdom was a mere empty show; and that it was the queen and her bishops who were now exciting their prince to make war upon God's kirk. According to the words of this discourse, as they were reported, Black was represented as having stated that James had acted treacherously with regard to the case of the banished noblemen, but that this was no more than might be expected, for Satan was the head of both court and council; all kings were devil's bairns, and Satan was in the court, in the guiders of the court, and in the head of the court; the lords of the sessions were miscreants and bribers, the nobility cormorants, and the queen of Scotland a woman whom they might pray for as a matter of form, but in whose time it were vain to hope for good. If Black's discourse were correctly reported, it was both coarse and inexcusable; but whether or not, it gave an excellent hold to their opponents. As Elizabeth had latterly identified herself more or less with the cause of the kirk in Scotland, the indiscreet language of its preacher caused no small embarrassment to her ambassador, who is said to have been unwillingly dragged into an active interference by the representations of James's courtiers. The ministers took up the matter, and, on the plea that whatever Black's words might be, they related not to the temporal concerns of the kingdoms, but were of a spiritual import, and only came within the kirk's own jurisdiction, a deputation was sent to the king to argue the matter with him. James professed a wish to act with moderation; and declared that he should be satisfied if Black could clear himself to the satisfaction of the English ambassador, but he added the somewhat ominous warning, "take care that you decline not my judicatory, or it will be the worse for you." It is said that Bowes intimated a willingness to be satisfied with a private explanation; but this would not satisfy the king, who was determined to try the question of jurisdiction. A formal charge was drawn out, in which several new articles of complaint were introduced, drawn together

from his sermons during the last three years, and Black was cited to appear before the privy council, and there make answer to the accusation.

This proceeding was at once construed into an attack on the spiritual jurisdiction of the kirk, and Black delivered in a "declinature," stating that he could not obey the summons, without prejudice to the liberty and discipline of the kirk, "according as the same has been and is presently exercised within your majesty's realm, has been confirmed by divers acts of parliament, and approved in the Confession of Faith, by the subscription and acts of your majesty, and of your majesty's estate and the whole body of the country, and peaceably enjoyed by the office-bearers of the kirk in all points, and namely in the aforesaid point, anent the judicatory of the preaching of the word in *prima instantia*, as the practice of late examples evidently will show; therefore, the question concerning my preaching ought first, according to the grounds and practice aforesaid, to be judged by the ecclesiastical senate." The king, who had already threatened the ministers if they declined his jurisdiction, was greatly enraged by this document, and hearing that the commissioners of the kirk had taken measures to promulgate it, he declared their appointment unlawful, forbade any such convocations in future, and ordered the commissioners to quit the capital immediately, and return to their several flocks. The commissioners met and resolved not to obey this order, but, having been led to suspect that the Octavians were at the bottom of this prosecution, they sent a message to them, representing that at the time of their appointment the kirk was in the enjoyment of peace and liberty, while it was now thrown into great troubles, and declaring that they should hold them responsible for these attacks on its privileges. Seton, in the name of his colleagues, replied that they had never interfered in any manner in ecclesiastical affairs, and thus the dispute was left simply between the ministers and the king.

The commissioners next repaired to court, and met with a better reception than they expected. James expressed his willingness to come to an arrangement with the kirk, on the sole condition of Black's withdrawing his declinature, which he refused to admit. The more moderate of the ministers were desirous of yielding this point, and thus

avoiding the collision between the spiritual and temporal powers which was now imminent; and they represented that by pushing their claims indiscreetly they were in danger of losing the vantage ground they then held. But their more zealous brethren protested against all compromise, declaring that they ought to yield nothing in God's cause, and that the least of their privileges ought to be defended to the last. The violence of the ministers stood, indeed, at this moment in strong contrast with the moderate language of the king, who, though when irritated by their refusal to allow Black's declinature to be withdrawn, he had ordered the trial of that minister to proceed; still, immediately before it came on, sent for some of the ministers, and urged them to re-consider their determination, assuring them that he had no intention of invading their spiritual jurisdiction, or of abridging the liberties of the kirk; but, he added, "this licentious manner of discoursing of affairs of state could not be tolerated; his claim was only to judge in matters of sedition, and other civil and criminal causes, and of speeches that might import such crimes, wherever they might be uttered, whether in the pulpit or elsewhere; for surely," he said, "if treason and sedition were crimes, they were much more so if committed in the pulpit, where the word of God alone should be taught and heard." To this it was replied, that the kirk did not claim privilege of the place, but respect to their message, which was from God, and above the civil jurisdiction. James replied that that was true, and that if they kept to their message there would be no strife. "But," he said, "I trust your message be not to rule estates, and, when matters displease you, to stir the people to sedition, making both me and my councillors odious by your railings." To this it was again replied, that if any thus passed the bounds of their message, it was just that they should be punished with all extremity, but that the question of having passed the bounds was first to be judged by the kirk. Hereupon the king remarked with asperity, that it would be hard if he, their sovereign, had not the power to call and punish a minister who had indulged in treasonable speeches, but must go to their presbytery as a complainer, and especially in a case like this of Mr. Black, where he said the offence was open and apparent. After some further conference, the ministers began to relax in the rigidity of their demands, and proposed

that the question should be left for the decision of the next general assembly; and the matter seemed to be approaching an amicable settlement, when the king suddenly changed from his conciliatory course.

At the time of the conference just mentioned, the case of Black had been investigated partially, and was deferred for judgment till the following day. The charge brought against him was, "that he had affirmed that the popish lords had returned into the country with the king's knowledge, and that in doing this he had detected the treachery of his heart; that he had called all kings the devil's bairns; that, in his prayer for the queen, he had used these expressions, we must pray for her for fashion's sake, but we have no cause, for she will never do us any good; that he had called the queen of England an atheist; that in discussing a suspension granted by the lords of council and session he had called them miscreants and bribers; that, speaking of the nobility, he said they were degenerate, godless, dissemblers, and enemies to the church; that, in speaking of the council, he called them cormorants and men of no religion; and, lastly, that he had convoked divers noblemen, barons, and others, within St. Andrew's, in June, 1594, and caused them to take arms, thereby usurping the power of the king and the civil magistrates." Black, in general terms, declared that all these charges were false and calumnious, and he pleaded in defence testimonials of the purity and loyalty of his doctrines, signed by the provost, baillies, and council of St. Andrew's, as well as by the rector, dean, professors, and regent of the university. These, he said, ought to be sufficient to clear him against mere reports like those upon which he was now called upon to stand his trial. He, however, persisted in declining the jurisdiction of the king and council with regard to all these charges except the last, upon which he professed himself willing to be tried.

The king now told the commissioners that, as far as concerned the individual case of Mr. Black, he would be satisfied if that minister would come into his presence, and there, on his own admission or denial of the truth of the accusations, be judged by three ministers whom he named, David Lindsay, James Nicolson, and Thomas Buchanan. This proposal would probably have been agreed to, but at this moment, on the suggestion of some one, the king suddenly in-

sisted that Black must first acknowledge his offence against his queen. This was of course refused, as the accused was unwilling to admit an offence which had not been proved against him, and which, he alleged, could only be tried, in the first instance, before an ecclesiastical court. The king now ordered the trial to be proceeded with, and Black, in pursuance of his protest, not appearing in court, the evidence was read, and judgment was given, that he had been found guilty of having falsely and treasonably slandered the king, the queen of Scotland, the queen of England, and the lords of council and session; and he was sentenced to be confined beyond the north water, until the king's pleasure as to his punishment should be known.

Having taken this further step in the assertion of his power, James again held his hand, and offered a compromise, intimating that Black should be lightly punished, and that he was willing that the matter should be laid, as before proposed, before a general assembly of the church. He promised, if this were agreed to, that in the meantime the recent acts of council, relating to the ministers, should be annulled; that the proclamation should be altered so as to be no longer offensive to the kirk, and that they should have every safeguard for their liberties. The ministers now refused to listen to any terms which implied an allowance on their part of the proceedings against Black, alleging that Black had received no legal trial, and that it was against all reason that he should be punished for a charge which had not been proved against him. The king, on the other hand, was confirmed in his determination, by the representations of Seton, that unless some punishment were inflicted on Black, his process could not be made a ground for claiming jurisdiction over the clergy. The ministers, on their part, increased the mutual irritation, by proclaiming a fast, and sounding the alarm from their pulpits more violently than ever. Upon this, the king, in the utmost anger, issued a peremptory order to the commissioners of the kirk to quit the capital, and commanded Black to enter into ward. At the same time a proclamation appeared, in which the king explained and defended his proceedings. He therein said that, out of an earnest desire to keep peace with the ministers, he had agreed to waive all inquiry into "past causes," till the differences between the

civil and ecclesiastical tribunal had been removed by the judgment of a convention of estates and a general assembly of the ministers. All that he asked in return was, that his proceedings should not be made a subject of pulpit attack and railing; but, instead of listening to this request, they had vilified him in their sermons, accused him of persecution, defended Black, and held him up to his people as the enemy of all godliness. In the face of all such slander and defamation, he now declared to his good subjects, that as it was his determination, on the one hand to maintain religion and the discipline of the kirk, as established by law; so, on the other, he was resolved to enforce upon all his people—the ministers as well as others—that obedience to the laws and reverence for the throne, without which no christian kingdom could hold together. The king announced, further, that, to carry out this object, he had in preparation certain bonds, which the ministers would be required to subscribe before they would be allowed to receive their stipends.

As the commissioners had, in obedience to the king's command, left the city, it was imagined at court that the ministers of Edinburgh would be more tractable in their absence; and the king sent for them to the palace to confer with him on the position of affairs. The ministers insisted on the recall of the commissioners, as a preliminary to all further communication with the court, and there appears to be reason for believing that their demand would have been complied with, but at this moment another party interfered to hinder an accommodation. This party, which consisted of the lords of the bed-chamber and the gentlemen of the household, and was called popularly the "Cubiculars," had all along hated the Octavians, whose rigid administration of the revenues had been the means of robbing them of their share in the plunder of the public money, and they thought the present a favourable opportunity of getting rid of these obnoxious advisers. To carry out their object, they alternately went to each party, and whispered into their ears matter of anger and alarm. They went first to the protestant barons and ministers, and assured them that the Octavians, the chief of whom they said were concealed papists, were at the bottom of all the recent acts of persecution; it was they who had urged on the proceedings against Black; and they were meditating further measures with a view to the

recall of the banished lords, and the final restoration of popery in the country. They next went to the Octavians, and, repeating the same suspicions which they had been instilling into the ears of the ministers, told them that it was the common talk in the city, and intimated that the hostile feeling against the eight councillors was so great that even their lives were aimed at. The Cubiculars finally carried all these irritating rumours to the king, and told him further, that the temper of the citizens of Edinburgh was such that they placed guards at night at the ministers' houses to protect them from any attempt which might be made on their persons. The king was exceedingly provoked at the suspicions of his own designs which these reports implied, and he hastily adopted a resolution calculated to inflame to the highest degree the passions of his opponents. He ordered twenty-five of the principal citizens in Edinburgh to depart from the city within twenty-four hours.

The Cubiculars immediately caused intelligence of this determination to be conveyed in an anonymous letter to Mr. Robert Bruce, combined with the further information that the earl of Huntley had, in the night, been privately closeted with the king, and that his retainers were secretly engaged to support the king in his meditated acts of violence. All this was false; but as it was understood to come from a quarter where the facts were believed to be known, Bruce did not stay to doubt, but carried it in haste to Mr. Walter Balcanquhal, one of the principal preachers in the city. He found Balcanquhal preparing to mount the pulpit, in order to deliver his usual week-day sermon; and the consequence was that the preacher, excited by the information he had just received, entered at once into a touching description of the troubles which had been brought upon the church, reminded the barons and citizens present of the exploits of their fathers in its defence, and exhorted them to proceed immediately to the little kirk, to hold a consultation on the means to be taken to avert the danger which threatened. The consequence was such as might, under the circumstances, be expected. The call was responded to with the utmost zeal, and when the ministers arrived there, the crowd was so great, that it was impossible for them to effect an entrance. At length, however, they forced their way through, and Bruce, having made his way to the table, round which the barons and gentlemen were

seated, addressed them in warm language on the dangers which had brought them together, and urged them to make an immediate and forcible appeal to the king. A deputation was at once appointed, consisting of the lords Lindsay and Forbes, the lairds of Barganie and Balquhan, and two ministers—Bruce and Watson—who proceeded immediately to the royal presence. It happened that the king was sitting at the Tolbooth, with his council and the lords of the session, so that the deputation had not far to go. When they were introduced to the king's presence, Bruce, as spokesman, addressed the king, informing him that they were commissioned, by the noblemen and barons convened in the little kirk, to lay before him the dangers which threatened religion through the persecution of its ministers and professors. "What dangers do you see?" exclaimed the king. Bruce replied that they saw the most sincere professors of the gospel banished from the city; that the countess of Huntley, a notorious papist, was entertained at court; and that her husband, although banished, was understood to be near at hand. James retorted sharply that it was no affair of theirs, and then demanded how they dared to convene, contrary to his proclamation. This stirred the spirit of the fierce lord Lindsay, who exclaimed with warmth, "We dare do more than that, and will not suffer our religion to be overthrown." James looked angry, but gave no further answer; and as the room was rapidly filling with the people who were rushing into it, he retired abruptly, and ordering the doors to be secured behind him, descended into the lower house, which was occupied by the lords of the session.

The deputation, thus repulsed, now returned to the little kirk, where a violent and indiscreet preacher named Cranstoun was reading to those who had remained behind exciting passages from the Old Testament, selecting, as specially suited to the occasion, the story of Haman and Mordecai. On the arrival of the deputation, the barons and gentlemen again seated themselves in council, and the result of the interview with the king having been stated, it was agreed, at the suggestion of lord Lindsay, that they should remain there, pledged to stand firm together, and send notice to their friends to come and join them. Meanwhile, the greatest agitation prevailed through the town; and, as the report spread abroad that the ministers had been rudely treated by the king and their

petition refused, crowds gathered round the Tolbooth and the little kirk, and were increasing rapidly. Among them the secret agents of the Cubiculars were especially busy, and at a moment when the excitement was very great, one of them, near the church, shouted out, "Fly! save yourselves! the papists are coming to massacre you all!" The effect was instantaneous, and the cry of "Armour! bills and axes!" passed along the crowd and through the town. Some one in the church took up the cry, and exclaimed, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!" and, in spite of the exertions of Bruce and others to calm them, most of those who were there assembled rushed out into the street, and increased the confusion. In a few minutes the people had provided themselves with arms, and the riot assumed a formidable appearance. Some hurried to the church, supposing that the ministers were being massacred; while others made their way to the Tolbooth, the doors of which had been shut and barred. The mob here shouted aloud for Seton, and some others of the obnoxious Octavians, applying scurrilous epithets to them, and demanding that they should be delivered up to the citizens, who would take order with them. They would soon have burst open the doors, but for the exertions of a deacon of the craftsmen, who arrived in time with a small guard, and held them at bay. In a very short time the provost, sir Alexander Hume, who lay sick in bed, but, on hearing of the tumult, arose and put on his sword, made his appearance, and, with great difficulty, persuaded the multitude to be quiet.

The king was in a state of great terror during these proceedings, but, as soon as the mob appeared to be calmed, he ventured to send out the earl of Mar to expostulate with the ministers. Mar, accompanied by two other noblemen, proceeded to the little kirk, where he found the ministers walking in the churchyard, in great consternation at the riot which had taken place, which they declared that they were totally unable to explain; but they said that they supposed it had arisen from the popular disappointment at the rejection of their petition. They begged that the king might be informed that they were themselves wholly unconnected with the tumult, but that, on the contrary, they had done all they could to repress it. The earl of Mar recommended them to state their grievances in a respectful

petition to the king, and assured them that it would be heard, and that the king would give them an answer. The ministers then re-entered the church, and, after a brief deliberation there, they sent a deputation to the king, who still remained in great alarm in the Tolbooth. The ministers now petitioned the king that all proceedings against the kirk, during the last four weeks, might be annulled; that the president, comptroller, and advocate, as men strongly suspected to favour popery, should have no voice in ecclesiastical affairs; and that the citizens who had been banished might be allowed to remain at their homes, on giving surety for their appearance whenever called for. The king received the deputation with perfect complacency, and told them, that if they would bring their petition in the afternoon, drawn up in proper form, he would lay it before his council. But, having recovered sufficient courage, he was now acting with treacherous dissimulation: he saw how the riot might be laid hold of as an excuse for further proceedings; and, having assured himself, by this apparent concession, that he might pass from the Tolbooth without personal danger, he slipped out, accompanied by the Octavians, and by the provost and baillies, and hastened to his palace at Holyrood-house.

James promised the deputies of the ministers that, as far as regarded the citizens, their petition should be granted, if the provost and baillies interceded for them, but nothing was farther from his thoughts at this moment than to yield any indulgence. Soon after the king's departure, the ministers, with the lords and gentlemen who supported them, held a meeting, and drew up a petition in accordance with the king's directions. When, however, their deputation arrived at Holyrood-house, about five o'clock in the afternoon, they were told that the king was in a fit of great displeasure, and urgently recommended not to insist on presenting the petition till the next morning. Lord Ochiltree, who was employed to send the deputation away, had some difficulty in persuading them to yield. At a very early hour next morning, the king and his whole court were on their way to Linlithgow, and soon after their departure a proclamation was read by a herald at the high cross, which declared that the riot of the preceding day had been caused by the ministers of the kirk in Edinburgh, who had begun with seditious speeches from the

pulpit; had then collected together the noblemen, barons, and others who supported them; and sent him an irreverent message, and had subsequently raised the citizens in arms and placed his life in danger. James declared that he was convinced by these treasonable proceedings, that Edinburgh was no longer a safe or fit place for his residence, or for the impartial administration of justice, and that he had therefore left it with his court, and commanded the lords of session, sheriffs, and all other officers of justice to leave it also, and hold themselves ready to repair to such other place as he should appoint. All noblemen and barons were commanded to depart immediately to their own homes, and not to assemble again without his express permission.

This proclamation, combined with the threats which the king was reported to have uttered, after his return to his palace, against the town and the barons, and all who had been connected in any degree with the proceedings of the day, had the immediate effect of producing a division of sentiment amongst those against whom it was directed. The burgesses and craftsmen saw in the removal of the court the ruin of their trade and the decay of the town, and in conjunction with their magistrates they determined to yield, and try to appease the king's anger. The ministers, on the contrary, so far from being intimidated, met and determined to brave the storm. They were earnestly exhorted by Mr. Robert Bruce, who told them from the pulpit, that "a day of trial and terror" was at hand, which called for all their courage. "The hypocrisy of many," he said, "and the flagrant iniquity of others will clearly appear. The trial shall go through all men; from king and queen to council and nobility, from session to barons, from barons to burgesses, from burgesses to the meanest craftsmen, all will be sifted; and sorry am I that I should see such weakness in so many, that ye dare not utter so much as one word for God's glory and the good cause. No—the quarrel is betwixt a greater prince and us. We are but silly men and unworthy creatures. But it hath pleased him who ruleth all things to set us in this office and to make us his own mouth, that we should oppose the manifest usurpation intended against his spiritual kingdom; and sorry am I that our cause should be obscured by this late tumult, and that the enemies should be thereby emboldened to pull the crown off Christ's head." Such

exhortations as these produced an extraordinary effect on the hearers, and under the influence of this excitement it was natural for the kirk-men to lean to the most violent measures. It was proposed that Seton, the president of the session, and Hamilton, the lord advocate, should be excommunicated, and a fast was proclaimed. The pulpits resounded with the denunciations of the preachers, some of whom attacked the royal person in their speeches, and taught that it was lawful, when a king was in a state of spiritual phrensy, for the subjects to arise and wrest the sword from his hands.

The cause, however, was destined to suffer from the lukewarmness and desertion of many who were alarmed at the violence of these proceedings. The kirk had embarked in an open contest with the crown, and it was necessary to seek a head to direct the efforts of the barons and others who took part with it. Before the assembly just mentioned proceeded in their further deliberations, they determined to convoke all their friends to assemble together in defence of the kirk, and they chose for their leader the duke of Hamilton, who they had reason to suppose was their staunch friend. They then took measures for calling a general assembly of the kirk; while the king, on his part, had followed up the first proclamation by another, commanding the ministers of Edinburgh and certain of the citizens to enter into ward in the castle, and ordering this command to be enforced by the provost and magistrates.

The ministers were sorely deceived in their expectations from the duke of Hamilton. They had written to him a private but indiscreet letter, subscribed by Bruce, Balcanquhal, Rollock, Balfour, and Watson, the leading preachers. The duke was reminded briefly of the many grievances which the kirk had lately suffered, and in describing the late riot, the ministers said that the people had no doubt been animated to take arms by "the word of God's spirit," and would probably have executed summary vengeance on some of the chief enemies of the kirk, had not the ministers themselves done their utmost to restrain them. They then stated that the "godly" barons and gentlemen had assembled with them, and had by the inspiration of God's spirit elected him as their head, in obedience to which they invited him to come to them. The messenger who carried this letter was courteously received by the duke, who, however,

instead of answering it, rode immediately to Linlithgow and laid it before the king. It was asserted by some that it was only a copy that was communicated to the king, and that the phraseology was altered so as to give it a treasonable character. At all events, it was immediately construed into an incitement to rebellion, and the ministers were summoned to Linlithgow, to answer before the privy council. The ministers now saw the trap into which they had fallen, and, declining to appear, they left the capital, some of them seeking refuge in England, and others concealing themselves in Fife.

Meanwhile, the citizens had pursued a different course. Two days after the king's departure from Edinburgh, a deputation from the town council proceeded to Linlithgow, where, in an audience of the king, they protested their entire innocence of the riot, which, they said, they detested from their hearts, and offered to make all reparation in their power to the king and council. James received them haughtily, refusing to accept any apology, and declaring that "fair words could not atone for such a fault; but he would come, ere it was long, and let them know he was their king." This threat was followed, next day, by a proclamation, that the late tumult had been declared by the council to be treason, and that all who were concerned in it were traitors. The king at the same time summoned his nobles, with their followers from the north and the south, and vague rumours were set abroad of his sanguinary intentions, that the fierce borderers under Kinmont Willie, who had so recently escaped from an English prison, were to be let loose upon the capital; that it was to be given up to indiscriminate pillage; that it was then to be burnt and entirely rased; the ground sown with salt, and a column to be erected on its site to commemorate the punishment of the citizens for their disobedience. So strongly did these reports take hold of the minds of the burghesses of Edinburgh, that they began to carry their goods from the shops and warehouses, and to store them in the strongest houses of the town, where they mounted guard, and prepared to defend them sturdily against all aggressors. The next step of the magistrates was to obtain the intercession of some gentlemen of the court, who were instructed to plead in their favour that there were, in all great towns, seditious and turbulent persons among the rabble, who were ready to seize

every occasion for creating a tumult, but that it was unjust to punish, on that account, those who, so far even from conniving at it, were desirous of doing everything in their power to bring the offenders to justice. The king merely replied that the riot could not have gained head so rapidly and alarmingly, unless it had been encouraged by some persons above the vulgar, but at all events the magistrates were answerable for the remissness which had not prevented it. He intended, he said, to proceed by law, and not to use any violent course; for which purpose he had summoned a meeting of the estates, in the capital, to judge of the crime and the due punishment.

The day fixed for the convention was the 1st of January. On the last day of the year 1596, James repaired to Leith to prepare for his entry into the city. The magistrates presented themselves on their knees before him to deliver up the keys of the city, professing the utmost sorrow for the late occurrences, and still protesting their innocence. The magistrates were dismissed, and the temporary charge of the city was committed to the Earl of Mar, and the lords Seton and Ochiltree. Early on the following morning, the streets and gates were occupied by various chiefs and their followers, and the citizens were commanded to remain in their houses, such as should appear in the streets being forbidden to carry arms. The town having been thus secured, as though the king could not enter it without danger, James proceeded first to the high church, where he heard a sermon from Mr. David Lindsay. On its conclusion, the king addressed the people, justifying himself and his advisers, and throwing the blame of everything on the turbulent ministers of the kirk. He went thence to the Tolbooth, where the estates were now assembled. After some talk about the riot, the magistrates were sent for, that they might be heard in extenuation of their offence. The provost, bailies, and town council, who were then introduced, fell upon their knees before the king, and in the most abject manner, while protesting their innocence and offering to clear themselves upon oath of any previous knowledge or subsequent participation in the riot, resigned the privileges of the city, and submitted to have their ministers named by the king as well as their municipal officers at the next election. After having thus humbled themselves, the city authorities were dismissed, and left in doubt as to

the effect which their submissive behaviour had produced. But in a subsequent meeting of the estates at Holyrood-house, it was decided that the tumult was an act of treason, and the king announced his intention to institute a criminal prosecution against the town. All the magistrates were commanded to enter themselves in ward in the town of Perth on or before the 1st of February, to remain in custody until the day of trial should be named. After several adjournments, the trial was fixed for the 5th of March, and, instead of all the magistrates being summoned as before, two baillies, the dean of guild, the treasurer, four of the principal deacons, and four of the council with their clerk, making in all thirteen, were commanded to appear as representatives of the city. It happened that one of these—perhaps he was included by design—had a personal exemption from the king, and, on the day of trial, he pleaded this as a reason for non-attendance. But the plea was not allowed; and, instead of punishing him individually for not coming, the town was treated as contumacious, because the whole thirteen had not appeared, and the burgesses were declared rebels, and their public property confiscated to the king. When this arbitrary sentence was known, the utmost consternation prevailed in the city, and the magistrates at once resigned their offices, leaving the capital during a fortnight without a municipal government. This state of things could not be allowed to last long, and it was contrived at last that some of the nobles should intercede with the king, upon which the city magistrates were admitted to his presence, where they made another abject submission, beseeching his royal mercy towards themselves and their fellow citizens. James gave them a long and sharp reprimand, and then commanded them to withdraw until he had decided on their punishment. After some time, they were recalled to the presence-chamber, and it was there announced to them that they must deliver up to the king the houses of the ministers in the churchyard, that they might be obliged in future to live separately in different lodgings; that they must undertake under a heavy penalty to protect the lords of the session during their sitting; that they must give up the lower council-house to be employed as exchequer chambers; and that the town must pay a fine of twenty thousand marks to the king. The terrified magistrates agreed to these conditions, upon

which the king signified his gracious pardon, and the courts of justice were recalled by proclamation. Thus, under the semblance of grace, the magistrates were extravagantly punished for a riot in which they had no share, and in which no injury had been done; and this even in spite of the interference and disapproval of queen Elizabeth. That princess had written a letter to him to dissuade him from pursuing a rigorous course with "his best subjects," whose only fault was an injudicious zeal in the cause of religion which they believed to be threatened; and, while she spoke with strong disapprobation of their violent conduct, she intimated rather significantly that after all it "was not so inexcusable at the instant when the new banished lords returned, and were seen to be winked at and allowed full liberty; and as spring was advancing, when aid from abroad was promised, together with the arrival of many letters from Rome and elsewhere, containing the names of envoys authorised by the king, as they gave out, but she hoped falsely, to assure the catholics of his conformity, and of his intention, when the opportunity offered, to establish the party of his enemies and desert his own." The king pretended to take this letter in very good part, and declared that he had no intention of dealing with his subjects rigorously, his only wish being to enforce obedience, and "to make his advantage of their disorders."

Amid these troubles and commotions, the "Cubiculars" had succeeded in effecting the object they had most at heart. The general odium which had fallen upon the Octavians from without, had gradually produced a division among themselves, and when in consequence they tendered their resignation of office, James, who knew how obnoxious they had become, and was glad of any means of giving popular satisfaction at a moment when he was intent upon pursuing his designs against the kirk, accepted it willingly. But the political agitation of the moment was so great, that the eight councillors went out of office almost unperceived, except by those who had now recovered their opportunity of enriching themselves by the dissipation of the royal revenue.

James now proceeded to carry into effect a design which he had long contemplated—the re-establishment of the episcopacy. The great obstacle he had had to contend with, was the resolute conduct of the ministers of Edinburgh, and the riot and its consequences

had for a while overthrown their power. The king began by calling a general assembly of the kirk to be held at Perth, on the last day of February; in anticipation of which a series of questions, which had been drawn up before the breaking-out of the tumult in Edinburgh, were issued by the king to be circulated through the presbyteries. These questions brought into discussion most of the points with regard to church discipline, &c., on which the ministers insisted, such as the right of the king to interfere in church matters, the liberty of preaching as far as regarded attacks on the temporal power, the necessity of imposition of hands in the appointment to the ministry, the excommunication of papists who had never professed the reformed faith, and the power of the king to annul an unjust sentence of excommunication; the right of the civil power to stop ecclesiastical proceedings when these were contrary to the interests of the state; and others of the same character. While these questions were left for the consideration of the presbyteries, the king endeavoured singly to gain over as many of the ministers as he could to favour his design, especially in the north, where the zeal of the presbyterians was not so great as in the south. For this purpose, sir Patrick Murray, one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, was despatched to the north for the purpose of making converts. He was to converse with the northern ministers, and give them a garbled account of the late transactions, assuring them that the dangerous tumults in Edinburgh had originated in the treasonable conduct of the Edinburgh ministers, who had conspired to usurp an authority to which they had no right, and who had, in an unlawful manner, appointed commissioners to carry on an opposition to the court. He was further to persuade them to subscribe a bond which the king wished to force upon the acceptance of the ministers, and to urge them to send commissioners to the general assembly at Perth, who he hoped would act independently and not be influenced by the unfounded aspersions which had been cast upon the king as though he wished to usurp an improper authority in ecclesiastical affairs. It was also a part of sir Patrick's commission to canvas the ministers of the north in favour of restoring the earl of Huntley and relieving him from the sentence of excommunication. As far as the king's agent communicated with the presbyteries, the general reply was

that they were not sufficiently acquainted with the facts of the late tumult to form a judgment on its cause and origin, but they wished that the guilty might be punished, and they considered that ministers of the kirk deserved punishment doubly if they should be found to be culpable. They in most cases declined subscribing the bond, inasmuch as some of the articles it contained, such as the question of liberty of speech in the pulpit, belonged to the general assembly and not to them individually to decide. They said that the repentance of the earl of Huntley would be most acceptable to them, and that they were ready at any time to confer with him and endeavour to convert him, but that they saw with regret he was not so willing to conform as was represented. Sir Patrick was more successful in his private conferences with the ministers individually, many of whom, by flattery and holding out hopes of promotion, he gained over to promise their support to the king.

Nevertheless, the king's questions had produced no good effect. They had been severely sifted and criticised; their object was too evidently the entire subversion of the present system of church discipline to be concealed for a moment; and, after many private conferences, the ministers of the synod of Fife met towards the end of February at St. Andrews, and decided upon a series of answers to the questions in direct contradiction to the king's intentions. They no doubt hoped that this declaration would have its effect on the proceedings of the approaching general assembly. But by dint of packing, and through the exertions of sir Patrick Murray, the general assembly at Perth, in which there was a considerable majority of northern ministers, was tolerably subservient, and contained few of the bolder spirits in the kirk. There was, however, at first a certain show of independence; the question whether this meeting could be considered a legal assembly was warmly debated, but in the end it was decided in the affirmative; and at last they proceeded to business, although commissioners from Fife protested that nothing decided at Perth should be considered valid to the prejudice of the kirk and its privileges. This question being decided, sir John Cockburn, sir John Preston, and Mr. Edward Bruce, as commissioners for the king, presented thirteen articles, which embraced the chief points of dispute between the crown and

the church. These articles were referred to a committee of the assembly, who deliberated upon them, and next morning gave in their answers, which the king pronounced to be unsatisfactory. James now took a different course with them, and instead of leaving the assembly their free liberty of discussion, he summoned the ministers to meet him at the convention of the estates, which were sitting at the same time at Perth, to confer together. When the ministers came in accordance with this summons, the king addressed them in an arbitrary tone. His purpose, he said, in calling them together, was to amend such things as were amiss, and to take away questions which might move trouble afterwards. If they were willing to have matters righted, all might yet go well. "I," he said, "claim nothing but what is due to every christian king, that is, to be *custos et vindex disciplinae*. Corruptions are crept in, and more are daily growing, by this liberty that preachers take in the application of their doctrine, and censuring everything that is not to their mind. This I must have amended; for such discourses serve only to move sedition and raise tumults. Let the truth of God be taught in the chair of truth, and wickedness be reprobated; but in such sort as the offender may be bettered, and vice made more odious. To rail against men in the pulpit, and express their names, as we know was done of late, there being no just cause, and to make the word of God, which is ordained to guide men in the way of salvation, an instrument of sedition, is a sin, I am sure, beyond all other that can be committed on earth. Hold you within your limits, and I will never blame you, nor suffer others to work you any vexation. The civil government is committed to me; it is not your subject, nor are ye to meddle with it." The ministers were overawed by the king's tone, and, protesting that they came there in obedience to his orders, but with no power themselves to make the ecclesiastical jurisdiction subject to the civil power, they

withdrew to their place of assembly to reconsider their answers, which they finally amended in such a manner as to leave some of the most difficult points open for discussion, and acknowledge the right of the king to propose them. It was agreed that the king might propose any alterations connected with the outward government of the kirk to the consideration of the general assembly; that no extraordinary conventions of the ministers should be held without the king's consent; that no acts of privy council, or of the estates, should be attacked from the pulpit, until proper steps had been taken to obtain redress and failed; that no minister should be chosen in any of the principal towns of the realm without the king's consent; and that none but persons who had fled from justice or were under sentence of excommunication, should be rebuked by name in the pulpit. With these answers James professed himself satisfied, and he immediately caused them to be ratified by the estates. It was then decided by the king that the consideration of the other questions should be deferred until the general assembly, which was to be held at Dundee, on the 10th of May. The king had further so far gained upon the ministers assembled at Perth, that it was agreed that certain commissioners should be sent to confer with the popish lords, with a view to their reconciliation with the church.

These proceedings had not been allowed to take place without some opposition. All the zealous presbyterians held that the assembly was totally illegal, as being convened only by the king's warrant, and informal in its proceedings. Some of these met at St. Andrews, constituted themselves a regular assembly, opened in form by Pont, the moderator of the last regular general assembly, and then deferred their further proceedings to the assembly which was to be held at Dundee, thus asserting, in contradiction to the king, the right of the kirk to convoke and hold the assemblies by its own authority.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE PROCEEDINGS WITH THE EARLS; NEW POPISH PLOT DETECTED; FURTHER PROCEEDINGS WITH REGARD TO THE KIRK; RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND.

ALTHOUGH James had not yet gained all that he aimed at, he had certainly obtained a victory over the church, and he prepared now to pursue his plans of reconciliation with the popish lords. There had been all along a strange contrast between the tenderness with which these unprincipled offenders were treated, and the king's harshness towards the burgesses and ministers when they opposed his will, but he had now resolved that Huntley and his colleagues should conform to the church as he was going to model it. He accordingly wrote a private letter to Huntley, telling him that he must now decide whether he would conform, and be restored to his honours, or quit Scotland for ever. In the concluding lines of this letter the king warned the earl against "deceiving himself to think that by lingering of time his wife and his allies should ever get him better conditions." "I," said James, "must love myself and my own estate better than all the world; and think not that I will suffer any professing a contrary religion to dwell in this land." The terms of the king's letter were so peremptory, that it was evident now to the earls that their only chance of favour was to yield, at least outwardly, to the king's wishes, and they therefore announced their willingness to listen to the presbyterian ministers who were appointed to instruct and convert them. These seconded the king's wishes so effectually, that, when the general assembly met at Dundee, on the 10th of May, 1597, they were enabled to announce that the earls had subscribed the confession of faith, and that nothing remained but to restore them to the communion of the church.

The general assembly at Dundee began by deciding that the general assembly at Perth was a legal one, and it then proceeded to ratify, with some modifications, its acts. But the opposition to the king's plans was much stronger than he seems to have anticipated, and the popular party, headed by Andrew Melvil, the learned and able rector of St. Andrews, showed itself in such force and detected and opposed with so much skill the aim of the king's measures, that he

found it advisable to pursue a different and a somewhat slower course. Even the king's favourite stratagem of holding out the prospect of an increase in the ministers' stipends, which were in most cases very small, failed in producing its full effect in the assembly, but he made it partly the excuse for obtaining from them the nomination of a permanent committee of fourteen ministers, who, under the pretext of "advising on all affairs concerning the weal of the church and entertainment of peace and obedience to his majesty within this realm," received extensive and not well-defined powers. It had been so contrived by the court party, that this committee consisted chiefly of persons favourable to the king, and it became subsequently James's grand instrument in managing the assembly, because it had the chief hand in preparing the measures to be brought forward. This was so clearly seen by the popular party, that one of its leaders, James Melvil, afterwards characterized it as the "needle which drew in the thread of episcopacy." After this committee had been appointed, no further matters of importance were brought before the general assembly.

After the general assembly had separated, the commissioners appointed for that purpose, accompanied by the king's agent, sir Patrick Murray, proceeded to the north, to receive the final submission of the three earls, who had lately shown no inclination to hurry their reconciliation with the protestant church. At this very moment an event occurred which would naturally lead us to believe that they were still secretly intriguing with the catholic powers abroad. James Gordon, the Jesuit, Huntley's kinsman, had entered Scotland in disguise, and was busily engaged in the earl's country, whom he urgently laboured to retain in the catholic faith. One object of this man's intrigues seems to have been to prepare for the entry of some Spanish troops, to support the cause of the northern catholics. A daring catholic chieftain, Hugh Barclay of Ladyland—who had been a prisoner in Glasgow-castle, had made his escape and fled to Spain, and was now returned—suddenly seized upon the isle

of Ailsa, on the coast of Ayrshire, and began to fortify and provision it, with the avowed intention of giving it up to the Spaniards, who had promised to make a descent in that quarter. Ailsa is a small island, consisting of little more than a high, rugged rock, rising out of the sea, with an old fortress at the top, which was then in ruins, accessible only by one narrow foot-path, which a few men might easily defend against a great number of assailants. Intelligence of Barclay's movements had been carried to Andrew Knox, the minister of Paisley, the same who had seized Kerr, the bearer of the Spanish blanks, and who now hesitated not to assume the arms of the flesh in order to prosecute this new enemy of the church. Knox, having collected a few enterprising individuals, and proceeding in a boat to the rock of Ailsa, boldly attacked Barclay, and pressed him so hard, that, rather than be taken, he threw himself into the sea, and was drowned. The failure of this desperate enterprise seems to have done more than all the preachings of the ministers to convince the catholic earls; they must have been aware of the hopelessness of the cause they had been supporting, and they probably feared, that, if they held back any longer, they would come in for a share of the odium which must attach to Barclay's attempt, especially since its failure. The consequence was, that, a few days afterwards, their reconciliation to the church was completed with great ceremony. On the 26th of June, which had been appointed for a strict fast on this occasion, Huntley, Angus, and Errol relinquished all their feuds and quarrels with anybody whatever, mutually forgiving and imploring forgiveness. On the next day, which was Sunday, at a full congregation in the old kirk of Aberdeen, the three earls subscribed the confession of faith. A sermon was then preached by Mr. John Gledstones, at the conclusion of which the earls again stood up, made a public confession of their recent apostacy, and declared their conviction of the truth of the presbyterian form of faith, and their resolution to persist in it. Huntley next declared his deep penitence for the slaughter of the earl of Murray; and the sentence of excommunication against the three earls was then withdrawn, and they were publicly received into the bosom of the kirk. Gordon, of Gicht, who next presented himself in the guise of a penitent, and demanded forgiveness, was also relieved from the sentence of

excommunication. They then took the sacrament after the presbyterian form, and made solemn promises to be good subjects in future, and to exert themselves to promote order in their vast possessions in the north. On the Monday, the reconciliation and restoration of the earls was proclaimed by a herald at the cross of Aberdeen, amid the rejoicings of the inhabitants.

Nobody rejoiced more at this event than the king, who was now left at liberty to pursue his plans of ecclesiastical change. The general assembly of Dundee had not been long dissolved before James showed what he intended to do with the committee it had appointed, and which proved in all things subservient to his will. Soon after the assembly, James called a meeting of the committee at Falkland, to which he summoned the presbytery of St. Andrews, and caused a sentence of deposition pronounced by them to be reversed. Another question connected with the same presbytery was next brought forward. Lindsay of Balcarras had laid a complaint before the presbytery against one of the preachers of St. Andrews, named Wallace, whom he accused of speaking injuriously of him in the pulpit. The presbytery dismissed the complaint, because it was not sufficiently substantiated. The matter was now brought before the committee, and Wallace was summoned to appear before it and answer to the charge. This summons he at once refused to obey, declining the judicature of the committee, on the plea that in such a case there was a distinct legal course pointed out by the discipline of the church; and the moderator of the presbytery entered a protest against the attempt of the committee to exercise a power which was not even claimed by the assembly itself, that of setting aside the authority of the ecclesiastical courts. "Then," said the king, who was present, and would allow no appeal against his arbitrary proceedings, "I will protest too, as one of the principal motives which induced me to ask and the assembly to grant this commission, was to take cognizance of such cases and see justice done." As the presbytery and the accused persisted in declining the judicature of the court, Wallace was condemned in his absence and removed from his charge. David Black, the proceedings against whom had been the commencement of all these disputes, and who had not only been allowed to return and resume his ministry, but had been admitted to the king's presence, was

also deprived by the committee. The next proceeding in which the king employed the committee was a strict visitation of the university of St. Andrews, which was aimed of course at its rector, Andrew Melvil, the great leader of the popular party. He was accused of having agitated political questions in his lectures, but nothing of importance could be established against him. The king, however, proceeded to make some alterations in the scholastic system, which were cunningly aimed at the ecclesiastical influence of the professors. He prescribed to each professor the subjects he was to teach, and caused a resolution to be passed by the committee, that no professors, especially of divinity, should teach in any of the congregations, unless they were pastors, or possess a seat in the ecclesiastical judicatures. This, of course, was designed to have the effect of excluding Andrew Melvil from the general assembly, where his presence was dreaded by the king. James also appointed a council to regulate the proceedings of the university as a further check on the professors.

During the summer of the year 1597, James's attention was suddenly called off from ecclesiastical plans by the disorders on the borders, where the quarrels of the chiefs whose duty it was to preserve tranquillity, encouraged the turbulence of their followers. A violent feud had arisen between sir Robert Kerr of Cessford, one of the Scottish wardens, and sir Robert Carey, a son of lord Hunsdon, while the laird of Buccleuch had not laid aside his hostile feelings towards lord Scroop for his temporary sojourn as a prisoner in England. The petty incursions on the western border had been continued with little intermission since the captivity of Kinmont Willie, and in the course of the summer of this year, the English borderers of Tynedale and Redesdale had made a raid into Liddesdale, and committed extensive depredations. Instead of making complaint to the English authorities, the proud laird of Buccleuch collected his followers, invaded the English territory, plundered the districts of Tynedale and Redesdale, and hanged thirty of the English plunderers whom he had captured. Kerr, in his resentment against sir Robert Carey, allowed the Scottish borderers under his jurisdiction to make repeated irruptions into the English territory about the same time, and the earnest complaints of both her wardens excited Elizabeth's great indignation. Sir Robert Bowes was sent to Scotland to remonstrate with the

king on the ill-rule of his wardens, and to submit to him a list of the grievances of which she had to complain. On this occasion, the queen of England sent James one of her indignant messages, intimating that she had too much care even for the most distant corner of her kingdom, to allow it to be insulted with impunity, and that if he was not able to keep his own subjects in order, she should be under the necessity of doing it for him. James was not at this moment inclined to enter into a quarrel with Elizabeth, and a negotiation was opened, which, after some difficulties had been overcome, ended in the last border treaty between the two countries, and one which was highly beneficial to both. It was agreed that, with regard to Elizabeth's present complaints, the delinquents should be delivered up on both sides, and mutual pledges were to be given by the wardens on both sides for the observance of this agreement, or in case of failure, the wardens who neglected to give the pledges were to enter into ward in the other country. Buccleuch and Kerr struggled hard against these conditions, and appear to have purposely neglected giving their pledges, upon which it required all James's authority to compel them to fulfil the alternative, of surrendering themselves to the English wardens. When at last the two chiefs repaired to Berwick for this purpose, an incident occurred which had nearly produced serious consequences, and which was characteristic of the manners of these fierce chiefs. It was customary for a person thus surrendering himself in ward to name the person whom he wished to be his keeper, and Buccleuch had chosen in this capacity sir William Selby, the master of the ordnance at Berwick. The laird had already delivered himself into the hands of this officer, and Kerr was proceeding to fulfil his duty in the same manner, when one of his retinue fired a pistol, and a cry of treason was immediately raised among his followers. A sanguinary tumult would probably have ensued, but for the presence of the lord Hume with a strong body of horsemen, who had come to preserve order. As it was, however, the English commissioners returned in dismay to Berwick, disposed to wreak their vengeance on Buccleuch, who on his side was highly offended with Kerr, by whose means he imagined that he had been placed in personal danger. There had been formerly a deadly feud between the Scots and Kerrs, which was nearly re-

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